
Hon.mo Francisc.o Bacon.o Baro de Veru:
lam. Vice-Comes S.cti Albani. Mortuus 9 Aprilis,
Anno Dni. 1626. Aimog. Aetat 66.


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Resuscitatio,

Or, bringing into

PVBLICK LIGHT

SEVERAL

PIECES

OF THE

WORKS,

Civil, Historical, Philosophical, & Theological,

HITHERTO

SLEEPING

Of the Right Honourable

FRANCIS BACON,

Baron of *Verulam*, Viscount Saint *Alban.*

According to the best Corrected COPIES.
Together, With his Lordships LIFE.

The Second Edition, some-what enlarged.

By WILLIAM RAVVLEY, Doctor in Divinity, His Lordships First, and Last, CHAPLEIN.

And now His Majesties CHAPLEIN, in Ordinary.

LONDON,

Printed by *S. Griffin*, for *William Lee*, and are to be sold at his Shop in *Fleetstreet*, at the signe of the Turks head, neer the Mitre Tavern, 1661.



The Right Hon.ble John Earl of Sutherland

TO HIS

Sacred Maiestie,

CHARLES THE II.

By the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

WHEN this *Booke* was firſt publiſhed, near four years paſt, there wanted a *Royall Majeſtie*, in the Land, to dedicate it unto: And a lower Dedication, did not beſeem the Works, of this Honourable *Author*. But now, that it hath pleaſed *God*, that a *Sun* is riſen, in our *Hemiſphere* again; This unpatroniz'd *Booke* before, ſaluting the world, with a *Second Edition*; Doth, in all Humility, preſſe forward, and draw neer, to your *Sacred Majeſtie*, to be cheriſhed, by the Light, and Warmth, of your Royal Countenance, and Protection. It is true, your *Majeſtie* hath now, a living *Counſell*, of the Ancient Splendour, and Dignity; But yet, it will not ſeeme grievous to you, at ſome times of Leiſure, to confer with this Dead *Counſeller*; who ſerved, ſeverall years, in a principall *Office*, of the *Kingdome*, under your *Royall Grand-Father*, (the moſt learned of *Kings*;) And was Graciouſly accepted by Him, during his Employment;

Being also, a *Writer* well known, and highly prized, amongst Forreign *Nations*. It is recorded, as the saying, of a wise, and pious *Bishop*, concerning St. *Augustine*; *That it was impossible, a Sonne, of so many Tears, should miscarry*: I may crave leave, to say the like, of your *Royal Majestie*, in a converted sense; That it is impossible, a *King*, of so many *Prayers*, and *Wishes*, and *Acclamations*, and *Gratulations*, and *Joyes*, as your *Majestie* is, (*Gods* Aid implored,) should not be prosperous. And therefore, as your Coming to your Rightfull *Throne*, with all the Circumstances, therein observable, amounted to no lesse, then a *Miracle*: So we have Budding, and Lively Hopes, that your Prudent Administration, of the same, will be, even a *Mirrour*, to succeeding *Princes*. Which, with your *Majesties* long Continuance, in Life, and Happiness, is, and shall be, the Fervent, and Daily *Prayer*, of

Your Majesties most Humble,

And Devoted Subject,

And Servant,

W. Rawley.

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TO

TO THE

READER.

HAving been employed, as an *Amanuenſis*, or dayly inſtrument, to this *Honourable Authour*; And acquainted with his *Lordſhips* Conceits, in the compoſing, of his *Works*, for many years together; Eſpecially, in his writing Time; I conceived, that no Man, could pretend a better Intereſt, or Claim, to the ordering of them, after his Death, then my ſelf. For which cauſe, I have compiled in one, whatſoever bears the true Stamp, of his *Lordſhips* excellent *Genius*; And hath hitherto ſlept, and been ſuppreſſed; In this preſent *Volume*; Not leaving any Thing, to a future Hand, which I found, to be of moment, and communicable to the Publick; Save onely ſome few *Latine Works*; Which, by *Gods* Favour and ſufferance, ſhall ſoon after follow.

It is true, that for ſome of the *Pieces*, herein contained, his *Lordſhip* did not aim, at the *Publication* of them, but at the Preſervation onely; And *Prohibiting* them from *Periſhing*; So as, to have been repoſed, in ſome

ſome Private *ſhrine*, or *Library*: But now, for that, through the looſe keeping, of his *Lordſhips Papers*, whileſt he lived, divers *Surreptitious Copies* have been taken; which have ſince, employed the *Preſſe*, with ſundry Corrupt, and Mangled, *Editions*; whereby Nothing hath been more difficult, than to find the *Lord Saint Alban*, in the *Lord Saint Alban*; And, which have preſented, (ſome of them,) rather a Fardle of *Non-ſenſe* then any true Expreſſions, of his *Lordſhips Happy Vein* I thought my ſelf, in a ſort, tied, to vindicate theſe Injuries, and wrongs, done to the *Monuments*, of his *Lordſhips Penne*; And at once, by ſetting forth, the true, and Genuine, writings themſelves, to prevent the like Invaſions, for the time to come. And the rather, in regard, of the Diſtance, of the time, ſince his *Lordſhips* Dayes; whereby, I ſhall not tread too near, upon the *Heels* of *Truth*; Or of the Paſſages, and Perſons; then concerned, I was induced hereunto. Which, conſidering the *Lubricity* of *Life*; And for that, I account my ſelf, to be; Not now in *Vergentibus*, but in *Præcipitantibus Annis*, I was deſirous to haſten.

Wherein, I ſhall crave leave, to open, my Counſels, and Purpoſes, as concerning this *preſent Edition*, in theſe five *Particulars*. Firſt, I have ranked the ſeverall *Tractates*; Either, according to the *Dignity*, of the *Work*; as *Demoſthenes*, or *Cicero's*, *Orations*, do precede *Demoſthenes*, or *Cicero's Epiſtles*; Or elſe, according to the *Series* of the *Times*, wherein they were written; or to which, they refer. By which Means, they may give the better Light; the one Part, to the other.

Secondly, I thought it fitting, to intimate; That the *Diſcourſe*, within contained; Entituled, *A Collection, of the Felicities, of Queen* Elizabeth; was written, by his *Lordſhip*, in *Latine* onely: whereof, though his *Lordſhip* had his particular Ends, then; yet, in regard, that I held it a *Duty*, That her own *Nation*, over which ſhe ſo happily reigned, for many years; ſhould

be

be acquainted, and poſſeſſed, with the Vertues, of that excellent *Queen*, as well as *Forrein Nations*; I was induced, many years agoe, to put the ſame, into the *Engliſh Tongue*; Not, *Ad Verbum*; For that had been but Flat, and Injudicious; But, (as far, as my ſlender Ability could reach,) according to the *Expreſſions*, which, I conceived; his *Lordſhip* would have rendred it in, if he had written the ſame in *Engliſh*: Yet ever acknowledging, that *Zeuxis*, or *Apelles*, *Pencill*, could not be attained, but by *Zeuxis*, or *Apelles*, Himſelf. This *Work*, in the *Latine*, his *Lordſhip* ſo much affected; That He had ordained, by his *laſt Will*, and *Teſtament*, to have had it publiſhed, many years ſince: But that *ſingular Perſon*, entruſted therewith, ſoon after deceaſed. And therefore, it muſt now, expect a Time, to come forth, amongſt his *Lordſhips*, other *Latin Works*.

Thirdly, in the *Collection* of *Letters*; which is, as the Fourth *Part*, of this *Volume*; there are inſerted ſome few, which were written, by other *Pennes*, and not by his *Lordſhips* own: Like as we find, in the *Epiſtolar Authours*; *Cicero*, *Plinius ſecundus*, and the reſt: which becauſe I found them immixed, amongſt his *Lordſhips Papers*; And that they are written, with ſome ſimilitude of *Stile*; I was loath, they ſhould be left, to a Grave, at that time, when his *Lordſhips* own *Conceptions*, were brought to life.

Fourthly, for that *Treatiſe*, of his *Lordſhips*, Inſcribed, *A Confeſſion of the Faith*; I have ranked that, in the Cloſe, of this whole *Volume*: Thereby, to demonſtrate to the *World*; That he was a *Maſter*, in *Divinity*, as well as in *Philoſophy*, or *Politicks*; And that he was Verſed, no leſſe, in the *ſaving Knowledge*; Than, in the *Univerſall*, and *Adorning*, *Knowledges*. For though, he compoſed the ſame, many years, before his Death, yet I thought that, to be the fitteſt place; As the moſt acceptable Incenſe unto *God*, of the *Faith*, wherein he reſigned his *Breath*; The Crowning, of all his other Per-

fections, and Abilities; And the beſt Perfume, of his Name, to the *World*, after his Death.

Laſtly, if it be objected, that ſome few, of the *Pieces*, whereof this whole conſiſteth, had viſited the Publick Light before; It is true, that they had been obtruded, to the *World*, by unknown Hands; But with ſuch Skars, and Blemiſhes, upon their Faces; That they could paſſe, but for *a Spurious*, and *Adulterine Brood*, and not for his *Lordſhips Legitimate Iſſue*: And the Publiſhers, and Printers, of them, deſerve to have an *Action*, of *Defamation*, brought againſt them, by the *State of Learning*, for Diſgracing, and Perſonating, his *Lordſhips Works*.

As for this preſent *Collection*, I doubt not, but that it will verifie it ſelf, in the ſeverall *Parcells* thereof; And manifeſt, to all underſtanding, and unpartiall, *Readers*, who is the *Authour* of it; By that *Spirit*, of *Perſpicuity*, and *Aptneſſe*, and *Conciſeneſſe*, which runs through the whole *Work*; And is ever an Annex, of his *Lordſhips Penne*.

There is required now; And I have been moved by many; Both from *Forrein Nations*, and at *Home*; who have held in Price, and been Admirers, of this *Honourable Authours Conceits*, and *Apprehenſions*; That ſome *Memorialls*, might be added, concerning his *Lordſhips Life*; Wherein I have been more *Willing*, then *ſufficient*, to ſatisfie their *Requeſts*: And to that End, have endeavoured, to contribute, not my *Talent*, but my *Mite*, in the next following *Diſcourſe*; Though, to give the true Value, to his *Lordſhips* Worth; There were more need, of another *Homer*, to be the *Trumpet*, of *Achilles* Vertues.

WILLIAM RAWLEY.

THE

THE LIFE OF THE HONOURABLE AUTHOR.

FRANCIS BACON, *the Glory, of his* Age, *and* Nation; *The* Adorner, *and* Ornament, *of* Learning; *Was born, in* York House, *or* York Place, *in the Strend*; *On the* 22*th*, Day *of* January; *In the* Year *of our* Lord, 1560. *His* Father, *was that Famous* Counseller, *to* Queen Elizabeth; *The Second* Propp, *of the* Kingdome, *in his Time*; *Sir* Nicholas Bacon, Knight, Lord Keeper, *of the Great Seal, of* England; *A* Lord, *of Known Prudence, Sufficiency, Moderation, and Integrity. His* Mother, *was* Ann, *one of the* Daughters, *of Sir* Anthony Cook; *unto whom, the* Erudition, *of* King Edward, *the* Sixth, *had been committed: A choyce* Lady, *and Eminent, for Piety, Vertue, and Learning; Being exquisitely skilled, for a Woman, in the* Greek, *and* Latin, *Tongues. These being the* Parents, *you may easily imagine,*

what the Issue, *was like to be*; *Having had, whatsoever,* Nature, *or* Breeding, *could put into him.*

His first, and childish, years, were not without some Mark of Eminency; *At which time, he was endued, with that Pregnancy, and Towardness, of wit*; *As they were* Presages, *of that* Deep, *and* Universal, Apprehension, *which was manifest in him, afterward*: *And caused him, to be taken notice of, by several* Persons, *of* Worth, *and Place*; *And, especially, by the* Queen; *who, (as I have been informed,) delighted much, then, to confer with him*; *And to prove him with* Questions: *unto whom, he delivered Himself, with that* Gravity, *and Maturity, above his years*; *That her* Majesty, *would often term him*; The young Lord Keeper. *Being asked, by the* Queen; how old he was? *He answered with much discretion, being then but a Boy*; That he was two years younger then her Majesties happy Reigne: *with which Answer, the* Queen *was much taken.*

At the ordinary years, of Ripeness, for the University; *or rather, something earlier*; *He was sent, by his* Father, *to* Trinity Colledge, *in* Cambridge; *To be educated, and bred, under the* Tuition, *of* Doctor John White-Gift, *then* Master *of the* Colledge; *Afterwards, the Renowned* Arch-Bishop, *of* Canterbury; *A* Prelate, *of the first* Magnitude, *for* Sanctity, Learning, Patience, *and* Humility: *Under whom,* He *was observed, to have been more, then an* Ordinary Proficient, *in the several Arts, and Sciences. While he was commorant in the* University, *about* 16 *years of Age,* (*As his* Lordship *hath been pleased, to impart unto my self*;) *he first fell into the Dislike, of the* Philosophy, *of* Aristotle: *Not for the* Worthlesness, *of the* Author, *to whom he would ever ascribe, all* High Attributes; *But for the* Unfruitfullnesse, *of the* way; *Being a* Philosophy, (*as his* Lordship *used to say,*) *onely strong, for Disputations, and Contentions*; *But* Barren, *of the* Production, *of* Works, *for the* Benefit, *of the Life, of* Man. *In wch Mind, he continued, to his Dying Day*

After he had passed, the Circle, *of the* Liberall Arts; *His* Father, *thought fit, to frame, and mould him, for the* Arts, *of* State; *And, for that end, sent him over into* France, *with*

Sir

Sir Amyas Paulet, *then Employed* Ambaſſadour Lieger, *into* France: *By whom, he was, after a while, held fit to be entruſted, with ſome* Meſſage, *or* Advertiſement, *to the* Queen: *which having performed, with great Approbation, he returned back, into* France *again*; *With Intention, to continue, for ſome years, there. In his abſence, in* France, *his* Father, *the* Lord Keeper, *died*; *Having collected*, (*as I have heard, of Knowing* Perſons,) *a conſiderable ſumme of* Money, *which he had ſeparated, with Intention, to have made a competent* Purchaſe *of* Land, *for the Lively-hood, of this his youngeſt* Son; (*who was onely unprovided for*; *And though, he was the youngeſt in years, yet he was not the loweſt, in his* Fathers *Affection*;) *But the ſaid* Purchaſe, *being unaccompliſhed, at his* Fathers *Death, there came no greater ſhare to him, than his ſingle Part, and Portion, of the* Money, *dividable amongſt* 5. Brethren: *By which meanes, he lived, in ſome* ſtreits, *and* Neceſſities, *in his younger years. For as for that pleaſant* Scite, *and* Mannour, *of* Gorhambury, *he came not to it, till many years after, by the Death, of his* Deareſt Brother, *Mr.* Anthony Bacon; *A* Gentleman, *equall to him, in* Heigth *of* Wit; *Though inferiour to him, in the* Endowments, *of* Learning, *and* Knowledge: *Unto whom he was, moſt nearly, conjoyned in Affection*; *They two, being the ſole* Male Iſſue, *of a ſecond* Venter.

Being returned from Travaile, *he applyed himſelf, to the ſtudy, of the* Common Law; *which he took upon him, to be his Profeſſion. In which, he obtained to great Excellency*; *Though he made that*, (*as himſelf ſaid*,) *but as an Acceſſary, and not as his Principall ſtudy. He wrote, ſeverall* Tractates, *upon that Subject. Wherein, though ſome* great Maiſters, *of the* Law, *did out-go him, in* Bulk, *and* Particularities *of* Caſes; *yet, in the Science, of the* Grounds. *and* Myſteries, *of the* Law, *he was exceeded by none. In this way, he was, after a while, ſworn, of the* Queens Counſell Learned, Extraordinary; *A Grace*, (*if I err not*,) *ſcarce known before. He ſeated himſelf, for the Commodity, of his ſtudies, and Practiſe*; *amongſt the* Honourable Society, *of* Greyes Inn;

Of

Of which House, *he was a* Member; *where he Erected, that Elegant* Pile, *or* Structure, *commonly known, by the Name, of the* Lord Bacons Lodgings: *which he inhabited, by Turns, the most part, of his Life, (some few years onely excepted,) unto his Dying Day. In which* House, *he carried* himself, *with such Sweetnesse, Comity, and Generosity; That he was much revered, and loved, by the* Readers, *and* Gentlemen, *of the* House.

Notwithstanding, that he professed the Law, for his Livelyhood, and Subsistence; *Yet his Heart, and Affection, was more carried, after the* Affaires, *and* Places, *of* Estate; *For which, if the* Majesty Royall *then, had been pleased, he was most fit. In his younger years, he studied, the Service, and Fortunes, (as they call them,) of that* Noble, *but* unfortunate Earl, *the* Earl *of* Essex; *unto whom, he was, in a sort, a Private, and free,* Counseller; *And gave him safe, and Honourable Advice; Till, in the end, the* Earl *inclined too much, to the violent, and precipitate Counsell, of others, his Adherents, and Followers; which was his* Fate, *and* Ruine.

His Birth, *and other* Capacities, *qualified him, above others of his* Profession, *to have Ordinary Accesses at* Court; *And to come frequently, into the* Queens *Eye; who would often grace him, with private, and free,* Communication; *Not onely about* Matters *of his* Profession, *or* Businesse *in* Law; *But also, about the* Arduous Affairs, *of* Estate; *From whom she received, from time to time, great Satisfaction. Nevertheless, though she cheered him much, with the* Bounty, *of her* Countenance; *yet she never cheered him, with the* Bounty, *of her* Hand: *Having never conferred upon him, any* Ordinary Place, *or* Means, *of Honour, or Profit; Save onely, one dry* Reversion, *of the Registers* Office, *in the* Star-Chamber; *worth about* 1600 l. per Annum; *For which he waited, in Expectation, either fully, or near,* 20. *years: Of which his* Lordship *would say, in* Queen Elizabeths *Time;* That it was, like another Mans Ground, buttalling upon his House; which might mend his Prospect, but it did not fill his Barn. (*Nevertheless, in the time, of* King James,

it

it fell unto him. Which might be imputed; *Not ſo much, to her* Majeſties Averſeneſs, *or* Diſaffection, *towards him*; *As to the* Arts *and* Policy, *of a* Great Stateſman, *then*; *who laboured, by all Induſtrious, and ſecret, Means, to ſuppreſs, and keep him down*; *Leſt, if he had riſen, he might have obſcured his Glory.*

But though, he ſtood long at a ſtay, in the Dayes, of his Miſtreſs, Queen Elizabeth; *Yet, after the change, and Comming in, of his New* Maſter, King James, *he made a great Progreſs*; *By whom, he was much comforted, in* Places, *of* Truſt, Honour, *and* Revenue. *I have ſeen, a* Letter, *of his* Lordſhips, *to* King James, *wherein he makes Acknowledgement*; That He was that Maſter to him, that had raiſed and advanced him, nine times; Thrice in Dignity, and *Six* times in Office. *His* Offices (*as I conceive*) *were*; Counſell Learned Extraordinary, *to his* Majeſtie, *as he had been*, to Queen Elizabeth; Kings Solliciter General; *His* Majeſties Atturney General; Counſeller of Eſtate, *being yet but* Atturney; Lord Keeper *of the* Great Seal *of* England; *Laſtly*, Lord Chanceller: *which two laſt Places, though they be the ſame, in Authority, and Power*; *yet they differ in* Patent, Heigth, *and* Favour *of the* Prince: *Since whoſe time, none of his* Succeſſours, untill this preſent Honourable Lord, *did ever bear the* Title, *of* Lord Chanceller. *His* Dignities *were, firſt* Knight; *Then* Baron *of* Verulam; *Laſtly*, Viſcount Saint Alban: *Beſides other good* Gifts, *and* Bounties, *of the* Hand, *which his* Majeſty *gave him*; *Both out of the* Broad Seal; *And out of the* Alination Office; *To the value, in both, of* 1800. *pound* per Annum: *which with his* Manour *of* Gorhambury, *& other* Lands, *and* poſſeſſions, *near thereunto adjoyning, amounting to a third part more, He retayned to his Dying Day.*

Towards his Riſing years, not before, he entred into a married Eſtate; *And took to Wife*, Alice, *one of the* Daughters, *and* Co-Heires, *of* Benedict Barnham, Eſquire, *and* Alderman of London; *with whom he received, a ſufficiently ample, and liberall* Portion, *in* Marriage. Children *he had none: which though they be the* Means, *to perpetuate our* Names, *after our Deaths*; *yet he had other* Iſſues, *to perpetu-*

ate

ate his Name; *The* Issues *of his Brain*; *In which he was ever happy, and admired*; *As* Jupiter *was, in the production of* Pallas. *Neither did the want of* Children, *detract from his good usage, of his* Consort, *during the* Intermarriage: *whom he prosecuted, with much* Conjugall Love, *and* Respect; *with many Rich* Gifts, *and* Endowments; *Besides a* Roab *of* Honour, *which he invested her withall*; *which she wore, untill her* Dying *Day*; *Being twenty years, and more, after his Death.*

The last five years *of his* Life, *being with-drawn from* Civil affaires, *and from an* Active Life, *he employed wholy, in* Contemplation, *and* Studies. *A thing, whereof his* Lordship *would often speak, during his* Active Life; *As if he affected, to dye in the* Shadow, *and not in the* Light; *which also, may be found, in several Passages, of his* Works. *In which time, he composed, the greatest Part, of his* Books, *and* Writings; *Both in* English, *and* Latin; *Which I will enumerate, (as near as I can,) in the just Order, wherein they were written. The* History, *of the* Reign, *of* King Henry, *the* Seventh: Abecedarium Naturæ; *or* A Metaphysical piece; *which is lost*: Historia Ventorum: Historia vitæ & Mortis: Historia Densi, & Rari, *not yet Printed*: Historia Gravis, & Levis, *which is also lost*: A Discourse, *of a* War, *with* Spain: A Dialogue, *touching an* Holy War: *The* Fable, *of the* New Atlantis: *A* Preface, to a Digest, *of the* Laws *of* England: *The* Beginning, *of the* History, *of the* Reign, *of* King Henry, *the* Eighth: De Augmentis Scientiarum; *Or the* Advancement *of* Learning, *put into* Latin, *with several Enrichments, and Enlargements*: Counsells Civil, *and* Morall; *Or his* Book *of* Essayes, *likewise, Enriched and enlarged*: *The* Conversion, *of certain* Psalms, *into* English Verse. *The* Translation *into* Latin; *of the* History, *of* King Henry *the* Seventh; *of the* Counsells, Civill, *and* Morall; *of the* Dialogue, *of the* Holy War; *of the* Fable, *of the* New Atlantis; *For the Benefit of other* Nations. *His Revising of his* Book, *De* Sapientiâ Veterum. Inquisitio *de* Magnete; Topica Inquisitionis, *de* Luce, & Lumine; *Both these, not yet Printed*. Lastly, Sylva Sylvarum, *or the* Natural History. *These were the* Fruits,

Fruits, *and* Productions, *of his laſt five years. His* Lordſhip *alſo deſigned, upon the Motion, and Invitation, of his* late Majeſty; *To have written the* Reign, *of* King Henry, *the* Eighth; *But that* Work *Periſhed, in the* Deſignation, *meerly*; God *not lending him Life, to proceed further upon it, then onely, in one Mornings Work: Whereof there is Extant, An,* Ex Ungue Leonem, *already Printed, in his* Lordſhips Miſcellany Works.

There is a Commemoration due; As well, to his Abilities, and Vertues, as to the Courſe, *of his* Life. *Thoſe* Abilities, *which, commonly, goe ſingle, in other Men, though of prime, and Obſervable,* Parts, *were all conjoyned, and met, in Him. Thoſe are,* Sharpneſs of Wit, Memory, Judgement, *and* Elocution. *For the Former Three, his* Books *doe abundantly ſpeak them; which, with what* Sufficiency *he wrote, let the* World *judge*; But *with what* Celerity *he wrote them, I can beſt teſtifie. But for the Fourth, his* Elocution; *I will onely ſet down, what I heard,* Sir Walter Rauleigh, *once ſpeak of him, by way of Compariſon; (whoſe Judgement may well be truſted;)* That the Earl of *Salisbury*, was an excellent Speaker, but no good Pen-man; That the Earl of *Northampton*, (the Lord *Henry Howard*,) was an excellent Pen-man, but no good Speaker; But that, Sir *Francis Bacon*, was Eminent in Both.

I have been enduced to think; That if there were, a Beame *of* Knowledge, *derived from* God, *upon any* Man, *in theſe* Modern Times, *it was upon Him. For though he was a great* Reader *of* Books; *yet he had not his Knowledge from* Books; *But from ſome* Grounds, *and* Notions, *from within Himſelf. Which, notwithſtanding, he vented, with great* Caution, *and* Circumſpection. *His* Book, *of* Inſtauratio Magna, (*which, in his own Account, was the chiefeſt, of his* works,) *was no Slight* Imagination, *or* Fancy, *of his Brain*; *But a* Setled, *and* Concocted, Notion; *The* Production, *of many years,* Labour, *and* Travell. *I my Self, have ſeen, at the leaſt,* Twelve Coppies, *of the* Inſtauration; *Reviſed, year by*

year, one after another; And every year altred, and amended, in the Frame thereof; Till, at last, it came to that Model, *in which it was committed to the* Presse: *As many* Living Creatures, *do lick their* young ones, *till they bring them, to their* strength *of* Limms.

In the Composing, of his Books, *he did rather drive, at a Masculine, and clear,* Expression, *than at any* Finenes, *or* Affectation, *of* Phrases: *And would often ask, if the* Meaning *were expressed,* plainly enough: *As being one, that accounted* words, *to be but* subservient, *or* Ministeriall, *to* Matter; *And not the* Principall. *And if his* Stile *were* Polite, *it was because he could do no other wise. Neither was he given, to any* Light Conceits; *Or* Descanting *upon* Words; *But did ever, purposely, and industriously, avoyd them; For he held such* Things, *to be but* Digressions, *or* Diversions, *from the* Scope *intended; And to derogate, from the* Weight, *and* Dignity, *of the* Stile.

He was no Plodder *upon* Books; *Though he read much; And that, with great Judgement, and Rejection of Impertinences, incident to many* Authours: *For he would ever interlace, a* Moderate Relaxation, *of His* Minde, *with his* Studies; *As* Walking; *Or* Taking *the* Aire abroad *in his* Coach; *or some other befitting* Recreation: *And yet, he would* loose *no* Time, *In as much, as upon his* First, *and* Immediate Return, *he would fall to* Reading *again: And so suffer, no* Moment *of* Time, *to Slip from him, without some present* Improvement.

His Meales, *were* Refections, *of the* Eare, *as well as of the* Stomack: *Like the* Noctes Atticæ; *or* Convivia Deipno-Sophistarum; *Wherein, a Man might be refreshed, in his* Minde, *and* understanding, *no lesse, then in his* Body. *And I have known some, of no mean Parts, that have professed, to make use, of their* Note-Books, *when they have risen, from his* Table. *In which* Conversations, *and otherwise, he was no Dashing Man; As some Men are; But ever, a* Countenancer, *and* Fosterer, *of another Mans* Parts. *Neither was he one, that would* appropriate *the* Speech, *wholy to Himself;*

ſelf; or delight to out-vie others; But leave a Liberty, to the Co-Aſſeſſours, *to take their* Turns. *Wherein he would draw a* Man *on, and allure him, to ſpeak upon ſuch a Subject, as wherein he was peculiarly* Skilfull, *and would delight to ſpeak. And, for Himſelf, he contemned no Mans* Obſervations; *But would light his* Torch, *at every Mans* Candle.

His Opinions, *and* Aſſertions, *were, for the moſt part,* Binding; *And not contradicted, by any: Rather like* Oracles, *then* Diſcourſes. *Which may be imputed, either to the well weighing of his* Sentence, *by the Skales, of* Truth, *and* Reaſon; *Or elſe, to the* Reverence, *and* Eſtimation, *wherein he was, commonly, had, that no* Man *would* conteſt *with him So that, there was no* Argumentation, *or* Pro *and* Con, (*as they term it,*) *at his* Table: *Or if their chanced, to be any, it was Carried, with much* Submiſſion, *and* Moderation.

I have often obſerved; And ſo have other Men, of great Account; That if he had occaſion, to repeat, another Mans Words, *after him; he had an uſe, and Faculty, to dreſſe them, in better* Veſtments, *and* Apparell, *then they had before: So that, the* Authour, *ſhould finde his own* Speech *much amended; And yet the* Subſtance, *of it, ſtill* retained. *As if, it had been* Naturall *to him, to uſe good* Forms; *As* Ovid *ſpake, of his* Faculty, *of* Verſifying;

Et quod tentabam Scribere, Verſus erat.

When his Office, *called him, as he was of the* Kings Counſell Learned, *to charge any* Offenders, *either in* Criminals, *or* Capitals; *He was never of an* Inſulting, *or* Domineering Nature, *over them; But alwayes tender Hearted, and carrying himſelf decently towards the* Parties; (*Though it was his Duty, to charge them home:*) *But yet, as one, that looked upon the* Example, *with the Eye of* Severity; *But upon the* Perſon, *with the Eye, of* Pitty, *and Compaſſion. And in* Civill Buſineſſe, *as he was* Counſeller *of* Eſtate, *he had the beſt way of* Adviſing; *Not engaging his* Maſter, *in any* Precipitate, *or* grievous, *Courſes; But in* Moderate, *and* Fair, *Proceedings: The* King, *whom he ſerved, giving him this* Teſtimony; *That he ever dealt, in Buſineſſe, Suavibus*

Modis ; Which, was the way, that was moſt according to his own Heart.

Neither was He, in his time, leſſe Gracious with the Subject, *then with his* Soveraign : *He was ever Acceptable, to the* Houſe, of Commons, *when He was a* Member *thereof. Being the* Kings Atturney, *& choſen to a place, in* Parliament; *He was allowed, and diſpenſed with, to ſit in the* Houſe ; *which was not permitted, to other* Atturneys.

And as he was, a good Servant, *to his* Maſter ; *Being never, in* 19. *years Service, (as himſelf averred,) rebuked by the* King, *for any Thing, relating to his* Majeſty ; *So he was, a good* Maſter, *to his* Servants ; *And rewarded, their long* Attendance, *with good* Places, *freely, when they fell into his Power. Which was the Cauſe, that ſo many young* Gentlemen, *of* Bloud, *and* Quality ; *Sought to liſt themſelves, in his* Retinew. *And if he were abuſed, by any of them, in their* Places ; *It was onely the* Errour, *of the* Goodneſſe, *of his* Nature ; *But the Badges of their* Indiſcretions, *and* Intemperances.

This Lord *was* Religious: For *though the* World *be apt, to ſuſpect, and prejudge,* Great Wits, *and* Politicks, *to have ſomewhat, of the* Atheiſt ; *Yet he was converſant with* God: *As appeareth, by ſeverall Paſſages, throughout the whole* Current, *of his* Writings. *Otherwiſe, he ſhould have croſſed, his own* Principles ; *which were* ; That a little Philoſophy, maketh Men apt, to forget God ; As attributing too much, to Second Cauſes ; But Depth of Philoſophy, bringeth a Man back, to God again. *Now, I am ſure, there is no Man, that will deny him, or account otherwiſe of him, but to have been, a deep* Philoſopher. *And not onely ſo ; But he* was able, to render a Reaſon, of the Hope, which was in him ; *Which that* Writing *of his, of the* Confeſſion, *of the* Faith, *doth abundantly teſtifie. He repaired frequently, when his Health would permit him, to the* Service, *of the* Church ; *To hear* Sermons ; *To the* Adminiſtration, *of the* Sacrament, *of the* Bleſſed Body, *and* Bloud, *of* Chriſt ; *And died, in the true* Faith, *eſtabliſhed in the* Church, *of* England.

This

This is moſt true; *He was free from* Malice; *which*, (*as he ſaid Himſelf*,) He never bred, nor fed. *He was no* Revenger *of* Injuries; *which if he had minded*, *he had both* Opportunity, *and* Place High *enough*, *to have done it*. *He was no* Heaver *of Men*, *out of their Places*; *As delighting*, *in their* Ruine, *and* Undoing. *He was no* Defamer, *of any Man*, *to his* Prince. *One Day*, *when a great* States-Man, *was newly Dead*; *That had not been his* Friend; *The* King *asked him*; What he thought, of that Lord, which was gone? *He anſwered*; That he would never have made, his Majeſties Eſtate better; But he was ſure, he would have kept it, from being worſe. *Which was the worſt*, *he would ſay of him*. *Which I reckon*, *not amongſt his* Morall, *but his* Chriſtian, Vertues.

His Fame *is greater*, *and ſounds louder*, *in* Forraign Parts, *abroad*, *then at* home, *in his own* Nation. *Thereby verifying that* Divine Sentence; A Prophet is not without Honour, ſave in his own Countrey, and in his own Houſe. *Concerning which*, *I will give you a Taſt onely*, *out of a Letter*, *written from* Italy, (*The* Store-Houſe *of Refined* Witts,) *to the late* Earle *of* Devonſhire; *Then*, *the* Lord Candiſh. I will expect the *New Eſſayes*, of my Lord Chanceller *Bacon*; As alſo his *Hiſtory*, with a great deal of Deſire; And whatſoever elſe, he ſhall compoſe. But in Particular, of his *Hiſtory*, I promiſe my Self, a Thing perfect, and Singular; eſpecially *in* Henry *the Seventh*; *Where he may exerciſe*, *the Talent*, of his Divine Underſtanding. This Lord is, more and more, known; And his Books here, more and more, delighted in; And thoſe Men, that have more than ordinary Knowledge, in Humane Affaires, eſteem him, one of the moſt capable Spirits, of this Age; And he is truly ſuch. *Now his Fame doth not decreaſe with* Dayes *ſince*, *but rather encreaſe*. *Divers of his* Works, *have been*, anciently, *and yet* lately *tranſlated*, *into other* Tongues, *both* Learned, *and* Modern, *by* Forraign Pens. *Severall* Perſons *of Quality*, *during his* Lordſhips *Life*, *croſſed the* Seas *on purpoſe*, *to gain*

an

an Opportunity, of Seeing him, and Diſcourſing *with him: whereof one, carried his* Lordſhips Picture, *from Head to Foot, over with Him, into* France; *As a Thing, which he foreſaw, would be much deſired there; That ſo they might enjoy, the* Image *of his* Perſon; *As well as the* Images *of his* Brain, *his* Books. *Amongſt the reſt,* Marquis Fiat; *A* French Nobleman; *who came* Ambaſſadour *into* England, *in the Beginning, of* Queen Mary, Wife *to* King Charles; *was taken, with an extraordinary Deſire of Seeing him: For which, he made way, by a* Friend: *And when he came to him, being then, through weakneſſe, confined to his Bed;* The Marquis *ſaluted him, with this* High Expreſſion; That his Lordſhip, had been ever to Him, like the Angels; of whom he had often heard; And read much of them in Books; But he never ſaw them. *After which, they contracted an intimate Acquaintance; And the* Marquis *did ſo much revere him; That beſides his Frequent viſits; They wrote* Letters, *one to the other, under the* Titles, *and* Appellations, *of* Father, *and* Son. *As for his many* Salutations, *by* Letters, *from* Forraign Worthies, *devoted to* Learning; *I forbear, to mention them; Becauſe that is a* Thing, *common to other* Men, *of* Learning, *or* Note, *together with him.*

But yet, in this Matter of his Fame, *I ſpeak, in the* Comparative, *onely, and not in the* Excluſive. *For his* Reputation *is great, in his own* Nation, *alſo; Eſpecially amongſt thoſe, that are, of a more Acute, and ſharper, Judgement: Which I will exemplifie, but with two* Teſtimonies, *and no more. The Former; When his* Hiſtory, *of* King Henry, *the* Seventh *was to come forth; It was delivered, to the old* Lord Brooke, *to be peruſed by him; who when he had diſpatched it, returned it to the* Authour, *with this* Eulogy: Commend me, to my Lord; And bid him take care, to get good Paper & Inke; For the Work is Incomparable. *The other, ſhall be that, of Doctor* Samuel Collins, *late* Provoſt, *of* Kings Colledge, *in* Cambridge; *A Man of no vulgar Wit; who affirmed unto me;* That when he had read, the Book of the Advancement of Learning; He found Himſelf;

ſelf in a caſe, to begin his Studies a new; And that he had loſt, all the Time, of his Studying, before.

It hath been deſired; That ſomething ſhould be ſignified, touching his Diet; *And the* Regiment, *of his* Health: *Of which, in regard, of his* Univerſall Inſight, *into* Nature, *he may, (perhaps,) be, to ſome, an* Example. *For his* Diet; *It was rather a* plentifull, *and* liberall, Diet, *as his* Stomack *would bear it, then a* Reſtrained. *Which he alſo commended, in his* Book, *of the* Hiſtory, *of* Life, *and* Death. *In his younger years, he was much given, to the Finer, and Lighter, ſort of* Meats; *As of* Fowles, *and ſuch like: But afterward, when he grew more Judicious; He preferred the ſtronger* Meats; *ſuch as the* Shambles *afforded; As thoſe* Meats, *which bred the more* firm, *and ſubſtantiall* Juyces, *of the* Body; *And leſſe* Diſſipable: *upon which, he would often make his* Meal; *Though he had other* Meats, *upon the* Table. *You may be ſure; He would not neglect that Himſelf, which He ſo much extolled, in his* Writings; *And that was the Uſe of* Nitre: *Whereof he took, in the Quantity, of about three Grains, in thin, warm, Broath, every Morning, for thirty years together, next before his Death. And for Phyſick, he did, indeed, live Phyſically, but not miſerably: For he took onely, a* Maceration *of* Rhubarb; *Infuſed into a* Draught, *of* White Wine, *and* Beer, *mingled together, for the Space of half an Hour; Once in ſix, or ſeven Dayes; Immediately before his* Meal, (*whether Dinner, or Supper,*) *that it might dry, the* Body, *leſſe: which, (as he ſaid,) did carry away frequently, the* Groſſer Humours, *of the* Body; *And not diminiſh, or carry away, any of the* Spirits; *As* Sweating *doth. And this was no Grievous Thing to take. As for other Phyſick, in an ordinary way, (whatſoever hath been vulgarly ſpoken;) he took not. His Receit, for the* Gout; *which did, conſtantly, eaſe him of his Pain, within two Hours, Is already ſet down, in the End, of the* Naturall Hiſtory.

It may ſeem, the Moon, *had ſome Principall* Place, *in the* Figure, *of his* Nativity. *For the* Moon, *was never in her* Paſſion, *or Eclipſed, but he was ſurprized, with a ſudden* Fit,

Fit, *of* Fainting: *And that, though he obſerved not, nor took any previous Knowledge, of the* Eclipſe *thereof: And aſſoon as the* Eclipſe *ceaſed, he was reſtored, to his former ſtrength again.*

He died, on the 9th. Day *of* Aprill, *in the* year 1626; *In the early* Morning, *of the* Day, *then celebrated, for our* Saviours Reſurrection; *In the* 66th. *year of his* Age; *At the* Earle *of* Arundells Houſe, *in* High-gate, *near* London; *To which Place, he caſually repaired, about a week before;* God *ſo ordaining, that he ſhould dye there: Of a Gentle* Feaver, *accidentally accompanied, with a great* Cold; *whereby the* Defluxion *of* Rheume, *fell ſo plentifully upon his* Breaſt, *that he died by* Suffocation: *And was buried, in* Saint Michaels Church, *at* Saint Albans; *Being the* Place, *deſigned for his* Buriall, *by his* laſt Will, *and* Teſtament; *Both becauſe, the* Body, *of his* Mother, *was interred there; And becauſe, it was the onely* Church, *then remaining, within the Precincts, of old* Verulam: *Where he hath a* Monument, *erected for him, of* White Marble; (*By the* Care, *and* Gratitude, *of Sir* Thomas Meautys, Knight, *formerly his* Lordſhips Secretary; *Afterwards* Clark, *of the* Kings Honourable Privy Counſell, *under two* Kings:) *Repreſenting his full* Pourtraiture, *in the* Poſture, *of ſtudying; with an* Inſcription, *compoſed, by that Accompliſht* Gentleman, *and* Rare Wit, Sir Henry Wotton.

But howſoever, his Body, *was* Mortall; *yet, no doubt, his* Memory, *and* Works, *will live; And will, in all probability, laſt, as long as the* World *laſteth. In order to which, I have endeavoured, (after my poor Ability,) to do this* Honour, *to his* Lordſhip, *by way, of conducing to the ſame.*

SPEECHES

SPEECHES
IN
Parliament,
STAR-CHAMBER,
Kings Bench,
CHANCERY,
AND
OTHER-WHERE.

Of the Right Honourable

FRANCIS BACON

Baron of *Verulam*, Viſcount St. *Alban*.



LONDON,
Printed by *Sarah Griffin*, for *William Lee*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in *Fleeſtreet*, at the ſigne of the Turks head, neer the Mitre Tavern, 1661.

A

SPEECH

IN

PARLIAMENT,

Elizabeth 39.

UPON THE

MOTION of SUBSIDY.

AND pleaſe you, (Mr. *Speaker*,) I muſt conſider the *Time*, which is ſpent; yet ſo, as I muſt conſider alſo the *Matter*, which is great. This great *Cauſe* was, at the firſt, ſo materially, and weightily, propounded; And after, in ſuch ſort perſwaded, and enforced; And by Him, that laſt ſpake, ſo much time taken, and yet to good purpoſe; As I ſhall ſpeak at a great diſadvantage: But becauſe it hath been alwayes uſed, and the Mixture of this *Houſe* doth ſo require it; That in *Cauſes* of this Nature, there be ſome Speech and Opinion, as well from perſons of Generallity, as by perſons of Authority; I will ſay ſomewhat, and not much: wherein it ſhall not be fit for me, to enter into, or to inſiſt, upon ſecrets, either of her *Majeſties* Coffers, or of her Councell, but my Speech muſt be, of a more vulgar Nature.

I will not enter (Mr. *Speaker*) into a laudative *Speech*, of the high and ſingular Benefits, which, by her *Majeſties*, moſt politick, and happy Government, we receive, thereby to incite you to a

Retribution; partly, becauſe no breath of Man, can ſet them forth worthily; and partly, becauſe I know her *Majeſty*, in her Magnanimity, doth beſtow her benefits, like her free'ſt Patents, *abſque aliquo inde reddendo*; Not looking for any thing again, (if it were in reſpect only of her particular,) but Love, and Loyalty. Neither, will I now, at this time, put the caſe of this *Realm* of *England*, too preciſely; How it ſtandeth with the Subject, in point of payments to the *Crown*; Though I could make it appear by Demonſtration, (what opinion ſoever be conceived,) that never Subjects were partakers of greater Freedome, and Eaſe; And that, whether you look abroad, into other Countries, at this preſent time; or look back to former Times, in this our own Countrey; we ſhall find an exceeding Difference, in matter of Taxes; which now I reſerve to mention; not ſo much in doubt to acquaint your Ears with Forrain Strains, or to digge up the Sepulchers of Buried and Forgotten Impoſitions, which in this caſe, (as by way of Compariſon,) it is neceſſary you underſtand; But becauſe *Speech* in the *Houſe*, is fit to perſwade the generall point; And particularity is more proper and ſeaſonable for the *Committee*. Neither will I make any Obſervations, upon her *Majeſties* manner of expending and iſſuing Treaſure; being not upon exceſſive and exorbitant Donatives; nor upon ſumptuous and unneceſſary Triumphs, Buildings, or like Magnificence; but upon the Preſervation, Protection, and Honour of the *Realm*. For I dare not ſcan upon her *Majeſties* Actions; which it becommeth me, rather to admire in ſilence, then to gloſs, or diſcourſe upon them, though with never ſo good a meaning. Sure I am, that the Treaſure that commeth from you to her *Majeſty*, is but as a Vapour, which riſeth from the Earth, and gathereth into a Cloud, and ſtayeth not there long; but upon the ſame Earth it falleth again; and what if ſome drops of this, do fall upon *France*, or *Flaunders*? It is like a ſweet Odour of Honour, and Reputation, to our *Nation* throughout the World. But I will onely inſiſt upon the Naturall, and Inviolate, Law of Preſervation.

It is a Truth, (Mr. *Speaker*,) and a familiar Truth, that ſafety, and preſervation, is to be preferred, before Benefit, or Encreaſe: In as much as thoſe Counſels which tend to preſervation, ſeem to be attended with neceſſity; whereas thoſe Deliberations, which tend to Benefit, ſeem onely accompanied with perſwaſion. And it is ever gain, and no loſs, when at the foot of the account, there remains the purchaſe of ſafety. The Prints of this are, every where, to be found: The *Patient*, will ever part, with ſome of his *Bloud*, to ſave and clear the reſt. The *Sea-faring Man* will, in a Storm, caſt over ſome of his *Goods*, to ſave and aſſure the reſt. The *Husband-man* will afford ſome Foot of *Ground*, for his Hedge and Ditch, to fortifie and defend the reſt. Why (Mr. *Speaker*) the *Diſputer* will, if he be wiſe, and cunning, grant

grant ſomewhat, that ſeemeth to make againſt him, becauſe he will keep himſelf within the ſtrength of his opinion, and the better maintain the reſt. But this Place advertiſeth me, not to handle the Matter, in a Common Place. I will now deliver unto you that, which upon a *probatum eſt*, hath wrought upon my ſelf, knowing your Affections to be like mine own. There hath fallen out, ſince the laſt *Parliament*, four Accidents or Ocurrents of State; Things publiſhed and known to you all, by every one whereof, it ſeemeth to me, in my vulgar underſtanding, that the danger of this *Realm* is encreaſed: Which I ſpeak not, by way of apprehending fear; For I know, I ſpeak to Engliſh Courages; But by way of preſſing Proviſion; For I do find, (Mr. *Speaker*,) that when *Kingdomes* and *States* are entred into Tearms and Reſolutions of Hoſtility, one againſt the other, yet they are, many times, reſtrained from their Attempts, by four Impediments.

The firſt is by this ſame *Aliud agere*; when they have their Hands full of other Matters, which they have embraced, and ſerveth for a diverſion of their Hoſtile purpoſes.

The next is, when they want the Commodity, or opportunity, of ſome places of near Approach.

The third, when they have conceived an apprehenſion of the Difficulty, and churliſhneſs of the enterpriſe, and that it is not prepared to their Hand.

And the fourth is, when a *State*, through the Age of the *Monarch*, groweth heavy, and indiſpoſed, to actions of great Perill, and Motion, and this dull Humour, is not ſharpened, nor inflamed, by any provocations, or ſcorns. Now if it pleaſe you to examin, whither by removing the Impediments in theſe four kinds, the Danger be not grown, ſo many degrees nearer us, by accidents (as I ſaid) freſh, and all dated ſince the laſt *Parliament*.

Soon after the laſt *Parliament*, you may be pleaſed to remember, how the *French King* revolted from his *Religion*; whereby every Man of common underſtanding, may infer, that the Quarrell, between *France*, and *Spain*, is more reconcileable; And a greater inclination of affairs to a peace than before: which ſuppoſed, it followeth, *Spain* ſhall be more free, to intend his Malice, againſt this Realm.

Since the laſt *Parliament*, it is alſo notorious, in every mans knowledge, and remembrance; That the *Spaniards* have poſſeſſed themſelves, of that Avenue, and place of approach, for *England*, which was never in the Hands of any *King* of *Spain* before; And that is *Callais*; which, in true Reaſon, and Conſideration of eſtate, of what value or ſervice it is, I know not; but in common underſtanding, it is a knocking at our Doors.

Since the laſt *Parliament* alſo, that Ulcer of *Ireland*, which indeed brake forth before, hath run on, and raged more: which cannot but be a great Attractive, to the Ambition, of the *Councel*

of *Spain*, who by former experience know, of how tough a Complexion, this *Realm* of *England* is, to be aſſailed: And therefore (as Rheumes, and Fluxes, of Humours,) is like to reſort to that part, which is weak, and diſtempered.

And laſtly, it is famous now, and ſo will be many Ages hence, how by theſe two Sea-Journey's, we have braved him; and objected him to ſcorn: ſo that no Bloud, can be ſo frozen, or mortified, But muſt needs take Flames of Revenge, upon ſo mighty Diſgrace.

So as this Concurrence of Occurents, all ſince our laſt Aſſembly; ſome to deliver, and free, our enemies; ſome to advance, and bring him, on his way; ſome to tempt, and allure him; ſome to ſpur on, and provoke him; cannot but threaten, an encreaſe of our Perill, in great Proportion.

Laſtly, (Mr. *Speaker*,) I will but reduce to the Memory of this *Houſe*, one other Argument, for ample and large providing, and ſupplying Treaſure; And this it is.

I ſee, Men do with great Alacrity, and Spirit, proceed, when they have obtained a courſe, they long wiſhed for, and were reſtrained from. My ſelf can remember, both in this *Honourable Aſſembly*, and in all other places of this *Realm*, how forward, and affectionate, men were, to have an Invaſive War. Then we would ſay; A Defenſive War, was like eating, and conſuming Intereſt; And needs we would be Adventurers, and Aſſailants. *Habes quod totâ mente petiſti.* Shall we not now make it good? eſpecially, when we have taſted, ſo proſperous Fruit, of our Deſires?

The firſt of theſe Expeditions Invaſive, was atchieved with great Felicity; raviſhed a ſtrong and famous Port, in the Lap, and Boſome, of their high Countries; Brought them to ſuch Deſpair, as they fired themſelves, and their Indian Fleet; in Sacrifice, as a good Odour unto God, for the great and Barbarous Cruelties, which they have committed, upon the poor Indians, whither that Fleet was ſayling; Diſordred their Reckonings; ſo as the next News we heard of, was nothing but proteſting of Bills, and Breaking credit.

The ſecond Journey, was, with notable Reſolution, born up againſt Weather, and all Difficulties; And beſides the ſucceſs, in amuſing him, and putting him to infinite charge, ſure I am, it was like a *Tartars*, or *Parthians Bow*, which ſhooteth backward; And had, a moſt ſtrong, and violent effect, and Operation, both in *France* and *Flaunders*, ſo that our Neighbours, and Confederates, have reaped the Harveſt of it; And while the Life Bloud of *Spain*, went inward to the Heart, the outward Limmes, and Members trembled, and could not reſiſt. And laſtly, we have a perfect account, of all the Noble, and good Bloud, that was carried forth; And of all our Sea-walls, and good Shipping without Mortality of Perſons, wreck of Veſſels, or any manner of Diminution.

minution. And theſe have been the happy Effects, of our, ſo long, and ſo much deſired, Invaſive War.

To conclude (Mr. *Speaker*) therefore I doubt not, but every Man will conſent, that our Gift muſt bear, theſe two Marks, and Badges: The one, of the Danger, of the Realm, by ſo great a Proportion, ſince the laſt *Parliament*, encreaſed: The other, of the ſatisfaction we receive, in having obtained, our ſo earneſt, and ardent Deſire, of an *Invaſive War*.

A Speech *made by Sir* FRANCIS BACON Knight, *choſen by the* Commons, *to preſent a* Petition, *touching Purveyors, delivered to his* Majeſty, *in the with-drawing Chamber, at White-Hall, in the* Parliament, *held* 1°. & 2°. *Jacobi, the firſt Seſſion.*

IT is well known, to your *Majeſty*, (excellent *King*) that the *Emperours* of *Rome*, for their better Glory, and Ornament, did uſe in their *Titles*, the Additions of the *Countries* and *Nations*, where they had obtained victories: As *Germanicus*, *Britannicus*, & the like: But after all thoſe Names, as in the higher place, followed the Name of *Pater Patriæ*, as the greateſt Name of all human Honour, immediatly preceding that Name of *Auguſtus*; whereby they took themſelves, to expreſſe ſome Affinity, that they had, (in reſpect of their Office,) with Divine Honour. Your *Majeſty* mought, with good reaſon, aſſume to your ſelf, many of thoſe other Names; As, *Germanicus*, *Saxonicus*, *Britannicus*, *Francicus*, *Danicus*; *Gothicus*, and others, as appertaining to you; Not by Bloud-ſhed, (as they bare them,) but by Bloud: your *Majeſties* Royall Perſon, being a noble confluence, of ſtreams, and veynes, wherein the Royall Bloud of many *Kingdoms* of *Europe*, are met, and united. But no Name is more worthy of you, nor may more truly be aſcribed unto you, then that Name, of *Father of your people*, which you bear, and expreſs, not in the Formality of your ſtile, but in the reall Courſe of your Government. We ought not to ſay unto you, as was ſaid to *Cæſar Julius*; *Quæ mirenur, habemus, quælaudemus, expectamus*: That we have already, wherefore to admire you, And that now we expect ſomewhat, for which to commend you. For we may, (without ſuſpicion of Flattery) acknowledge, that we have found in your *Majeſty*, great Cauſe, both of Admiration, and Commendation. For great is the Admiration, wherewith you have poſſeſſed us, ſince this *Parliament* began, in thoſe two Cauſes, wherein we have had acceſſe unto you, and heard your Voice: That of the return of Sr. *Francis Goodwine*; And that of the Union: Whereby it ſeemeth unto us; The one of theſe, being ſo ſubtile a Queſtion

of

of Law; And the other, ſo high a Cauſe of Eſtate; That, as the ſcripture ſaith, of the wiſeſt *King*; *That his Heart was as the Sands of the Sea*; which, though it be one of the largeſt, and vaſteſt Bodies, yet it conſiſteth, of the ſmalleſt Moates, and Portions: So (I ſay) it appeareth unto us, in theſe two examples, that *God* hath given your *Majeſty* a rare ſufficiency, both to compaſſe, and fathome, the greateſt matters, and to diſcern the leaſt. And for matter of Praiſe, and Commendation, which chiefly belongeth to Goodneſs, we cannot but with great thankfulneſs profeſs; That your *Majeſty*, within the Circle of one Year, of your Raign, (*infra Orbem Anni Vertentis*) hath endeavoured, to unite your *Church*, which was divided; To ſupply your *Nobility*, which was diminiſhed; And to eaſe your *People*, in Caſes, where they were burthened, and oppreſſed.

In the laſt of theſe, your high Merits; That is the Eaſe, and Comfort, of your *People*; Doth fall out to be comprehended, the *Meſſage*, which I now bring unto your *Majeſtie*; concerning the great Grievance, ariſing, by the manifold Abuſes, of *Purveyors*; Differing, in ſome Degree, from moſt of the things, wherein we deale, and conſult; For it is true, that the *Knights*, *Citizens*, and *Burgeſſes* in *Parliament* aſſembled, are a Repreſentative Body, of your *Commons*, and *Third Eſtate*: And in many matters, although we apply our ſelves, to perform the truſt, of thoſe that chooſe us; yet, it may be, we do ſpeak much, out of our own Senſes, and Diſcourſes. But in this Grievance, being of that Nature, whereunto the poor *People* is moſt expoſed, and Men of Quality leſs; we ſhall moſt humbly deſire your *Majeſty*, to conceive, That your *Majeſty*, doth not hear, our Opinions, or Senſes, but the very Groanes, and Complaints themſelves, of your Commons, more truly, and vively, then by Repreſentation. For there is no Grievance, in your Kingdome, ſo generall, ſo continuall, ſo ſenſible, and ſo bitter unto the common *Subject*, as this whereof we now ſpeak. Wherein, it may pleaſe your *Majeſty*, to vouchſafe me leave; Firſt, to ſet forth unto you, the dutifull, and reſpective Carriage, of our proceeding; Next the ſubſtance of our Petition; And Thirdly, ſome Reaſons and Motives, which, in all Humbleneſs, we do offer to your *Majeſties*, Royall Conſideration, or Commiſeration: we aſſuring our ſelves, that never *King* raigned, that had better Notions of Head, and Motions of Heart, for the Good, and Comfort, of his loving *Subjects*.

For the firſt; In the Courſe of *Remedy*, which we deſire, we pretend not, nor intend not, in any ſort, to derogate from your *Majeſties* Prerogative; Nor to touch, diminiſh, or queſtion, any your *Majeſties* Regalities, or Rights. For we ſeek nothing, but the Reformation of Abuſes, and the Execution of former Laws, whereunto we are born. And although, it be no ſtrange Thing in *Parliament*, for new *Abuſes*, to crave new *Remedies*; yet nevertheleſs in theſe Abuſes, (which, if not in Nature, yet in extremi-

ty,

ty, and Heigth of them, are moſt of them new) we content our ſelves with the old Laws: Onely we deſire a Confirmation, and Quickening of them, in their Execution; So far are we, from any Humour of Innovation, or Incroachment.

As to the *Court*, of the *Green-Cloth*, ordained, for the Proviſion, of your *Majeſties* moſt Honourable Houſhold, we hold it Ancient, we hold it Reverent. Other *Courts* reſpect your Politick Perſon, but that reſpects your Naturall Perſon. But yet notwithſtanding, (moſt Excellent King,) to uſe that Freedom, which to Subjects, that poure out their Griefs before ſo gracious a *King*, is allowable, we may very well alledge unto your *Majeſty*, a Compariſon, or Simitude, uſed by one of the *Fathers*, in another Matter; And not unfitly repreſenting, our Caſe, in this point: And it is of the Leaves, and Roots, of *Nettles*. The Leaves, are venomous, and ſtinging, where they touch: The Root is not ſo, but is without Venome, or Malignity: And yet it is that Root, that bears, and ſupports, all the Leaves.

To come now, to the ſubſtance, of our *Petition*. It is no other, then by the Benefit of your *Majeſties* Laws, to be relieved, of the Abuſes, of Purveyors; Which Abuſes, do naturally divide themſelves, into three ſorts. The firſt, they take in Kind, that they ought not to take. The ſecond, they take in Quantity, a far greater proportion, then commeth to your *Majeſties* Uſe. The Third, they take in an unlawfull manner: In a manner, (I ſay) directly, and expreſly, prohibited, by divers Laws.

For the Firſt of theſe; I am a little to alter their Name. For inſtead of *Takers*, they become *Taxers*: Inſtead of taking Proviſion for your *Majeſties* ſervice, they tax your people, *ad redimendam vexationem*: Impoſing upon them, and extorting from them, divers ſums of Money, ſometimes in groſs, ſometimes in the nature of Stipends annually paid, *Ne noceant*, to be freed, and eaſed, of their oppreſſion. Again, they take *Trees*, which by Law they cannot do; Timber-Trees, which are the Beauty, Countenance, and Shelter, of Mens Houſes; That Men have long ſpared, from their own purſe, and profit; That Men eſteem, (for their uſe, and delight,) above ten times the value: That are a Loſs, which Men cannot repair, or recover. Theſe do they take, to the Defacing, and Spoyling, of your Subjects Manſions, and Dwellings; Except they may be compounded with, to their own Appetites. And if a Gentleman, be too hard for them, while he is at home, They will watch their time, when there is but a Bayliffe, or a Servant, remaining, And put the Axe to the Root of the Tree, ere ever the Maſter can ſtop it. Again they uſe a ſtrange, and moſt unjuſt, Exaction; In cauſing the Subjects, to pay Poundage, of their own Debts, due from your *Majeſty* unto them: So as a poor Man, when he hath had his Hay, or his Wood, or his Poultry, (which, perchance, he was full loath to part with, and had, for the Proviſion, of his own Family, and not, to put to Sale,) taken from

from him; And that not at a juſt Price, but under the value; And commeth to receive his Mony, he ſhall have, after the rate, of 12. pence in the Pound, abated, for Poundage, of his due Payment, upon ſo hard Conditions. Nay further, they are grown to that extremity, (as is affirmed, though it be ſcarce credible; ſave that in ſuch Perſons, all things are Credible) that they will take double Poundage; Once when the *Debentur* is made; And again the ſecond time, when the Money is paid.

For the ſecond Point, (moſt *Gracious Soveraign*) touching the *Quantity* which they take, far above that which is anſwered to your *Majeſties* uſe, they are the onely *Multipliers* in the world; They have the Art of *Multiplication*: For it is affirmed unto me, by divers Gentlemen, of good report, and Experience, in theſe Cauſes, as a Matter, which I may ſafely avouch, before your *Majeſty*, (To whom we owe all Truth, as well of Information, as Subjection;) That there is no Pound Profit, which redoundeth to your *Majeſty*, in this Courſe; But induceth, and begetteth, three Pound damage upon your Subjects; beſides the Diſcontentment. And to the end, they may make their Spoil, more ſecurely, what do they? whereas divers Statutes, do ſtrictly provide, that whatſoever they take, ſhall be regiſtred, and atteſted; To the end, that by making a Collation, Of that which is taken from the Countrey, and that which is anſwered above, their Deceits might appear; They, to the end, to obſcure their Deceits, utterly omit the Obſervation of this, which the Law preſcribeth.

And therefore to deſcend, if it may pleaſe your *Majeſty*, to the Third ſort of *Abuſe*; which is of the unlawfull *Manner* of their Taking, whereof this Queſtion is a Branch; It is ſo manifold, as it rather asketh an Enumeration, of ſome of the Particulars, then a proſecution of all. For their *Price*: By Law they ought to take, as they can agree with the Subject; By Abuſe they take, at an impoſed, and enforced, *Price*: By Law, they ought to make, but one *Aprizement*, by Neighbours, in the Countrey; By Abuſe, they make a ſecond *Aprizement* at the *Court Gate*; And when the Subjects Cattell, come up, many Miles, lean, and out of Plight, by reaſon of their Travell, then they prize them anew, at an abated price: By Law, they ought to take, between Sun and Sun; By Abuſe, they take by Twilight, and in the Night time, A Time well choſen for Malefactours: By Law, they ought not to take in the High wayes, (A place, by your *Majeſties* high prerogative, protected; And by Statute, by ſpeciall words, excepted;) By abuſe, they take in the wayes, in Contempt of your *Majeſties* prerogative, and Laws: By Law, they ought to ſhew their Commiſſion; And the Form of Commiſſion, is, by Law ſet down; The Commiſſions, they bring down, are againſt the Law; And becauſe, they know ſo much, they will not ſhew them. A number of other particulars there are, whereof, (as I have given your

Majeſty

Majesty a Taſt,) ſo the chief of them, upon deliberate Adviſe, are ſet down in writing, by the Labour of certain *Committees*, and approbation of the whole *House*, more particularly, and lively, than I can expreſs them; My ſelf having them at the ſecond hand, by reaſon of my Aboad above. But this writing, is a Collection of theirs, who dwell amongſt the Abuſes of theſe offenders, and Complaints of the People: And therefore, muſt needs have, a more perfect underſtanding, of all the Circumſtances of them.

It remaineth only, that I uſe a few words, the rather, to move your *Majesty*, in this cauſe. A few words, (I ſay,) a very few, For neither need ſo great Enormities any aggravating; Neither needeth ſo great Grace, as uſeth of it ſelf, to flow from your *Majesties* Princely Goodneſs, any Artificiall perſwading. There be two Things onely, which I think good, to ſet before your Majeſty. The one, the Example, of your moſt Noble *Progenitours*, *Kings* of this *Realm*: who from the Firſt *King*, that endowed this *Kingdom*, with the *Great Charters* of their Liberties, untill the laſt, have ordained, moſt of them, in their ſeverall *Raignes*, ſome Laws, or Law againſt this kind of Offenders: And ſpecially the Example of one of them; That King, who for his Greatneſs, Wiſdom, Glory, and Union of ſeverall Kingdoms, reſembleth your Majeſty moſt, both in Vertue, and Fortune, *King Edward* the Third; who, in his time onely, made ten ſeverall Laws, againſt this Miſchief. The ſecond, is the Example, of *God* himſelf; who hath ſaid and pronounced; *That he will not hold them guiltleſs, that take his Name in vain.* For all theſe great Miſdemeanours, are committed, in, and under your *Majesties* Name. And therefore we hope your *Majesty*, will hold them twice guilty, that commit theſe offences: Once for the Oppreſſing, of the People: And once more, for doing it, under the Colour, and abuſe, of your *Majesties* moſt dreaded, and beloved, Name. So then, I will conclude, with the ſaying of *Pindarus*; *Optima Res Aqua:* Not for the Excellency, but for the Common uſe of it: And ſo contrary-wiſe, the Matter of Abuſe of Purveyance, (if it be not the moſt hainous Abuſe,) yet certainly, it is the moſt common, and generall, Abuſe, of all others, in this Kingdom.

It reſteth, that according to the Command laid upon me, I do, in all Humbleneſs, preſent this writing, to your *Majesties* Royall Hands; with moſt humble Petition, on the Behalf, of the Commons; That, as your *Majesty*, hath been pleaſed, to vouchſafe, your Gracious Audience, to hear me ſpeak: So you would be pleaſed, to enlarge your Patience, to hear this writing read, which is more Materiall.

A Speech *uſed by* Sir Francis Bacon *in the* Lower Houſe *of* Parliament, 5°. Jacobi, *concerning the Article, of generall Naturalization, of the* Scottiſh Nation.

IT may pleaſe you, (Mr. *Speaker*,) Preface will I uſe none, but put my Self, upon your good Opinions, to which I have been accuſtomed beyond my Deſervings. Neither will I hold you in ſuſpence, what way I will chooſe; But now, at the firſt, declare my ſelf, that I mean to counſell the *Houſe*, to naturalize this *Nation*. Wherein, nevertheleſs, I have a requeſt to make unto you; which is of more Efficacy, to the purpoſe, I have in Hand, then all that I ſhall ſay afterwards. And it is the ſame, which *Demoſthenes* did, more then once, in great Cauſes of Eſtate, make to the People of Athens; *Ut cum Calculis Suffragiorum, ſumant Magnanimitatem Reip.* That when they took into their Hands, the Balls, whereby to give their Voices, (according as the manner of them was;) They would raiſe their Thoughts, and lay aſide thoſe Conſiderations, which their private Vocations, and Degrees, mought miniſter, and repreſent unto them: And would take, upon them, Cogitations, and Minds, agreeable to the Dignity, and Honour, of the *Eſtate*.

For, Mr. *Speaker*, as it was aptly, and ſharply ſaid, by *Alexander*, to *Parmenio*; when upon the Recitall, of the great offers, which *Darius* made, *Parmenio* ſaid unto him; *I would accept theſe offers, were I as Alexander:* He Turned it upon him again; *So would I*, (ſaith he) *were I as Parmenio*. So, in this cauſe, if an honeſt *Engliſh Merchant*, (I do not ſingle out that State, in diſgrace; For this *Iſland* ever held it Honourable; But onely for an Inſtance, of a private profeſſion:) If an *Engliſh Merchant* ſhould ſay, *Surely I would proceed no further in the union, were I as the King*; It mought be reaſonably anſwered; *No more would the King, were he as an Engliſh Merchant*. And the like may be ſaid of a *Gentleman* of the *Countrey*, be he never ſo worthy, and ſufficient; Or of a *Lawyer*, be he never ſo wiſe, and learned; Or of any other particular Condition, in this Kingdome. For certainly, Mr. *Speaker*, if a Man ſhall be onely, or chiefly, ſenſible, of thoſe Reſpects, which his particular Vocation, and Degree, ſhall ſuggeſt, and infuſe, into him; And not enter into true, and worthy Conſiderations, of Eſtate, he ſhall never be able aright to give Counſell, or take Counſell, in this Matter. So that if this Requeſt be granted, I account the Cauſe obtained.

But to proceed to the Matter it ſelf. All Conſultations, do reſt, upon Queſtions Comparative. For when a Queſtion is, *De Vero*, it is ſimple. For there is but one *Truth*: But when a Queſtion is *De Bono*, it is for the moſt part Comparative: For there be differing

differing Degrees, of *Good*, and *Evill*; And the beſt, of the *Good*, is to be preferred, and choſen; And the worſt, of the Evill, is to be declined, and avoyded. And therefore, in a Queſtion of this Nature, you may not look for Anſwers, proper to every Inconvenience, alledged: For ſomewhat that cannot be ſpecially anſwered, may, neverthelefs, be encountred, and over-weighed, by matter of greater moment. And therefore the Matter, which I ſhall ſet forth unto you, will naturally receive this Diſtribution of three parts.

Firſt, an Anſwer, unto thoſe Inconveniences, which have been alledged, to enſue, if we ſhould give way to this *Naturalization*: which, I ſuppoſe, you will find, not to be ſo great, as they have been made: But that much Droſs, is put into the Ballance, to help to make weight.

Secondly, an Encounter againſt the Remain, of thoſe Inconveniences, which cannot properly be anſwered; By much greater Inconveniences, which we ſhall incur, if we do not proceed, to this *Naturalization*.

Thirdly, an Encounter likewiſe, but of another Nature; That is, by the gain, and benefit, which we ſhall draw, and purchaſe to our ſelves, by proceeding to this *Naturalization*. And yet to avoid Confuſion, which evermore followeth of too much Generality, it is neceſſary for me, before I proceed to perſwaſion, to uſe ſome Diſtribution of the Points, or Parts of *Naturalization*: Which certainly can be no better, nor none other, than the ancient Diſtribution, of *Jus Civitatis*, *Jus Suffragii*, *vel Tribus*, and *Petitionis*, *ſive Honorum*. For all Ability, and Capacity, is either of private Intereſt, of *Meum & Tuum*, or of publick Service. And the publick conſiſteth chiefly, either in Voyce, or in Office. Now it is the Firſt of theſe, Mr. *Speaker*, that I will onely handle at this Time, and in this Place; And reſerve the other two, for a Committee; Becauſe they receive, more Diſtinction, and Reſtriction.

To come therefore, to the Inconveniences, alledged on the other part. The firſt of them is, that there may enſue of this *Naturalization*, a ſurcharge of people upon this *Realm* of *England*; which is ſuppoſed already, to have the full charge, and content: & therefore, there cannot be an admiſſion of the adoptive, without a Diminution, of the Fortunes, and Conditions, of thoſe that are Native Subjects of this Realme. A grave Objection, Mr. *Speaker*, and very dutifull: For it proceedeth not, of any unkindneſs, to the *Scottiſh Nation*, but of a Naturall Faſtneſs to our ſelves. For that Anſwer of the *Virgins*; *Ne forte non ſufficiat Vobis & Nobis*, proceeded, not out of any Envy, or malign humour, but out of providence, and that originall charity, which begins with our ſelves. And I muſt confeſs, Mr. *Speaker*, that, as the Gentleman ſaid, when *Abraham*, and *Lot*, in regard of the Greatneſs of their Families, grew pent, and ſtraitened; it is true, that (Brethren though they

they were) they grew to difference, and to thoſe words; *Vade tu ad Dextram, & ego ad ſiniſtram*, &c. But certainly, I ſhould never have brought that Example on that ſide, For we ſee what followed of it; How that this Separation, *ad Dextram*, and *ad Siniſtram*, cauſed the miſerable Captivity of the one Brother, and the Dangerous, though proſperous War, of the other, for his Reſcous, and Recovery.

But to this Objection, Mr. *Speaker*, being ſo weighty, and ſo principall, I mean to give three ſeverall Anſwers; every one of them, being, to mine underſtanding, by it ſelf ſufficient.

The firſt is that this Opinion, of the Numbers, of the *Scottiſh Nation*, that ſhould be likely, to plant themſelves, here amongſt us, will be found, to be a Thing, rather in Conceit, then in Event. For (Mr. *Speaker*) you ſhall find theſe plauſible Similitudes, of a Tree, that will thrive the better, if it be removed in to the more fruitfull Soyl; And of Sheep, or Cattell, that, if they find a Gap, or paſſage open, will leave the more barren Paſture, and get into the more rich, and plentifull; To be but Arguments meerly ſuperficiall, and to have no ſound Reſemblance, with the Tranſplanting, or Transferring of Families. For the Tree, we know, by nature, as ſoon as it is ſet in the better Ground, can faſten upon it, and take Nutriment from it: And a ſheep, as ſoon as he gets, into the better Paſture, what ſhould let him to graze, and feed? But there longeth more, (I take it,) to a Family, or particular Perſon, that ſhall remove, from one Nation, to another. For if (Mr. *Speaker*) they have not Stock, Means, Acquaintance and Cuſtome, Habitation, Trades, Countenance, and the like; I hope, you doubt not, but they will ſtarve, in the midſt, of the rich Paſture; And are far enough off, from grazing, at their pleaſure. And therefore, in this Point, which is conjecturall, Experience is the beſt Guide: For the Time paſt, is a Pattern, of the Time to come. I think, no Man doubteth, Mr. *Speaker*, but his *Majeſties* firſt comming in, was as the greateſt Spring-tide, for the Confluence, and Entrance, of that *Nation*. Now I would fain underſtand, in theſe four years ſpace, and in the Fulneſs, and Strength, of the Current, and Tide, how many Families, of the *Scottiſh* Men, are planted, in the *Citties*, *Burroughs*, and *Towns*, of this *Kingdom*? For I do aſſure my ſelf, that more then ſome Perſons of Quality, about his *Majeſties* Perſon, here at the *Court*, and in *London*, And ſome other inferiour Perſons, that have a Dependancy upon them; The Return and Certificate, if ſuch a Survey, ſhould be made, would be, of a Number, extremely ſmall. I report me, to all your private knowledges, of the places, where you inhabit.

Now (Mr. *Speaker*,) as I ſaid; *Si in Ligno viridi ita fit, quid fiet in arido?* I am ſure there will be no more ſuch Spring-Tides. But you will tell me, of a multitude of Families, of the *Scottiſh Nation*, in *Polonia*: And if they multiply, in a Country, ſo far off, how much

much more here at hand? For that (Mr. *Speaker*) you muſt impute it, of neceſſity, to ſome ſpeciall Accident, of Time, and place, that draweth them thither. For you ſee, plainly, before your eyes, that in *Germany*, which is much nearer; And in *France*, where they are invited with priviledges, And with this very priviledge, of *Naturalization*, yet no ſuch Number can be found. So as it cannot be, either nearneſs of place, or priviledge of Perſon, that is the Cauſe. But ſhall I tell you (Mr. *Speaker*,) what I think: Of all the places in the world, near or far of, they will never take, that courſe of life, in this Kingdome, which they content themſelves with, in *Poland*. For we ſee it, to be the Nature of all men, that they will rather diſcover Poverty abroad, then at home. There is never a Gentleman, that hath overreached himſelf in Expence, and thereby muſt abate his Countenance, but he will rather travell, and do it abroad, then at home. And we know well, they have good high Stomacks, and have ever ſtood, in ſome terms, and Emulation, with us; And therefore they will never live here, except they can live in good faſhion. So as I aſſure you (Mr. *Speaker*,) I am of Opinion, that the ſtrife, which we now have to admit them, will have like Sequele, as that Contention had, between the *Nobility*, and *People* of *Rome*, for the admitting of a *Plebeian Conſul*; which while it was in Paſſing, was very vehement, and mightily ſtood upon: And when the People had obtained it; they never made any *Plebeian Conſul*; No, not in 60. years after. And ſo will this be for many years, as I am perſwaded, rather a Matter in Opinion, then in uſe, or effect: And this is the Firſt Anſwer, that I give to this main Inconvenience, pretended, of Surcharge of *People*.

The Second Anſwer, which I give to this Objection, is this: I muſt have leave to doubt, (Mr. *Speaker*,) that this *Realm* of *England*, is not yet peopled to the full. For certain it is, that the Territories of *France*, *Italy*, *Flaunders*, and ſome parts of *Germany*, do in equall ſpace of Ground, bear and contain, a far greater Quantity of People, if they were muſtred by the *Poll*. Neither can I ſee, that this Kingdom, is ſo much inferiour, unto thoſe forrain Parts in fruitfulneſs, as it is in population; which makes me conceive, we have not our full charge. Beſides, I do ſee manifeſtly among us, the Badges, and Tokens, rather of Scarceneſs, then of Preſs of People; as Drowned Grounds, Commons, Waſtes, and the like: Which is a plain Demonſtration, that howſoever there may be, an overſwelling throng, and preſs of *People*, here about *London*, which is moſt in our Eye; yet the Body of the *Kingdome*, is but thin ſown with *People*. And whoſoever ſhall compare, the Ruines, and Decayes, of ancient Towns, in this Realm, with the Erections, and Augmentations, of new; cannot but judge, that this *Realm*, hath been far better peopled in former times; It may be, in the Heptarchy, or otherwiſe; For generally the Rule holdeth, *The ſmaller State, the greater Population,*

pro-

pro ratâ. And whether, this be true, or no, we need not ſeek further, then to call to our remembrance, how many of us, ſerve here, in this place, for deſolate, and decayed, Burroughs. Again (Mr. *Speaker*,) whoſoever looketh into the Principles of Eſtate, muſt hold it, that it is the *Mediterrane Countries*, and not the *Maritime*, which need to fear ſurcharge of *People*. For all *Sea Provinces*, and ſpecially *Iſlands*, have another Element, beſides the Earth, and Soil, for their Suſtentation. For what an infinite, Number of people, are, and may be ſuſtained by Fiſhing, Carriage by Sea, and Merchandizing? wherein, I do again diſcover, that we are not at all pinched, by Multitude of *People*. For if we were, it were not poſſible, that we ſhould relinquiſh, and reſign, ſuch an infinite Benefit of Fiſhing, to the Flemmings, as, it is well known, we do. And therefore, I ſee, that we have waſtes by Sea, as well as by Land: which ſtill is an infallible Argument, that our Induſtry, is not awaked, to ſeek maintenance, by any over great Preſs, or charge of people.

And laſtly (Mr. *Speaker*) there was never any *Kingdome*, in the Ages of the world, had, I think, ſo fair, and happy means, to iſſue, and diſcharge, the Multitude of their People, (if it were too great,) as this *Kingdome* hath; In regard, of that deſolate, and waſted, *Kingdome of Ireland*; which, (being a Countrey, bleſſed, with almoſt all the Dowries of Nature; As Rivers, Havens, Woods, Quarries, good Soyl, and temperate Climate; And now at laſt, under his *Majeſty*, bleſſed alſo with obedience) Doth, as it were, continually call unto us, for our Colonies, and Plantations. And ſo I conclude, my ſecond Anſwer, to this pretended Inconvenience, of ſurcharge of People.

The Third Anſwer, (Mr. *Speaker*,) which I give, is this. I demand, what is the worſt Effect, which can follow of Surcharge of People? Look into all Stories, and you ſhall find it none other, then ſome Honourable War, for the Enlargement of their Borders, which find themſelves pent, upon Forrain parts. Which Inconvenience, in a valourous, and Warlike, Nation, I know not, whether I ſhould term, an Inconvenience, or no? For the ſaying is moſt true, though in another Senſe; *Omne ſolum Forti Patria*. It was ſpoken, indeed, of the patience, of an exil'd Man: But it is no leſs true, of the valour, of a Warlike Nation. And certainly, (Mr. *Speaker*,) I hope, I may ſpeak it without offence: That if we did hold our ſelves worthy, whenſoever juſt Cauſe ſhould be given; Either to recover our ancient Rights; Or to revenge our late wrongs; Or to attain the Honour of our Anceſtors; Or to enlarge the Patrimony of our Poſterity; We would never, in this manner, forget Conſiderations, of Amplitude, and Greatneſs, and fall at variance, about profit, and Reckonings; Fitter, a great deal, for private Perſons, then for *Parliaments*, and *Kingdoms*. And thus, (Mr. *Speaker*,) I leave this firſt objection, to ſuch Satisfaction, as you have heard.

So

The ſecond Objection is, that the Fundamentall Laws of both theſe *Kingdoms*, of *England*, and *Scotland*, are yet divers, and ſeverall: Nay more, that it is declared, by the Inſtrument, that they ſhall ſo continue; And that there is no intent, in his *Majeſty*, to make Innovation in them: And therefore, that it ſhould not be ſeaſonable, to proceed to this Naturalization, whereby to endowe them, with our Rights, and Priviledges, except they ſhould likewiſe receive, and ſubmit themſelves, to our Laws. And this Objection, likewiſe, (Mr. *Speaker*) I allow to be a weighty Objection, and worthy to be well anſwered, and diſcuſſed.

The Anſwer, which I ſhall offer, is this. It is true, for mine own part, (Mr. *Speaker*,) that I wiſh, the *Scottiſh Nation*, governed by our Laws: For I hold our Laws, with ſome reducement, worthy to govern, if it were, the world. But this is that which I ſay, and I deſire therein your Attention; That, according to true reaſon of Eſtate, *Naturalization* is, in Order, firſt, and precedent, to union of Laws; In degree, a leſs Matter, then union of Laws; And, in Nature, ſeparable, not inſeparable, from union of Laws. For Naturalization, doth but take out, the Marks of a Forrainer; But union of Laws, makes them entirely as our ſelves: *Naturalization* taketh away ſeparation; But union of Lawes doth take away Diſtinction. Do we not ſee, (Mr. *Speaker*,) that, in the Adminiſtation, of the world, under the great *Monarch*, *God* himſelf, that his Lawes are divers; One Law in *Spirits*, another in *Bodies*; One Law in *Regions celeſtiall*, another in *Elementary*? And yet the Creatures, are all one Maſs, and Lump, without any vacuum, or ſeparation? Do we not ſee, likewiſe, in the State of the Church, that amongſt *People*, of all Languages, and Linages, there is one *Communion* of *Saints*? And that, we are all Fellow Citizens, and naturalized, of the Heavenly Hieruſalem? And yet, nevertheleſs, divers, and ſeverall, Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, Policies, and Hierarchies; According to the Speech, of that worthy Father; *In veſte varietas ſit, ſciſſura non ſit.* And therefore, certainly, (Mr. *Speaker*,) the Bond of Law, is the more ſpeciall, and private, Bond; And the Bond of *Naturalization*, the more common, and generall. For the Lawes, are rather *Figura Reip*, then *Forma*; And rather *Bonds of Perfection*, then *Bonds of Entireneſſe*. And therefore, we ſee, in the Experience, of our own Government, that in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, all our Statute-Lawes, ſince *Poynings Law*, are not in force; And yet we deny them not, the Benefit, of *Naturalization*. In *Gerſey*, *Garneſey*, and the *Iſle of Man*, our Common-Lawes are not in force; And yet they have the Benefit of *Naturalization*. Neither need any Man doubt, but that our Laws, and Cuſtomes, muſt, in ſmall time, gather, and win, upon theirs. For here's the Seat of the Kingdome, whence come the ſupreme Directions of Eſtate; Here is the *Kings Perſon*, and *Example*, of which the Verſe ſaith.

Regis ad Exemplum totus componitur Orbis.

And

And therefore, it is not poſſible; Although not by ſolemne, and formall, Act of Eſtates; yet by the ſecret Operation, of no long time, but they will come under the yoak of our Lawes; And ſo, *Gulcis tractus pari jugo.* And this is the Anſwer, I give, to this ſecond objection.

The third Objection, is, ſome Inequality, in the Fortunes, of theſe two *Nations*, *England* and *Scotland*; By the Commixture whereof, there may enſue Advantage to them, and Loſs to us. Wherein, (Mr. *Speaker*) it is well, that this Difference, or Diſparity, conſiſteth, but in externall Goods, of Fortune. For indeed, it muſt needs be confeſſed, that for the Goods of the Mind, and the Body, they are *Alteri Nos*; *Other our ſelves.* For to do them but right, we know, in their Capacity, and underſtanding they are a people Ingenious; In Labour, Induſtrious; In Courage, Valiant; In Body, Hard, Active, and Comely. More might be ſaid, but in commending them, we do but, in effect, commend our ſelves: For they are of one Piece, and Continent, with us: And Truth is, we are participant, both of their Vertues, and Vices. For if they have been noted, to be a people not ſo tractable in Government, we cannot, without flattering our ſelves, free our ſelves, altogether, from that Fault; Being, indeed, a thing incident, to all Martiall *People.* As we ſee it evident, by the Example, of the *Romans*, and others. Even like unto Fierce Horſes, that though they be, of better ſervice then others, yet are they harder, to guid, and to mannage.

But for this Objection, (Mr. *Speaker*) I purpoſe to anſwer it; Not by Authority of *Scripture*, which ſaith. *Beatius eſt dare quam accipere:* But by an Authority framed, and derived, from the Judgement of our ſelves, and our Anceſtors, in the ſame caſe, as to this point. For, (Mr. *Speaker*,) in all the Line of our Kings, none uſeth to carry, greater Commendation, then his Majeſties Noble Progenitour, King *Edward*, the Firſt of that Name: And amongſt his other Commendations, both of War, and Pollicy, none is more celebrated, then his purpoſe, and Enterpriſe, for the Conqueſt of *Scotland*: As not bending his Deſignes to glorious Acqueſts abroad, but to ſolid ſtrength at home: which, nevertheleſs, if it had ſucceeded well, could not, but have brought in, all thoſe Inconveniences, of the Commixture, of a more Opulent *Kingdome*, with a leſs, that are now alledged. For it is not the Yoke, either of our Arms, or of our Lawes, that can alter the nature of the *Climate*, or the Nature of the *Soyl*: Neither is it, the *Manner*, of the *Commixture*, that can alter, the *Matter*, of the *Commixture.* And therefore, (Mr. *Speaker*,) if it were good for us then, it is good for us now; And not to be priſed the leſs, becauſe we paid not ſo dear for it. But a more full Anſwer to this Objection, I refer over to that, which will come after to be ſpoken, touching Surety, and Greatneſs.

The fourth Objection, (Mr. *Speaker*,) is not properly an Objection.

jection, but rather a preoccupation, of an Objection, of the other ſide: For it may be ſaid, and very materially, whereabout do we contend? The Benefit of *Naturalization* is, by the Law, in as many, as have been, or ſhall be born, ſince his *Majeſties* Comming to the *Crown*, already ſetled, and inveſted. There is no more then, but to bring the *Ante-Nati*, into the Degree of the *Poſt-Nati*; that Men grown, that have well deſerved, may be in no worſe caſe, then children, which have not deſerved: And Elder Brothers, in no worſe caſe, then yonger Brothers. So as we ſtand, upon *Quiddam*, not *Quantum*; Being but a little difference of Time, of one Generation, from another.

To this, (Mr. *Speaker*,) it is ſaid by ſome; That the Law is not ſo, but that the *Poſt-Nati*, are Aliens, as well as the reſt. A point, that I mean not much to argue; Both becauſe it hath been well ſpoken to, by the Gentleman, that ſpake laſt before me; And becauſe, I do deſire, in this Caſe, and in this place, to ſpeak rather of Convenience, then of Law. Onely this will I ſay; That that Opinion, ſeems to me, Contrary to reaſon of Law; Contrary to form of pleading in Law; And Contrary to Authority, and Experience, of Law. For Reaſon of Law, when I meditate of it; Methinks, the wiſdom, of the Common Laws of *England*, well obſerved, is Admirable, in the Diſtribution, of the Benefit, and protection, of the Laws; According to the ſeverall Conditions of Perſons, in an excellent Proportion. The Degrees are four, but bipartite. Two of *Aliens*, and Two of *Subjects*. The firſt Degree, is of an *Alien*, born, under a *King*, or *State*, that is an Enemy. If ſuch an one, come into this Kingdom, without ſafe Conduct, it is at his perill: The Law giveth him no protection, neither for Body, Lands, nor Goods: So as if he be ſlain, there is no Remedy, by any Appeal, at the parties ſute, although his wife were an *Engliſh* Woman: Marry at the *Kings* ſute, the Caſe may be otherwiſe, in regard of the offence to the *Peace*. The Second Degree, is, of an *Alien*, that is born under the faith, and Allegiance, of a *King*, or *State*, that is a friend. Unto ſuch a Perſon, the Law doth impart, a greater Benefit, and protection; That is, concerning things perſonall, Tranſitory, and Moveable; As Goods, and Chattels, Contracts, and the like: But not concerning Freehold, and Inheritance. And the reaſon is, becauſe he may be an Enemy, though he be not. For the *State*, under the Obeiſance of which he is, may enter into Quarrell, and Hoſtility; And therefore, as the Law hath but a Tranſitory Aſſurance of him, ſo it rewards him, but with Tranſitory Benefits. The third Degree, is, of a Subject, who having been an *Alien*, is, by *Charter* made *Denizen*. To ſuch an one, the Law doth impart, yet, a more ample Benefit: For it gives him power, to purchaſe Free-Hold, and Inheritance, to his Own uſe: And likewiſe, enables the Children, born after his Denization, to inherit. But yet, nevertheleſs, he cannot make Title, or

convey Pedegree, from any Anceſtour Paramount. For the Law, thinks not good, to make him, in the ſame Degree, with a Subject born: Becauſe he was once an Alien, and ſo mought once have been an Enemy. And *Nemo ſubitò fingitur*: Mens Affections, cannot be ſo ſetled, by any Benefit, as when from their Nativity, they are inbred, and inherent. And the fourth Degree, which is the perfect Degree, is, of ſuch a Perſon, that neither is Enemy, nor can be Enemy, in time to come; Nor could have been Enemy, at any time paſt; And therefore, the Law gives unto him, the full Benefit, of *Naturalization*. Now, (Mr. *Speaker*,) if theſe be the true Steps, and Paces, of the Law, no Man can deny, but whoſoever is born under the *Kings* Obedience, never could, in *Aliquo puncto temporis*, be an Enemy; (A *Rebell* he mought be, but no *Enemy*;) And therefore, in Reaſon of Law, is naturalized. Nay contrary-wiſe, he is bound, *Jure Nativitatis*, to defend this *Kingdome* of *England*, againſt all Invaders or Rebels: And therefore, as he is obliged, to the protection of Arms; And that perpetually, and univerſally; ſo he is to have, the perpetuall, and univerſall, Benefit, and protection of Law, which is *Naturalization*.

For Form of *Pleading*, it is true, that hath been ſaid; That if a Man, would plead another, to be an *Alien*; He muſt not onely ſet forth, negatively, and privatively, that he was born, out of the Obedience, of our *Soveraign* Lord the *King*; But affirmatively, under the Obedience, of a forrain *King*, or *State*, in particular; which never can be done in this caſe.

As for *Authority*, I will not preſs it; you know all what hath been publiſhed, by the *Kings Proclamation*.

And for *Experience* of *Law*, we ſee it in the Subjects of *Ireland*; In the Subjects of *Gerſey*, and *Gernſey*, parcels of the *Dutchy* of *Normandy*; In the Subjects of *Calleis*, (when it was *Engliſh*,) which was parcell of the *Crown* of *France*. But, as I ſaid, I am not willing, to enter into an *Argument* of *Law*, but to hold my ſelf, to point of *Convenience*.

So as, for my part, I hold all *Poſt-Nati*, Naturalized, *ipſo Jure*. But yet, I am far from Opinion, that it ſhould be a thing ſuperfluous, to have it done by *Parliament*; Chiefly, in reſpect, of that true principle; *Principum Actiones præcipuè ad Famam ſunt componendæ*. It will lift up a Sign, to all the World, of our Love towards them, and good agreement with them. And theſe are, (Mr. *Speaker*) the Materiall Objections, which have been made of the other Side, whereunto you have heard mine Anſwers: Weigh them in your Wiſdomes; And ſo I conclude that General Part.

Now, (Mr. *Speaker*,) according as I promiſed, I muſt fill the other Ballance, in expreſſing unto you, the Inconveniences, which we ſhall incurre, if we ſhall not proceed, to this *Naturalization*. wherein, that Inconvenience, which of all others, and alone by it ſelf, if there were none other, doth exceedingly move me, and

may

may move you, is a Position of Estate, collected out of the Records of Time, which is this: That whersoever severall *Kingdomes*, or *Estates*, have been united in *Soveraignty*; If that Union, hath not been fortified, and bound in, with a further Union; And namely that, which is now in Question, of *Naturalization*; This hath followed; That at one time, or other, they have broken again, being upon all Occasions apt to revolt, and relapse, to the former Separation.

Of this Assertion, the first Example, which I will set before you, is of that memorable *Union*, which was between the *Romans*, and the *Latines*, which continued, from the Battaile, at the *Lake* of *Regilla*, for many years, untill the Consulships of *T. Manlius*, and *P. Decius*. At what time, there began, about this very point of *Naturalization*, that War, which was called *Bellum Sociale*; Being the most Bloudy, and Pernicious War, that ever the *Roman State* endured. wherein after Numbers of Battailes, and infinite Seiges, and Surprises of Towns, the *Romans*, in the end, prevailed, and mastered the *Latines*. But assoon as ever they had the Honour of the War, looking back into what Perdition, and Confusion, they were near to have been brought, they presently naturalized them all. You speak of a *Naturalization* in *Bloud*; There was a *Naturalization* indeed in *Bloud*.

Let me set, before you, again, the Example of *Sparta*, and the rest of *Peloponnesus*, their Associates. The *State* of *Sparta*, was a Nice, and Jealous, State, in this point, of imparting *Naturalization*, to their Confederates, But what was the issue of it? After they had held them, in a kind of Society, and Amity, for divers years: upon the first occasion given, (which was no more, then the Surprize, of the *Castle* of *Thebes*, by certain desperate Conspiratours, in the habit of Masquers; There ensued immediately, a generall Revolt, and Defection, of their Associats; which was the Ruine of their State, never afterwards to be recovered.

Of later time, let me lead your Consideration to behold, the like Events, in the *Kingdome* of *Arragon*; which *Kingdome* was united with *Castile*, and the rest of *Spain*, in the persons of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*; And so continued many years; But yet so, as it stood, a *Kingdome*, severed, and divided, from the rest, of the Body, of *Spain*, in priviledges; And directly, in this point of *Naturalization*, or Capacity of Inheritance. What came of this? Thus much; That now of fresh Memory, not past twelve years since, onely upon the voice of a Condemned Man, out of the Grate of a Prison, towards the Street, that cried *Fueros*, (which is as much as *Liberties*, or Priviledges;) There was raised a dangerous Rebellion, which was suppressed, with Difficulty, with an Army Royall; And their priviledges disannulled, and they incorporated, with the rest of *Spain*. Upon so small a Spark, notwithstanding so long continuance, were they ready to break, and sever again.

The like may be ſaid, of the *States* of *Florence*, and *Piſa:* Which City of *Piſa*, being united unto *Florence*, but not endued with the Benefit of *Naturalization*, upon the firſt light of forrain Aſſiſtance, by the Expedition, of *Charles* the eighth, of *France*, into *Italy*, did revolt; Though it be ſince, again reunited, and Incorporated.

The ſame Effect, we ſee, in the moſt Barbarous Government; which ſhewes it, the rather, to be an effect of Nature. For it was thought, a fit Pollicy, by the *Councell* of *Conſtantinople*, to retain the three Provinces, of *Tranſylvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, (which were, as the very Nurſes of *Conſtantinople*, in reſpect of their Proviſions,) to the end, they mought be the leſs waſted, onely under *Vayvods*, as Vaſſals and Homagers; And not under *Baſſa's*, and Provinces of the *Turkiſh Empire*; Which Pollicy, we ſee, by late Experience, proved unfortunate; As appeared, by the Revolt, of the ſame three Provinces, under the Arms and Conduct of *Sigiſmund*, Prince of *Tranſylvania*; A Leader, very famous, for a time; which Revolt is, not yet, fully recovered. Whereas we ſeldome, or never hear, of Revolts of Princes, incorporate, to the *Turkiſh Empire*.

On the other part, (Mr. *Speaker*,) becauſe it is true, which the *Logicians* ſay; *Oppoſita, juxta ſe poſita, magis eluceſcunt*; let us take a view, and we ſhall find; That whereſoever, Kingdomes, and States, have been united; And that union Corroborate, by the Bond of mutuall *Naturalization*; you ſhall never obſerve them, afterwards, upon any Occaſion of Trouble, or otherwiſe, to break and ſever again: As we ſee, moſt evidently, before our eyes, in divers Provinces of *France*; That is to ſay, *Guien*, *Provence*, *Normandy*, *Erittain*; which, notwithſtanding, the infinite infeſting Troubles, of that *Kingdom*, never offered to break again.

We ſee the like Effect, in all the Kingdoms, of *Spain*, which are mutually naturalized; As *Leon*, *Caſtile*, *Valencia*, *Andaluzia*, *Granada*, and the reſt: Except *Aragon*, which held the contrary Courſe, and therefore had the contrary ſucceſſe, as we ſaid: And *Portugall*, of which, there is not yet, ſufficient Triall.

And laſtly, we ſee the like effect, in our own *Nation*, which never rent aſſunder, after it was once united; ſo as we now ſcarce know, whether the *Heptarchy*, were a *Story*, or a *Fable*. And therfore, (Mr. *Speaker*,) when I revolve with my Self, theſe Examples, and others, ſo lively expreſſing the neceſſity of a *Naturalization*, to avoy'd a relapſe into a Separation; And do hear ſo many Arguments, and Scruples, made on the other ſide; It makes me think on the old *Biſhop*; which upon a publick Diſputation, of certain *Divines*, *Chriſtians*, with ſome learned Men of the *Heathen*, did extremely preſſe to be heard; And they were loath to ſuffer him, becauſe they knew he was unlearned, though otherwiſe an Holy and well-meaning Man; But, at laſt, with much adoo, he got to be heard. And when he came to ſpeak, inſtead of uſing Argument, he did only ſay over his Belief: But did it with ſuch

ſuch Aſſurance, and Conſtancy, as it did ſtrike the Minds, of thoſe that heard him, more then any Argument had done. And ſo, (Mr. *Speaker*,) againſt all theſe witty and ſubtile Arguments, I ſay, that I do believe, and I would be ſorry to be found a Prophet in it; That except we proceed, with this *Naturalization*; (Though not perhaps in his *Majeſties* time, who hath ſuch Intereſt in both Nations,) yet in the time of his Deſcendants, theſe *Realms* will be in continuall Danger, to divide, and break again. Now if any Man, be of that careleſſe mind,

——*Maneat noſtros ea Cura Nepotes*;

Or of that hard Mind, to leave things, to be tried, by the ſharpeſt Sword; ſure I am, he is not of Saint *Pauls* Opinion; who affirmeth; That whoſoever, uſeth not Fore-ſight, and Proviſion for his *Family*, is worſe then an *unbeliever*: Much more, if we ſhall not uſe fore-ſight for theſe two *Kingdoms*, that comprehend ſo many *Families*: But leave things open, to the perill of future Diviſions. And thus have I expreſſed unto you the *Inconvenience*, which, of all other, ſinketh deepeſt with me, as the moſt weighty.

Neither do there want, other Inconveniences, (Mr. *Speaker*,) the Effect, and Influence whereof, I fear, will not be adjourned to ſo long a Day, as this, that I have ſpoken of. For I leave it, to your wiſdom, to conſider; whether you do not think, in caſe, by the deniall of this *Naturalization*, any Pike of Alienation, or unkindneſs; (I do not ſay,) ſhould be, thought to be, or noiſed to be, between theſe two Nations; whether it will not quicken, and excite, all the Envious, and Malicious, Humours, whereſoever, (which are now covered,) againſt us, either forraign, or at home; And ſo open the way to practiſes, and other Engines, and Machinations, to the Diſturbance, of this State. As for that other Inconvenience, of his *Majeſties* Engagement, into this Action, it is too binding, and preſſing, to be ſpoken of; And may do better, a great deal, in your Minds, then in my Mouth; Or in the mouth of any man elſe; becauſe, as I ſay, it doth preſs, our Liberty, too far. And therefore, (Mr. *Speaker*,) I come now, to the third generall part, of my Diviſion, concerning the *Benefits*, which we ſhall purchaſe, by this knitting of the knot, ſurer, and ſtreighter, between theſe two *Kingdoms*, by the Communicating of *Naturalization*.

The *Benefits* may appear to be two; The one *Surety*; the other *Greatneſs*. Touching *Surety*, (Mr. *Speaker*) it was well ſaid by *Titus Quintius*, the *Roman*, touching the ſtate of *Peloponneſus*; *That the* Tortois *is ſafe within her ſhell*: *Teſtudo intra Tegumen tuta eſt*. But if there be any Parts, that lye open, they endanger all the reſt. We know well, that although the State, at this time, be in a happy peace; Yet, for the time paſt, the more *Ancient* Enemy, to this *Kingdome*, hath been the *French*; and the more *late*, the *Spaniard*: And both theſe, had, as it were, their ſeverall poſtern

ſtern Gates; whereby, they mought have approach, and Entrance, to annoy us. *France* had *Scotland*, and *Spain* had *Ireland*: For theſe were the two Acceſſes, which did comfort, and encourage, both theſe Enemies, to aſſail, and trouble us. We ſee, that of *Scotland*, is cut off, by the *Union*, of both theſe *Kingdoms*; If that, it ſhall be now made conſtant, and permanent. That of *Ireland*, is likewiſe cut off, by the convenient ſituation, of the *North* of *Scotland*, toward the *North* of *Ireland*, where the Sore was: Which, we ſee, being ſuddainly cloſed, hath continued cloſed, by means of this Salve; So as now, there are no Parts, of this State, expoſed to Danger, to be a Temptation, to the Ambition of *Forrainers*, but their approaches, and Avenues, are taken away. For, I do little doubt, but thoſe *Forrainers*, which had ſo little ſucceſſe, when they had theſe advantages, will have much leſſe comfort now, that they be taken from them. And ſo much for *Surety*.

For *Greatneſs*, (Mr. *Speaker*,) I think a Man may ſpeak it ſoberly, and without Bravery; That this *Kingdom* of *England*, having *Scotland* united, *Ireland* reduced, the Sea Provinces of the *Low-Countreys* contracted, and *Shipping* maintained; Is one of the greateſt Monarchies, in Forces, truly eſteemed, that hath been in the *world*. For certainly, the *Kingdoms* here on *Earth*, have a Reſemblance with the *Kingdome* of *Heaven*; which our *Saviour* compareth, not to any great *Kernell*, or *Nut*, but to a very *ſmall Grain*; yet ſuch an one, as is apt, to grow, and ſpread. And ſuch, do I take to be, the Conſtitution of this *Kingdome*; If indeed, we ſhall refer our Counſels, to Greatneſs, and Power; And not quench them, too much, with Conſideration, of Utility, and Wealth. For (Mr. *Speaker*,) was it not, think you, a true Anſwer, that *Solon* of *Greece*, made, to the Rich *King Cræſus* of *Lydia*, when hee ſhewed unto him, a great Quantity of Gold, that he had gathered together, in Oſtentation of his Greatneſs, & Might? But *Solon* ſaid to him, contrary to his Expectation; *Why Sir, if another come, that hath better Iron then you, he will be Lord, of all your Gold.* Neither is the Authority of *Machiavell* to be deſpiſed; who ſcorneth the *Proverb* of eſtate, taken firſt from a Speech of *Mucianus*; *That Moneys are the Sinews of War*: And ſaith, *There are no true Sinews of War, but the very Sinews, of the Arms, of valiant Men.* Nay more, (Mr. *Speaker*,) whoſoever ſhall look, into the Seminaries, and Beginnings, of the *Monarchies*, of the *world*, he ſhall find them founded in Poverty. *Perſia*, a Country barren, and poor, in reſpect of the *Medes*, whom they ſubdued. *Macedon*, a *Kingdome* ignoble, and Mercenary, untill the Time, of *Philip*, the Son of *Amyntas*. *Rome* had poor, and paſtorall Beginnings. The *Turks*, a Band of *Sarmatian Scythes*, that, in a vagabond manner, made Impreſſion, upon that part of *Aſia*, which is yet called *Turcomania*. Out of which, after much variety of Fortune, ſprung the *Ottomon Family*, now the Terrour of the world: So we know the *Gothes*, *Vandals*

dals, *Alanes*, *Huns*, *Lombards*, *Normans*, and the reſt of the *Northern People*, in one Age of the *World*, made their Deſcent, or Expedition, upon the *Roman Empire*; And came not, as *Rovers*, to carry away prey, and be gone again; But planted themſelves, in a number, of fruitfull, and rich, *Provinces*; Where, not onely their *Generations*, but their *Names*, remain, till this Day: witneſs *Lombardy*; *Catalonia*, A name compounded of *Goth* & *Alane*; *Andaluzia*, A name corrupted from *Vandelicia*; *Hungary*; *Normandy*; and others. Nay, the Fortune of the *Swizzes*, of late years, (which are bred, in a barren, and Mountanous Countrey,) is not to be forgotten; Who firſt ruined the *Duke* of *Burgundy*; The ſame, who had almoſt ruined, the *Kingdome* of *France*: what time, after the *Battail* of *Granſon*, the Rich Jewell of *Burgundy*, prized at many Thouſands, was ſold for a few pence, by a common *Swizze*, That knew no more, what a Jewell meant, then did *Eſops Cock*. And again, the ſame *Nation*, in revenge of a Scorn, was the Ruin of the *French Kings* Affaires in *Italy*, *Lewes* the 12th. For that *King*, when he was preſſed ſomewhat rudely, by an Agent of the *Swizzes*, to raiſe their Penſions, brake into Words of Choller; *What*, (ſaid he,) *will theſe Villaines of the Mountaines, put a Tax upon me?* which words, loſt him his *Dutchy* of *Millain*, and chaſed him out of *Italy*. All which Examples, (Mr. *Speaker*,) do well prove *Solons* opinion, of the Authority, and Maſtry, that *Iron* hath over *Gold*. And therefore, if I ſhall ſpeak, unto you, mine own Heart; Me thinks, we ſhould a little diſdain, that the Nation of *Spain*, (which, howſoever of late, it hath grown to *Rule*, yet of ancient time *ſerved* many Ages; Firſt under *Carthage*, then under *Rome*, after under *Sarazens*, *Gothes*, and others;) ſhould, of late years, take unto themſelves that Spirit, as to dream, of a *Monarchy*, in the *Weſt*, according to that Deviſe; *Video Solem Orientem in Occidente*: Onely, becauſe they have raviſhed, from ſome wild, and unarmed, People, Mines, and Store, of Gold: And, on the other ſide, that this Iſland of Britanny, ſeated, and manned, as it is, and that hath, (I make no queſtion,) the beſt *Iron* in the *world*; (That is, the beſt *Souldiers* of the *world*;) ſhould think of nothing, but Reckonings, and Audits, and *Meum* and *Tuum*, and I cannot tell what.

Mr. *Speaker*,) I have, (I take it,) gone through the Parts, which I propounded to my Self; Wherein, if any Man, ſhall think, that I have ſung *Placebo*; For mine own particular, I would have him know, that I am not ſo unſeen in the world, but that I diſcern, it were much alike, for my private fortune, to reſt a *Tacebo*, as to ſing a *Placebo*, in this Buſineſs. But I have ſpoken, out of the Fountain, of my *Heart*: *Credidi, propter quod locutus ſum*; *I believed, therefore I ſpake*. So as my Duty is performed: The Judgement is yours; *God* direct it for the beſt.

A Speech used by Sir Francis Bacons in the Lower House of Parliament, by occasion, of a Motion, concerning the Union of Lawes.

AND it pleaſe you, (Mr. *Speaker*,) were it now a time to Wiſh, as it is to Adviſe; No Man ſhould be more forward, or more earneſt, then my ſelf, in this wiſh; That his *Majeſties Subjects*, of *England* and *Scotland*, were governed by one Law; And that for many Reaſons.

Firſt, becauſe it will be an infallible Aſſurance, that there will never be, any Relapſe, in ſucceeding Ages, to a Separation.

Secondly, *Dulcis tractus pari jugo*: If the *Draught* lye moſt upon us, and the *Toke* lighteſt upon them, it is not equall.

Thirdly, the *Qualities*, and, (as I may term it,) the *Elements* of their *Laws*, and ours, are ſuch, as do promiſe, an excellent Temperature, in the compounded Body: For if the *prerogative* here be too indefinite, it may be the *Liberty* there is too unbounded: If our *Laws*, and proceedings, be too Prolixe, and Formall; it may be theirs, are too informall, and Summary.

Fourthly, I do diſcern, to my underſtanding, there will be no great *Difficulty*, in this Work. For their Laws, by that I can learn, compared with ours, are like their Language, compared with ours. For as their *Language*, hath the ſame Roots, that ours hath, but hath a little more mixture of *Latine*, and *French*; So their *Laws* and *Cuſtomes*, have the like Grounds, that ours have, with a little more mixture, of the *Civill Law*, and *French Cuſtomes*.

Laſtly, the *Mean* to this work, ſeemeth to me, no leſſe excellent, then the *Work* it ſelf: For if both *Laws* ſhall be united, it is of neceſſity, for preparation, and Inducement thereunto, that our own *Laws*, be reviewed, and recompiled, Then the which, I think, there cannot be a work, that his Majeſty can undertake, in theſe his times of Peace, more Politique, more Honourable, nor more Beneficiall to his Subjects, for all Ages;

Pace datâ Terris, Animum ad Civilia Vertit
Jura ſuum, Legeſque tulit juſtiſſimus Auctor.

For this continuall Heaping up, of Laws, without digeſting them, maketh but a *Chaos* and *Confuſion*: And turneth the Laws, many times, to become but *Snares* for the People, as is ſaid, in the Scripture, *Pluet ſuper eos Laqueos*. Now, *Non ſunt pejores Laquei, quam Laquei Legum*. And therefore, this work, I eſteem to be, indeed, a work, (rightly to term it,) *Heroicall*. So that, for this good wiſh, of *Union* of *Laws*, I do conſent to the full; And, I think, you may perceive, by that which I have ſaid, that I come not in this, to the Opinion of Others, but that I was, long ago, ſetled in it, my Self. Nevertheleſſe, as this is moved out of zeal,

ſo,

ſo, I take it, to be moved out of Time; As commonly zealous Motions are: while Men, are, ſo faſt, carried on, to the End, as they give no Attention to the Mean. For if it be *Time*, to talk of this now; It is, either becauſe the buſineſs, now in hand, cannot proceed without it; Or becauſe, in Time, and Order, this Matter ſhould be precedent; Or becauſe, we ſhall leeſe ſome advantage, towards this Effect, ſo much deſired, if we ſhould go on, in the courſe, we are about. But none of theſe three; in my judgement, are true; And therefore, the Motion, as I ſaid, unſeaſonable.

For firſt, that there may not be, a *Naturalization*, without an *Union* in *Laws*, cannot be maintained. Look into the Example, of the *Church*; And the Union thereof; You ſhall ſee ſeverall *Churches*, that joyn in one *Faith*, one *Baptiſm*, (which are the points of ſpirituall Naturalization,) do, many times, in Policy, Conſtitutions, and Cuſtomes, differ. And therefore, one of the *Fathers*, made an excellent obſervation, upon the two *Myſteries*: The one, that in the *Goſpell*; where the *Garment* of *Chriſt*, is ſaid to have been with out *Seame*; The other, that in the *Pſalme*, where the *Garment*, of the Queen is ſaid, to have been *of divers Colours*; And concludeth, *In veſte Varietas ſit, Sciſſura non ſit.* So, in this Caſe, (Mr. *Speaker*,) we are now in hand, to make this *Monarchy* of one *Piece*, and not of one *Colour*. Look again, into the Examples, of *Forrain Countries*; And take, that next us, of *France*; And there, you ſhall find, that they have this Diſtribution; *Pais du droit Eſcript*; and *Pais du droit Conſtumier*. For *Gaſcoigne*, *Languedock*, *Provence*, *Daulphenie*, are *Countries*, governed by the *Letter*, or *Text*, of the *Civill Law*: But the *Iſle* of *France*, *Tourain*, *Berry*, *Anjou*, and the reſt; And moſt of all *Brittain*, and *Normandy*; Are governed by *Cuſtomes*, which amount unto a *Municipall Law*; And uſe the *Civill Law*, but only for Grounds; And to decide new, and rare, Caſes; And yet, nevertheleſs, *Naturalization*, paſſeth through all.

Secondly, that this *Union* of *Laws*, ſhould precede the *Naturalization*; Or that it ſhould go on, *pari paſſu*, hand in hand, I ſuppoſe, likewiſe, can hardly be maintained: But the contrary, that *Naturalization* ought to precede. Of which my Opinion, as I could yield many reaſons, ſo becauſe all this, is but a Digreſſion, and therefore ought to be ſhort; I will hold my ſelf now, onely to one, which is briefly and plainly this: That the *Union* of *Laws*, will ask a great Time, to be perfected, both for the *Compiling*, and for the *Paſſing*: During all which time, if this *Mark* of *Strangers*, ſhould be denied to be taken away; I fear it may induce, ſuch a Habit of *Strangeneſs*, as will rather be an Impediment, then a preparation, to further proceeding. For he was a wiſe Man that ſaid; *Opportuni Magnis Conatibus Tranſitus Rerum.* And in thoſe Caſes, *Non progredi eſt Regredi.* An like, as in a pair of Tables, you muſt put out the former writing, before you can put

in new; And again, that which you write in, you write Letter by Letter; But that which you put out, you put out at once: So we have now to deal with the Tables of Mens Hearts, wherein it is in vain, to think you can enter, the willing Acceptance of our *Laws*, and *Customs*; except you first put forth, all Notes, either of *Hostility*, or *Forrain Condition*. And these, are to be put out, *simulet semel*, at once, without Gradations; whereas the other points, are to be imprinted, and engraven, distinctly, and by degrees.

Thirdly, whereas it is conceived by some, that the Communication, of our Benefits, and priviledges, is a good Hold, that we have over them, to draw them to submit themselves to our Laws: It is an Argument, of some probability, but yet to be answered, many wayes. For first, the Intent is mistaken; Which is not, as I conceive it, to draw them wholy, to a Subjection to our *Laws*; But to draw, both Nations, to one *uniformity*, of *Law*. Again to think, that there should be, a kind of Articulate, and Indented, Contract; That they should receive our *Laws*, to obtain our *priviledges*, it is a Matter in reason of Estate not to be expected; Being that, which scarcely a private Man, will acknowledge, if it come to that, whereof *Seneca* speaketh; *Beneficium accipere, est Libertatem vendere*: No, but Courses of Estate, do describe, and delineate, another way; Which is, to win them, either by Benefit, or Custome. For we see, in all Creatures, that Men do *Feed* them first, and *Reclaim* them after. And so, in the first Institution of *Kingdomes*, *Kings* did first win *People*, by many *Benefits*, and *Protections*, before they prest any *Yoke*. And for *Custome*, which the *Poets* call, *Imponere Morem*: Who doubts, but that the Seat of the *Kingdome*, and the Example of the *King*, resting here with us, our *Manners* will quickly be there, to make all things ready for our *Laws*?

And lastly, the *Naturalization*, which is now propounded, is qualified, with such Restrictions, as there will be enough kept back, to be used, at all times, for an *Adamant*, of drawing them further on to our Desires. And therefore, to conclude, I hold this Motion, of *Union* of *Laws*, very worthy, and arising from very good Minds, but not proper for this Time.

To come therefore to that, which is now in Question: It is no more, but whither, there should be a Difference made, in this priviledge of *Naturalization*, between the *Ante-Nati*, and the *Post-Nati*; Not in point of *Law*, (for that will otherwise be decided,) but onely in point of Convenience; [As if a Law, were now to be made, *de novo*.] In which *Question*, I will, at this time, onely answer two *Objections*; And use two *Arguments*, and so leave it to your Judgement.

The first *Objection* hath been; That if a Difference, should be, it ought to be in favour of the *Ante-Nati*; Because, they are Persons, of Merit, Service, and Proof; whereas the *Post-Nati* are Infants,

fants, That, (as the Scripture ſaith,) *know not the Right Hand from the Left.*

This were good Reaſon, (Mr. *Speaker*,) if the Queſtion were, of *Naturalizing* ſome particular Perſons, by a private *Bill:* But it hath no proportion, with the generall Caſe. For now, we are not to look to reſpects, that are proper to ſome, but to thoſe, which are common to all. Now then, how can it be imagined, but that thoſe, that took their firſt Breath, ſince this happy *Union*, inherent in his *Majeſties* Perſon, muſt be more aſſured, and affectionate to this Kingdome, then thoſe generally can be preſumed to be, which were ſometimes Strangers? For, *Nemo ſubitò fingitur:* The Converſions of *Minds*, are not ſo ſwift, as the Converſions of *Times*. Nay, in Effects of *Grace*, which exceed far the Effects of *Nature*, we ſee, Saint *Paul*, makes a difference, between thoſe he calls *Neophites*; That is, newly grafted into *Chriſtianity*; And thoſe, that are brought up, in the Faith. And ſo, we ſee, by the *Lawes* of the *Church*, that the *Children* of *Chriſtians*, ſhall be *Baptized*, in regard, of the Faith, of their Parents; But the *Child* of an *Ethnick*, may not receive *Baptiſm*, till he be able, to make, an underſtanding *Profeſſion*, of his *Faith*.

Another *Objection* hath been made; That we ought, to be more provident, and reſerved, to reſtrain the *Poſt-Nati*, then the *Ante Nati*: Becauſe, during his Majeſties time, being a *Prince* of ſo approved Wiſdome, and *Judgement*, we need no better Caution, then the Confidence, we may repoſe in Him: But in the Future *Reigns*, of ſucceeding Ages, our Caution muſt be in *Re*, and not in *Perſonâ*.

But, (Mr. *Speaker*,) to this I anſwer; That as we cannot expect a *Prince* hereafter, leſs like to erre, in reſpect of his Judgement: ſo again, we cannot expect a *Prince*, ſo like to exceed, (if I may ſo term it,) in this point of Beneficence, to that Nation, in reſpect of the Occaſion. For whereas all *Princes*, and all Men are won, either by Merit, or Converſation, there is no Appearance, that any of his *Majeſties Deſcendants*, can have either of theſe Cauſes, of Bounty, towards that *Nation*, in ſo ample Degree, as his *Majeſty* hath. And theſe be, the two *Objections*, which ſeemed to me moſt Materiall, why the *Poſt-Nati*, ſhould be left free, and not be concluded, in the ſame Reſtrictions, with the *Ante-Nati*, whereunto you have heard the Anſwers.

The two Reaſons, which I will uſe, on the other ſide, are briefly theſe. The one, being a Reaſon, of Common Senſe; The other, a Reaſon, of Eſtate. We ſee, (Mr. *Speaker*,) the Time of the Nativity, is, in moſt Caſes, principally regarded. In Nature, the Time of planting, and ſetting, is chiefly obſerved. And we ſee, the *Aſtrologers*, pretend to judge, of the Fortune of the Party, by the Time of the *Nativity*. In Lawes, we may, not unfitly, apply, the Caſe of *Legitimation*, to the Caſe of *Naturalization*. For it is true, that the *Common Canon Law*, doth put the *Ante-Natus*, and

the *Poſt-Natus*, in one Degree; But when it was moved, to the *Parliament* of *England*; *Barones unâ voce reſponderunt, Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare.* And though, it muſt be confeſſed, that the *Ante-Nati*, and *Poſt-Nati*, are in the ſame Degree, in *Dignities*; yet were they never ſo, in *Abilities*: For no Man doubts, but the Son, of an *Earl*, or *Baron*, before his *Creation*, or *Call*, ſhall inherite the *Dignity*, as well as the Son born after.

But the Son, of an *Attainted Perſon*, born before the Attainder, ſhall not inherit, as the After born ſhall, notwithſtanding *Charter* of *Pardon*.

The *Reaſon* of *Eſtate* is; That any Reſtriction, of the *Ante-Nati*, is Temporary; And expireth with this Generation: But if you you make it in the *Poſt-Nati* alſo, you do, but in ſubſtance, pen, a perpetuity of *Separation*.

(Mr. *Speaker*,) in this point, I have been ſhort, becauſe I little expected this Doubt, as to point of Convenience: And therefore will not much labour, where I ſuppoſe, there is no greater Oppoſition.

A Report, *made by Sir* Francis Bacon, Knight, *in the* Houſe *of* Commons, *of a Speech, delivered by the* Earl *of* Salisbury; *And another* Speech, *delivered by the* Earl *of* Northampton, *at a Conference, concerning the Petition of the Merchants, upon the* Spaniſh *grievances*, Parliament 5°. Jacobi.

AND it pleaſe you, (Mr. *Speaker*,) I do not find my ſelf, any wayes bound, to report that, which paſſed, at the laſt conference, touching the *Spaniſh Grievances*; Having been neither employed to ſpeak, nor appointed to *Report* in that Cauſe. But becauſe it is put upon me, by a ſilent Expectation, grounded upon nothing, (that I know,) more then that I was obſerved, diligently to take notes; I am content, (if that Proviſion, which I made for mine own Remembrance, may ſerve this *Houſe* for a *Report*,) not to deny you that *Sheafe*, that I have, in haſt, *bound up*. It is true, that one of his *Majeſties*, *Principall Counſellours* in Cauſes of *Eſtate* did uſe a *Speach*, that contained a World of Matter: But how, I ſhall be able to make a Globe, of that World, therein I fear mine own ſtrength.

His Lordſhip, took the occaſion, of this, which I ſhall now report, upon the Anſwer, which was by us made, to the Amendments, propounded, upon the *Bill* of *Hoſtile Lawes*; Quitting that *Buſineſs*, with theſe few words; That he would diſcharge, our Expectation of Reply, becauſe their *Lordſhips* had, no Warrant

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to Diſpute. Then, continuing his *Speach*, he fell into this other Cauſe, and ſaid; That being now, to make Anſwer, to a propoſition of ours, as we had done to one of theirs, he wiſhed it could be paſſed over, with like Brevity. But he did foreſee his way, that it would prove, not onely long, but likewiſe hard to find, and hard to keep; This Cauſe, being ſo to be carried, as above all, no wrong be done, to the *Kings* Soveraignty, and Authority; And in ſecond place, no Miſunderſtanding do enſue between the two *Houſes*. And therefore, that he hoped, his words ſhould receive a benign Interpretation; Knowing well, that purſuit, and Drift of Speech, and multitude of Matter, might breed words to paſs from him, beyond the Compaſs of his Intention: And therfore, he placed more Aſſurance, and Caution, in the Innocency of his own meaning, and in the Experience of his Favours, then in any his Warineſs, or Watchfulneſs, over his own Speech.

This reſpective preface uſed, *his Lordſhip* deſcended to the Matter it ſelf; which he divided into three Conſiderations: For, he ſaid, he would conſider of the *Petition*.

First, as it proceeded, from the *Merchants*.

Secondly, as from them, it was offered, to the *Lower Houſe*.

And thirdly, as from the *Lower Houſe*, it was recommended to the *Higher Houſe*.

In the Firſt of theſe Conſiderations, there fell out naturally, a Subdiviſion, into the *Perſons* of the Petitioners; And the Matter, and *Parts*, of the Petition. In the Perſons of the *Merchants*, his *Lordſhip* made, (as I have collected them,) in number, eight Obſervations: whereof, the three firſt, reſpected the Generall Condition of *Merchants*; And the five following, were applyed, to the particular Circumſtances, of the Merchants, now complaining.

His *Lordſhips* firſt, generall Obſervation, was; That *Merchants* were of two ſorts: The one ſought their Fortunes, (as the verſe ſaith,) *per Saxa, per Ignes*: And, as it is ſaid, in the ſame place, *Extremos currit Mercator ad Indos*; Subjecting themſelves, to Wether, and Tempeſt; To Abſence, and, as it were, Exile, out of their Native Countreys; To Arreſts, in Entrances of War; To Forrain Injuſtice, and Rigour, in times of Peace; And many other Sufferances, and Adventures. But that there were others, that took, a more ſafe, but a leſs generous Courſe, in raiſing their Fortunes. He taxed none, but did attribute, much more reſpect, to the former.

The ſecond Generall *Obſervation*, which his *Lordſhip* made was, That the Complaints of *Merchants*, were, uſually, ſubject, to much Errour; In regard, that they ſpake, (for the moſt part,) but upon Information; And that carried through many Hands; And of Matters done in Remote parts: So as, a falſe, or factious, Factour, mought, oftentimes, make great Tragedies, upon no great Ground. Whereof, towards the End

of

of his Speech, he brought an Inſtance, of one trading the *Levant*; That complained, of an Arreſt of his Ship; And poſſeſſed the *Counſell-Table*, with the ſame Complaint, in a vehement, and bitter, faſhion; Deſiring, and preſſing, ſome preſent, and Expoſtulatory Letters, touching the ſame. Whereupon, ſome *Counſellours*, well acquainted with the like Heates, and Forwardneſs, in Complaints, happened to ſay to him; Out of Conjecture, and not out of any Intelligence; *What will you ſay, if your Ship, which you complain to be under Arreſt, be now under Sail, in way homewards?* Which fell out accordingly: The ſame Perſon, confeſſing, ſix dayes after, to the Lords, that ſhe was indeed, in her way homewards.

The third generall *Obſervation*, which his *Lordſhip* made, was this, in Effect: That, although, he granted, that the Wealth, and Welfare of the *Merchant*, was not, without a Sympathy, with the generall Stock, and State of a *Nation*, eſpecially an *Iſland*; yet nevertheleſs, it was a Thing, too familiar, with the *Merchant*, to make the Caſe of his Particular Profit, the publick Caſe of the *Kingdom*.

There follow, the particular *Obſervations*, which have a reference, and application, to the *Merchants*, that trade to *Spain*, and the *Levant*. Wherein his *Lordſhip*, did firſt, honourably, and tenderly, acknowledge, that their *Grievances* were great, That they did multiply; And that they do deſerve, compaſſion, and help; But yet, nevertheleſs, that he muſt uſe, that loving plainneſs to them, as to tell them, that in many things, they were Authors, of their own Miſeries. For ſince the Diſſolving of the *Company*, which was termed the *Monopoly*; And was ſet free, by the ſpeciall Inſtance, of this *Houſe*; There hath followed, ſuch a Confuſion, and Relaxation, in Order, and Government, amongſt them; As they do not onely incur, many Inconveniences; And commit many Errours; But in the purſuites, of their own Remedies, and ſuites, they do it ſo impolitiquely, and after ſuch a Faſhion; As Except, *Legier Embaſſadours*, (which are the Eyes, of Kings, in forrain Parts,) ſhould leave their Centinell, and become *Merchants Factours*, and Sollicitours, their Cauſes can hardly proſper. And, which is more, ſuch is now the Confuſion, in the Trade; As Shop-Keepers, and Handy-Crafts-Men, become *Merchants* there; Who being bound, to no Orders, ſeek baſe means, by Gifts, and Bribery, to procure favours, at the Hands, of Officers there. So as the honeſt *Merchant*, that trades like a ſubſtantiall *Merchant*; And loves not to take Servile Courſes, to buy the Right due to him, by the Amity of the *Princes*; can have no Juſtice, without treading in their ſteps.

Secondly, his *Lordſhip* did obſerve, ſome Improbability, that the wrongs ſhould be ſo great, conſidering Trading, into thoſe parts, was never greater; *whereas* if the wrongs, and griefs, were ſo intollerable, and continuall, as they propound them; It would work,

work, rather, a generall Diſcouragement, and Coldneſs, of Trade, in *Fact*; Then an earneſt, and hot Complaint, in *Words*.

Thirdly, his *Lordſhip* did obſerve; That it is a Courſe, (howſoever it may be with a good Intent,) yet of no ſmall preſumption, for *Merchants*, upon their particular *Grievances*, to urge things, tending to a direct *War*; Conſidering, that nothing, is more uſuall, in Treaties, then that ſuch particular Dammages, and Moleſtations of Subjects, are left to a Form of Juſtice, to be righted: And that the more high Articles, do retain, nevertheleſs, their vigour inviolably; And that the great Bargain, of the *Kingdome*, for *War*, and *Peace*, may, in no wiſe, depend, upon ſuch petty Forfeitures; No more, then in common Aſſurance, between Man and Man, it were fit, that upon every breach of Covenants, there ſhould be limitted a Re-entry.

Fourthly, his *Lordſhip* did obſerve; In the manner, of preferring their *Petition*, they had inverted due order; Addreſſing themſelves, to the *Foot*, and not to the *Head*. For conſidering, that they prayed, no new Law, for their Relief; And that, it concerned, Matter of Inducement, to *War*, or *Peace*; They ought, to have begun, with his *Majeſty*, unto whoſe Royall Judgement, Power, and Office, did properly belong, the diſcerning of that, which was deſired; The putting in Act of that, which mought be granted; And the Thanks for that, which mought be obtained.

Fifthly, his *Lordſhip* did obſerve; That, as they had not preferred their *Petition* as it ſhould be; So, they had not purſued their own Direction, as it was. For, having directed their *Petition* to the *King*, the Lords ſpirituall, and Temporall, and the Commons in Parliament aſſembled; It imported, as if they had offered the like Petition, to the Lords; which they never did; Contrary, Not onely, to their own Direction, but, likewiſe, to our Conceipt; who preſuppoſed, (as it ſhould ſeem, by ſome Speech, that paſſed from us, at a former Conference;) That they had offered, ſeverall *Petitions*, of like tenour, to both *Houſes*. So, have you now, thoſe eight *Obſervations*, part Generall, part Speciall, which his Lordſhip; made touching the *Perſons* of thoſe, which exhibited the *Petition*, and the *Circumſtances* of the ſame.

For the *Matter*, of the *Petition*, it ſelf, his Lordſhip made this *Diviſion*; That it conſiſteth of threeparts.

First, of the Complaints, of wrongs, in Fact.

Secondly, of the Complaints, of wrongs, in Law; As they may be truly termed; That is, of the Inequality of Lawes, which do regulate the Trade.

And thirdly, the *Remedy* deſired, by Letters of *Mart*.

The *wrongs*, in *Fact*, receive a locall Diſtribution, of three. In the Trade to *Spain*; In the Trade to the *Weſt. Indies*; And in the Trade to the *Levant*.

Concerning the *Trade* to *Spain*: Although *his Lordſhip* did uſe, much ſignification, of Compaſſion, of the Injuries, which the

Merchants

Merchants received; And attributed ſo much, to their Profeſſion, and Eſtate; As from ſuch a mouth in ſuch a Preſence, they ought to receive, for a great deal, of Honour, and Comfort; (which Kind of Demonſtration, he did enterlace, throughout his whole Speech, as proceeding, *Ex Abundantiâ Cordis*,) yet, nevertheleſs, he did remember four *Excuſations*, or rather *Extenuations*, of thoſe *wrongs*.

The firſt was, that the *Injuſtices*, complained of, were not in the Higheſt Degree; Becauſe, they were Delayes, and hard proceedings, and not Inique Sentences, or definitive Condemnations. Wherein I called to mind, what I heard a great *Biſhop*, ſay; That *Courts* of *Juſtice*, though they did not turn *Juſtice* into *Wormwood*, by *Corruption*; yet, they turned it, into Vinegar, by Delaies, which ſowred it. Such a Difference did his *Lordſhip* make, which, no queſtion, is a Difference, *ſecundum Magis, & Minus*.

Secondly, his *Lordſhip* aſcribed theſe *Delayes*, not ſo much to Mallice, or Alienation of Mind, towards us; As to the Nature, of the People, and Nation; which is Proud, and therefore Dilatory: For all proud Men are full of *Delayes*, and muſt be waited on; And ſpecially, to the Multitudes, and Diverſities, of Tribunals, and places of Juſtice; And the Number of the Kings Counſels, full of *Referrings*, which ever prove, of neceſſity, to be Deferrings; Beſides, the great Diſtance of Territories. All which, have made, the Delayes, of *Spain*, to come into a Byword, through the *World*. Wherein, I think, his *Lordſhip* might allude, to the *Proverb* of *Italy*; *Me Venga la Morte di Spagna. Let my Death come from Spain:* For then, it is ſure, to be long a comming.

Thirdly, his *Lordſhip* did uſe, an Extenuation of theſe wrongs, drawn from the Nature of Man; (*Nemo ſubitò fingitur:*) For that, we muſt make an account; That, though the Fire of Enmity, be out, between *Spain*, and us, yet it vapoureth: The utter Extincting whereof, muſt be the work of Time.

But laſtly, his *Lordſhip* did fall, upon that Extenuation, which of all the reſt, was muſt forcible; which was; That many of theſe *wrongs*, were not ſuſtained, without ſome Aſperſion, of the *Merchants* own Fault, in miniſtring the Occaſion, which grew chiefly in this manner.

There is contained, an *Article*, in the *Treaty*, between *Spain*, and *us*; That, we ſhall not tranſport, any Native Commodities, of the *Low-Countreys*, into *Spain*: Nay more, that we ſhall not tranſport, any *Opificia*; *Manufactures*, of the ſame *Countreys*. So that, if an Engliſh Cloath, take but a Dye, in the *Low Countryes*, it may not be tranſported by the *Engliſh*: And the Reaſon is, becauſe even thoſe *Manufactures*, although the Materiall come from other Places, do yield unto them, a Profit and Suſtentation, in regard their People are ſet on work by them: They have a gain, likewiſe, in the Price; And they have, a Cuſtome, in the Tranſporting. All which, the Policy of *Spain*, is, to debar them of;

Be-

Being no leſs deſirous, to Suffocate the *Trade* of the *Low-Countries*, then to reduce their *Obedience*. This *Article*, the *Engliſh Merchant*, either doth not, or will not, underſtand: But being drawn, with his threefold Cord, of Love, Hate, and Gain; They do adventure, to tranſport, the *Low-Countrey* Commodities, of theſe natures; And ſo, draw upon themſelves, theſe Arreſts, and Troubles.

For the *Trade*, to the *Indies*; His Lordſhip did diſcover unto us, the ſtate of it, to be thus. The Pollicy of *Spain*, doth keep that Treaſury of theirs, under ſuch Lock, and Key, as both Confederates, yea, and Subjects, are excluded, of Trade, into thoſe Countries. : Inſomuch as the *French King*, who hath reaſon to ſtand, upon equall termes, with *Spain*, yet nevertheleſs, is, by expreſſe Capitulation, debarred. The *Subjects* of *Portugall*, whom the *State* of *Spain*, hath ſtudied, by all means, to content, are likewiſe debarred: Such a *vigilant Dragon* is there, that keepeth this *Golden Fleece*: yet nevertheleſſe, ſuch was his *Majeſties* Magnanimity, in the Debate, and Concluſion, of the laſt Treaty; As he would never condiſcend, to any Article, importing the Excluſion, of his *Subjects*, from that *Trade*: As a *Prince*, that would not acknowledge, that any ſuch Right, could grow, to the *Crown* of *Spain*, by the *Donative*, of the *Pope*; whoſe Authority he Diſclaimeth: Or by the Title, of a diſperſed, and punctuall Occupation, of certain Territories, in the name of the reſt: But ſtood firm, to reſerve that point, in full Queſtion, to further Times, and occaſions. So as it is left, by the Treaty, in Suſpence, neither debarred, nor permitted. The Tenderneſs, and Point of Honour whereof, was ſuch, as they, that went thither, muſt run their own Perill. Nay further, his *Lordſhip affirmed*; That if yet, at this time, his Majeſty would deſcend, to a Courſe of Entreaty, for the releaſe, of the *Arreſts*, in thoſe parts, And ſo confeſs an Excluſion; And quit the point of Honour; his *Majeſty*, mought have them, forthwith releaſed: And yet his *Lordſhip* added; That the Offences, and Scandalls, of ſome, had made this point worſe then it was; In regard, that this very laſt *Voyage* to *Virginia*, intended for *Trade* and *Plantation*; Where the Spaniard, hath no People, nor Poſſeſſion, is already become inflamed for *Pyracy*. Witneſs *Bingley*, who firſt, inſinuating his purpoſe, to be an Actour, in that worthy Action, of Enlarging *Trade*, and *Plantation*, is become a *Pyrate*; And hath been ſo purſued, as his Ship, is taken in *Ireland*, though his Perſon, is not yet in hold.

For the *Trade*, to the *Levant*; His *Lordſhip* opened unto us, that the Complaint conſiſted, in effect, but of two Particulars: The one, touching the Arreſt of a *Ship*, called the *Triall*, in *Sicely*; The other, of a *Ship*, called the *Vineyard*, in *Sardinia*. The Firſt, of which *Arreſts*, was, upon pretence, of *Pyracy*: The Second, upon pretence, of carrying *Ordnance*, and *Powder*, to the *Turk*. That *Proceſſe*, concerning the *Triall*, hath been, at the *Merchants* in-

ſtance, drawn to a Review, in *Spain*; which is a Favour, of exceeding rare Preſident; Being directly, againſt the Liberties, & Priviledges of *Sicely*. That of the *Vineyard*, notwithſtanding it be of that nature, as, (if it ſhould be true,) tendeth, to the great Diſhonour, of our Nation; (whereof, Hold hath been already taken, by the *French Ambaſſadour*, reſiding at *Conſtantinople*; Who entred, into a Scandalous Expoſtulation, with his *Majeſties Ambaſſadour* there, upon that, and the like, Tranſportations, of Munition, to the *Turk*;) yet nevertheleſſe, there is an Anſwer given, by Letters, from the *Kings*, *Ambaſſadour Legier*, in *Spain*; That there ſhall be, ſome Courſe taken, to give reaſonable Contentment, in that Cauſe, as far as may be; In both which *Ships*, (to ſpeak truly,) the greateſt Maſs, of loſs, may be included: For the reſt are mean, in reſpect of the value, of thoſe two Veſſels. And thus much his *Lordſhip Speech* comprehended, concerning the *wrongs* in *Fact*.

Concerning the *Wrongs*, in *Law*; That is to ſay; the *Rigour* of the *Spaniſh Lawes*, extended upon his *Majeſties Subjects*, that traffique thither, his *Lordſhip* gave this Anſwer. That they were no new *Statutes*, or *Edicts*, deviſed for our *People*, or our *Times*; But were the ancient Lawes, of that *Kingdome*: *Suus cuique Mos*. And therefore, as Travellers, muſt endure the Extremities, of the Climate, and Temper of the Air, where they travell: So *Merchants*, muſt bear with the Extremities, of the *Lawes*, and Temper of the *Eſtate*, where they trade. Whereunto his *Lordſhip* added; that our own *Lawes*, here in *England*, were not exempted, from the like Complaints, in Forrain Parts; Eſpecially, in point, of Marine Cauſes, & Depredations; And that ſame ſwift Alteration, of Property, which is claimed by the *Admiralty*, in caſe of Goods, taken, in *Pyrates* hands. But that, we were to underſtand, thus much, of the *King* of *Spains* Care, and Regard, of our *Nation*; That he had written, his Letters, to all *Corrigidors*, *Officers* of *Ports*, and other his *Miniſters*; Declaring his will, and pleaſure, to have his *Majeſties Subjects*, uſed, with all Freedome, and Favour: And with this Addition, that they ſhould have more Favour, when it might be ſhewed, then any other. Which words, howſoever the Effects prove, are not ſuddainly to be requited, with peremptory Reſolutions, till Time declare, the direct Iſſue.

For the third Part, of the *Matter*, of the Petition; which was, the *Remedy*, ſought by *Letters* of *Mart*; His *Lordſhip* ſeemed deſirous, to make us capable, of the Inconvenience, of that, which was deſired, by ſetting, before us, two notable *Exceptions* thereunto: The one, that the *Remedy*, was utterly incompetent, and vain: The other, that it was dangerous, and pernicious, to our *Merchants*; And, in Conſequence, to the whole *State*.

For the *weakneſſe*, of the *Remedy*; His Lordſhip, wiſhed us, to enter into Conſideration, what the *Remedy* was, which the *Statute* of *Henry* the fifth, (which was now ſought, to be put in Execution,)

cution,) gave, in this Caſe; which was thus: That the Party grieved, ſhould firſt complain, to the Keeper, of the private Seal; And from him, ſhould take Letters unto the Party, that had committed the Spoyl, for Reſtitution. And in default of Reſtitution, to be made upon ſuch *Letters*, ſerved; Then, to obtain of the *Chanceller*, *Letters* of *Mart*, or *Repriſall*: which Circuit of *Remedy*, promiſed nothing, but endleſſe, and fruitleſs, Delay; In regard that the firſt Degree preſcribed, was never likely to be effected: It being ſo wilde a Chace, as to ſerve Proceſſe, upon the wrong-Doer, in Forrain Parts. Wherefore his *Lordſhip* ſaid, that it muſt be, the *Remedy* of *Statute*, that muſt do good, in this caſe: which uſeth to proceed, by Certificats, Atteſtations, and other means of Information; Not depending upon a privy Seal, to be ſerved upon the Party, whom happily they muſt ſeek out, in the *Weſt-Indies*.

For the *Danger*, of the *Remedy*; His *Lordſhip* directed our Conſiderations, to take notice, of the proportions, of the *Merchants* Goods, in either *Kingdome*: As that the Stock, of Goods, of the *Spaniard*, which is within his *Majeſties* Power, and Diſtreſſe, is a Triſle: Whereas the Stock of *Engliſh* Goods, in *Spain*, is a Maſſe, of mighty value. So as, if this Courſe, of *Letters* of *Mart*, ſhould be taken, to ſatisfie, a few hot Purſuitours, here; All the Goods, of the *Engliſh* Subjects, in *Spain*, ſhall be expoſed, to Seiſure, and Arreſt; And we have little, or nothing, in our Hands, on this ſide, to mend our ſelves upon. And thus much, (Mr. *Speaker*,) is that, which I have collected, out of that excellent *Speech*, concerning the Firſt main part which was; The *Conſideration*, of the *Petition* as it proceeded, from the *Merchant*.

There followeth now, the *Second Part*; Conſidering the *Petition*, as it was offered in this *Houſe*. Wherein his *Lordſhip*; after an affectionate Commemoration, of the Gravity, Capacity, and Duty, which he generally found, in the proceedings of this *Houſe*; deſired us, nevertheleſſe, to conſider with him, how it was poſſible, that the Entertaining of *Petitions*, concerning private *Injuries*, and of this *Nature*, could avoid, theſe three *Inconveniencies*. The Firſt, of *Injuſtice*; The Second, of Derogation, from his *Majeſties* ſupreme, and abſolute Power, of concluding, *Warre*, or Peace; And the Third, of ſome prejudice, in reaſon of *Eſtate*.

For *Injuſtice*, it is plain, and cannot be denied, that we hear but the one Part: Whereas that *Rule*, *Audi alteram Partem*, is not, of the Formality, but of the Eſſence, of *Juſtice*: Which is, therefore figured, with *both Eyes ſhut*, and *both Eares open*. Becauſe, ſhe ſhould hear both ſides, and reſpect Neither: So that, if we ſhould hap, to give, a right Judgement, it mought be *Juſtum*, but not *Juſte*, without hearing both *Parties*.

For the Point of *Derogation*; his *Lordſhip* ſaid; He knew well, we were no leſſe ready, to acknowledge, then Himſelf; That

the *Crown* of *England*, was ever inveſted (amongſt other *Prerogatives*, not diſputable) of an abſolute Determination, & Power, of concluding, and making, *War* and *Peace*. Which, that it was no new Dotation, but of an ancient Foundation, in the *Crown*, he would recite unto us, a number of Preſidents, in the *Raignes*, of ſeverall *Kings*; And chiefly, of thoſe *Kings*, which come neareſt his *Majeſties* own worthineſſe: Wherein He ſaid, that he would not put his Credit, upon Ciphars, and Dates; becauſe it was eaſie to miſtake, the year of a *Raign*, or number of a *Rowle*, but he would avouch them, in ſubſtance, to be perfect and true, as they are taken, out of the *Records*. By which Preſidents, it will appear; That *Petitions* made in *Parliament* to *Kings*, of this *Realme*, his *Majeſties Progenitours*; Intermedling, with matter, of Warr, or Peace; Or inducement thereunto; Received ſmall Allowance, or Succeſſe; But were alwaies put off, with Dilatory Anſwere: Sometimes, referring the matter, to their *Councell*; Sometimes, to their *Letters*; ſometimes to their further *Pleaſure*, and *Advice*; And ſuch other *Formes*; Expreſſing plainly, that the *Kings*, meant to reſerve, Matter of that Nature, entirely to their own Power, and pleaſure.

In the 18th. yeare of *King Edward the Firſt*; Complaint was made, by the Commons, againſt the *Subjects*, of the *Earle* of *Flanders*, with *Petition*, of Redreſſe: The *Kings* Anſwer was; *Rex nihil aliud poteſt, quam eodem modo petere*: That is, *The King could do no more, but make Requeſt, to the Earle of Flanders*, as Requeſt, had been made to him: And yet no Body will imagine, but *King Edward* the *Firſt* was potent enough, to have had his Reaſon, of a *Count* of *Flaunders*, by a Warr: And yet, his Anſwer was; *Nihil aliud poteſt*; As giving them to underſtand; That the Entering into a *Warr*, was a Matter Tranſcendent, that muſt not depend, upon ſuch Controverſies.

In the 4th. year of *King Edward* the *Third*; The *Commons* Petitioned; That the *King* would enter, into certain Covenants, and Capitulations, with the *Duke* of *Brabant*: In which *Petition*, there was alſo inſerted, ſomewhat touching a *Money Matter*. The *Kings* Anſwer was; That for that, that concerned the *Moneys*, they mought handle it, and examine it; But touching the *Peace*, he would do, as to himſelf ſeemed good.

In the 18th. year, of *King Edward* the *Third*; The *Commons* petitioned, that they might have, the Triall, and proceeding, with certain *Merchants Strangers*, as *Enemies* to the *State*. The *Kings* Anſwer was; *It ſhould remain, as it did, till the King had taken further order.*

In the 45th. yeare of *King Edward* the *Third*; The *Commons* complained; That their Trade with the *Eaſterlings*, was not upon equall Tearms; (which is one, of the poynts, inſiſted upon in the preſent *Petition*;) And prayed an Alteration, and Reducement. The *Kings* Anſwer was; *It ſhall be ſo, as occaſion ſhall require.*

In

In the 50th. year, of the ſame *King*; The *Commons* petitioned to the *King*, for Remedy, againſt the *Subjects of Spaine*, as they now do. The *Kings* Anſwer was; *that he would write his Letter, for Remedy.* Here is *Letters* of *Requeſt*, no *Letters* of *Mart*: *Nihil poteſt niſi eodem modo petere.*

In the ſame year, the *Merchants* of *Yorke*, petitioned in *Parliament*, againſt the *Hollanders*; And deſired their *Shipps* mought be ſtayed, both in *England*, and at *Calais*. The *Kings* Anſwer was: *Let it be declared, to the Kings Councell; And they ſhall have ſuch remedy, as is according to Reaſon.*

In the 2d. year of *King Richard the ſecond*, the *Merchants* of the Seacoaſt, did complaine, of diverſe ſpoiles upon their Shipps, and Goods, by the *Spaniard*. The *Kings* Anſwer was, that with the Adviſe of his Councell, he would procure remedy.

His *Lordſhip* cited two other Preſidents; The one in the ſecond yeare, of *King Henry the Fourth*; of a *Petition*, Againſt the *Merchants* of *Geneva*: The other, in the 11th. yeare, of *King Henry* the 6th; Of a *Petition*, againſt the *Merchants*, of the *Stilliard*; which I omit, becauſe they contain, no variety of Anſwer.

His *Lordſhip* further cited, two *Preſidents*, concerning other points of *Prerogative*; Which are, likewiſe, *Flowers* of the *Crowne*; The one; Touching the *Kings ſupremacy Eccleſiaſticall*: The other; Touching the Order, of *Waightes*, and *Meaſures*. The former of them, was, in the time, of *King Richard the* 2d. At what time, the *Commons* complained, againſt certaine Encroachments, and Uſurpations, of the *Pope*: And the *Kings* Anſwer was; *The King hath given Order, to his Councell, to treat with the Biſhops, thereof.* The other was, in the 18th. year of *King Edward the Firſt*; At which time, Complaint was made, againſt uneven Waights; And the *Kings* Anſwer was, *Votentur partes, ad placita Regis, & fit Juſtitia*: Whereby it appeared, that the *Kings* of this *Realme*, ſtill uſed, to refer Cauſes, petitioned in *Parliament*, to the proper places, of Cognizance, and Deciſion. But for the Matter, of *Warr*, and *Peace*; As appeares in all the former Preſidents; The *Kings*, ever kept it, *in Scrinio pectoris*; In the Shrines, of their own Breaſt; Aſſiſted and adviſed, by their *Counſell* of *Eſtate*.

His *Lordſhip* did conclude, his Enumeration of *Preſidents*, with a notable *Preſident*, in the 17. year, of King *Richard* the Second. A Prince, of no ſuch glory, nor ſtrength: And yet, when he made offer, to the *Commons* in *Parliament*; That they ſhould take into their Conſiderations, Matter of *Warr*, and *Peace*, then in in hand; The Commons, in Modeſty, excuſed themſelves, and anſwered: *The Commons will not preſume to treat of ſo high a charge.* Out of *all* which *Preſidents*, his *Lordſhip* made this Inference, that as, *Dies Diem docet*; So by theſe *Examples*, Wiſe Men, will be admoniſhed, to forbear thoſe *Petitions* to *Princes*, which are not likely, to have, either a Welcome Hearing, or an effectuall *Anſwer*.

And

And for *prejudice*, that might come, of handling, and debating, Matter of *War*, and *Peace*, in *Parliament*; He doubted not, but that the Wiſedom, of this Houſe, did conceive, upon what ſecret Conſideration, and Motives, that point did depend. For that, there is no *King*, which will *providently*, and Maturely, enter into a *War*; But will firſt ballance, his own Forces; Seek to anticipate, Confederacies, and Alliances; Revoake his *Merchants*; Finde an opportunity, of the firſt Breach; And many other points: which if they once, do but take winde, will prove vaine, and fruſtrate. And therefore, that this Matter, which is *Arcanum Imperij*, one of the higheſt Myſteries of Eſtate, muſt be ſuffered, to be kept, within the Vaile. His *Lordſhip* adding, that he knew not wel, whether in that, which he had already ſaid, out of an extreme Deſire, to give us ſatisfaction; He had not communicated, more particu'ars, then perhaps was requiſite. Nevertheleſſe, he confeſſed, that ſometimes, *Parliaments* have been made acquainted, with Matter of *Warr*, and Peace, in a generallity; But it was, upon one of theſe Two Motives: When the *King*, and *Counſell*, conceived; That either it was Materiall; to have ſome Declaration, of the zeal, and Affection, of the *People*: Or elſe, when the *King* needed, to demand *Moneys*, and *Aides*, for the Charge, of the *Warrs*: Wherin, if Things did ſort to *Warre*, we were ſure enough, to hear of it. His *Lordſhip* hoping, that his *Majeſty*, would find, in us, no leſſe readineſs, to *ſupport* it, then to *perſwade* it.

Now, (Mr. *Speaker*,) for the laſt part; Wherein, his *Lordſhip*, conſidered the *Petition*, As it was, recommended from us, to the upper Houſe; His *Lordſhip* delivered, thus much, from their *Loreſhips*; That they would make, a good Conſtruction, of our Deſires; As thoſe, which they conceived, did rather ſpring, out of a Feeling, of the *Kings Strength*; And out of a Feeling of the *Subjects Wrongs*; Nay more, out of a Wiſdome, and Depth, to declare our forwardneſs, if need were, to aſſiſt his *Majeſties* future Reſolutions; (which Declaration, might be of good uſe, for his *Majeſties* Service, when it ſhould be blown abroad;) Rather, I ſay, then that we did, in any ſort, determine, by this their Overture, to do that wrong to his *Highneſs* Supreme Power; Which happily, might be inferred, by thoſe, that were rather apt to make evill, then good Illations, of our proceeding. And yet, that their *Lordſhips*, for the reaſons, before made, moſt plainly tell us; That they neither could, nor would, concur with us, nor approve the courſe. And therefore concluded; That it would not be amiſs, for us, for our better Contentment, to behold the Conditions, of the laſt *Peace* with *Spain*, which were, of a ſtrange nature, to him that duely obſerves them; No *Forces* recalled, out of the *Low-Countries*; No new *Forces*, (as to *Voluntaries*) reſtrained to go thither: So as the *King*, may be in peace, and never a *Subject* in *England*, but may be in *War*: And then, to think thus with our ſelves; That that *King*, which would give no ground, in making

making his *Peace*, will not looſe any Ground, upon juſt provocation, to enter into an *Honourable War*. And that, in the meane time, we ſhould know thus much; that there could not be, more forcible Negotiation, on the Kings part, but Blowes, to procure Remedy, of thoſe *wrongs*; Nor more fair promiſes, on the *King* of *Spaines* part, to give contentment, concerning the ſame: And therefore, that the Event, muſt be expected.

And thus (Mr. *Speaker*,) have I paſſed over, the *Speech*, of this worthy *Lord*; whoſe *Speeches* (as I have often ſaid,) in regard of his place, and Judgement, are extraordinary Lights, to this *Houſe*; And have both the properties of *Light*; That is *Conducting*, and *Comforting*. And although (Mr. *Speaker*) a Man would have thought, nothing had been left, to be ſaid; Yet I ſhall now, give you account, of another *Speech*, full of excellent Matter, and Ornaments; And without Iteration. Which, nevertheleſſe, I ſhall report, more compendiouſly; Becauſe, I will not offer the *Speech*, that wrong, as to report it at large, when your minds percaſe, and Attentions, are already wearied.

The other *Earl*, who, uſually, doth bear a principall part, upon all important Occaſions; uſed a *Speech*, firſt of *Preface*, then of *Argument*. In his *Preface*, he did deliver, that he was perſwaded, that both *Houſes* did differ, rather in *Credulity*, and Belief, then in Intention, and Deſire. For it mought be, their *Lorſhips*, did not believe, the Information ſo far, but yet deſired, the Reformation as much.

His *Lordſhip* ſaid further, that the *Merchant* was a State, and Degree of perſons; Not only to be reſpected, but to be prayed for; And graced them, with the beſt Additions: That they were, the Convoyes, of our ſupplies; The Vents of our Abundance; *Neptunes* Almeſmen; and Fortunes Adventurers. His *Lordſhip*, proceeded, and ſaid; This *Queſtion*, was new to us, but antient to them: Aſſuring us, that the *King*, did not beare, in vaine, the Deviſe of the *Thiſtle*, with the word; *Nemo me laſceſcit impunè*; And that, as the Multiplying of his *Kingdomes*, maketh him feel his own Power; So the Multiplying of our Loves, and Affections, made him to feel our Griefs.

For the *Arguments*, or *Reaſons*, they were Five in number, which his *Lordſhip* uſed, for ſatisfying us, why their *Lordſhips*, might not concur with us, in this *Petition*. The firſt was, the Compoſition of our *Houſe*; which he took, in the firſt foundation thereof, to be meerly *Democraticall*; Conſiſting, of *Knights* of *Shires*, and *Burgeſſes* of *Townes*; And intended to be of thoſe, that have their Reſidence, Vocation, and Employment, in the places, for which they ſerve: And therefore, to have a private, and locall wiſedom, according to that Compaſſe; And ſo, not fit, to examine, or determine, *Secrets* of *Eſtate*; which depend, upon ſuch Variety, of Circumſtances; And therefore, added, to the Preſident, formerly vouched, of the 17. of *King Richard* the 2d; When the *Commons* diſclaimed

disclaimed, to intermeddle in matter of *War* and *Peace*; That their Answer was that they would not presume, to treat, of so high, and variable a Matter. And although, his *Lordship* acknowledged; That there be divers Gentlemen, in the Mixture, of our *House*; That are of good Capacity, and Insight, in Matters of Estate; yet that was the Accident of the *Person*, and not the Intention of the place. And Things were to be taken, in the *Institution*, not in the *Practice*.

His *Lordships* second *Reason*, was; That both, by *Philosophy, and Civill Law*, *Ordinatio Belli, & pacis, est absoluti Imperij*; A principall *Flower* of the *Crown*. Which *Flowers*, ought to be so dear unto us, as we ought, if need were, to water them with our *Blood*. For if those *Flowers*, should, by neglect, or upon facility, and good affection, wither, and fall, the Garland would not be worth the wearing.

His *Lordships* third *Reason was*; That *Kings*, did so love, to imitate *Primum Mobile*, as that, they do not like, to move in borrowed Motions: So that, in those things, that they do, most willingly, intend; yet they indure not, to be prevented, by Request. Whereof he did alledge, a notable Example, in *King Edward* the 3d. who would not hearken, to the *Petition* of his *Commons*, that besought him, to make the *Black Prince*, *Prince* of *Wales*. But yet, after that Repulse, of their *Petition*, out of his own meer Motion, he created him.

His *Lordships* fourth *Reason*, was; That it mought be some scandall, to step, between the *King*, and his own *Vertue*: And that it was the Duty of *Subjects*; Rather, to take honours, from *Kings* Servants, and give them to *Kings*; then to take honours from *Kings*, and give them to their Servants: Which, he did, very elegantly, set forth, in the Example of *Joab*; who lying at the *Siege* of *Rabbah*; And finding, it could not hold out; writ to *David*, to come, and take the Honour, of taking the Town.

His *Lordships* last *Reason* was, that it cast some aspersion upon his *Majesty*; Implying, as if the *King*, slept, out the *Sobbs* of his *Subjects*, untill he was awaked, with the *Thunderbolt* of a *Parlament*.

But his *Lordships Conclusion*, was very Noble; Which was, with a Protestation; That what Civill Threats, Contestation, Art, and Argument, can do, hath been used, already, to procure *Remedy*, in this Cause: And a Promise; That if *Reason*, of *State*, did permit, as their *Lordships* were ready, to spend their Breath, in the pleading, of that we desire: so they would be ready, to spend their Blouds, in the Execution thereof.

This was the *Resolution*, of that which passed.

A Speech, *used to the* King, *by his* Majesties Solliciter, *being chosen, by the* Commons, *as their Mouth, and Messenger, for the presenting to his* Majesty, *of the* Instrument, *or* Writing, *of their* Grievances; *In the* Parliament 7°. Jacobi.

MOst gracious *Soveraign*; The *Knights*, *Cittizens*, and *Burgesses*, assembled in *Parliament*, in the *House*, of your *Commons*, in all humbleness do Exhibite, and present, unto your *Sacred Majesty*, in their own Words, though by my hand, their *Petitions*, and *Grievances*. They are here conceived, and set down in writing; According to ancient Custome, of *Parliament*. They are also prefaced, according to the Manner, and Tast, of these later Times. Therefore, for me, to make any Additionall *Preface*, were neither warranted, nor convenient: Especially speaking before a *King*; The Exactness of whose Judgement, ought to scatter, and chase away, all unnecessary Speech as the *Sun* doth a *Vapour*. This onely I must say: Since this *Session* of *Parliament*, we have seen your Glory, in the Solemnity, of the *Creation*, of this most Noble *Prince*: We have heard your Wisdome, in sundry excellent *Speeches*, which you have delivered amongst us. Now we hope, to find, and feel, the Effects of your Goodness, in your Gracious Answer, to these our *Petitions*. For this we are perswaded, that the *Attribute*, which was given, by one of the wisest Writers, to Two, of the best *Emperours*; *Divus Nerva*, *& Divus Traianus*; (So saith *Tacitus*,) *Res olim insociabiles miscuerunt, Imperium, & Libertatem*; May be truly applyed, to your *Majesty*. For never was there, such a Conservatour of *Regality*, in a *Crown*; Nor never, such a *Protectour*, of lawfull Freedome, in a *Subject*.

Onely this, (*Excellent Soveraign*,) Let not the sound of *Grievances*, (though it be sad,) seem harsh, to your Princely Eares: It is but *Gemitus Columbæ*; The *Mourning of a Dove*; With that Patience, and Humility of Heart, which appertaineth, to loving and Loyall *Subjects*. And far be it from us; But that, in the midst, of the Sense, of our Grievances, we should remember, and acknowledge the infinite Benefits, which by your *Majesty*, next under *God*, we do enjoy; Which bind us, to wish unto your life, Fulness of Dayes; And unto your *Line Royall*, a Succession, and Continuance, even unto the worlds end.

It resteth, that unto these *Petitions*, here included, I do adde one more, that goeth to them all: Which is; That if, in the words, and frame, of them, there be any Thing offensive; Or that we have expressed our Selves, otherwise then we should, or would; That your *Majesty* would cover it, and cast the Vaile,

of your Grace upon it; And accept of our good Intentions; And help them, by your benign Interpretation.

Laſtly, I am, moſt humbly, to crave, a particular pardon, for my ſelf, that have uſed theſe few words; And ſcarcely, ſhould have been able, to have uſed any at all, in reſpect of the Reverence, which I bear, to your Perſon, and Judgement, had I not been ſomewhat relieved, and comforted, by the Experience, which in my Service, aud Acceſſe, I have had, of your continuall *Grace*, and *Favour*.

A Speech, *of the* Kings Sollicitour, *uſed unto the* Lords, *at a* Conference, *by* Commiſſion, *from the* Commons; *Moving, and perſwading the* Lords *to joyn with the* Commons, *in* Petition *to the* King; *To obtain* Liberty, *to treat, of a* Compoſition, *with his* Majeſty, *for* Wards, *and* Tenures: *In the* Parliament, 7°. Jacobi.

THe *Knights*, Cittizens, and *Burgeſſes*, of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, have commanded me, to deliver to your *Lordſhips*, the *Cauſes*, of the *Conference*, by them prayed, and by your *Lordſhips* aſſented, for the ſecond *Buſineſs*, of this *Day*. They have had Report, made unto them, faithfully, of his *Majeſties* Anſwer, declared by My *L. Treaſurer*, touching their humble Deſire, to obtain Liberty, from his *Majeſty*, to treat, of compounding for *Tenures*. And firſt, they think themſelves, much bound unto his *Majeſty*; That, in *Re novâ*, in which caſe *Princes* uſe to be apprehenſive, he hath made a gracious Conſtruction, of their Propoſition. And ſo much they know of that, that belongs to the Greatneſs of his *Majeſty*, and the Greatneſs of the *Cauſe*; As themſelves acknowledge, they ought not, to have expected a preſent *Reſolution*; Though the *Wiſe-Man* ſaith; *Hope deferred is the Fainting of the Soul.* But they know, their Duty to be, to attend his *Majeſties* Times, at his good pleaſure. And they do it, with the more comfort, becauſe in that his *Majeſties* Anſwer, (Matching the Times, aad weighing the Paſſages thereof,) they conceive, in their Opinion, rather Hope, then Diſcouragement.

But the principall *Cauſes*, of the *Conference*, now prayed; (Beſides theſe ſignifications of Duty, not to be omitted;) Are two *Propoſitions*. The one, Matter of *Excuſe*, of themſelves: The other Matter of *Petition*. The former of which growes thus. Your *Lordſhip*, (my *L. Threaſurer*) in your laſt *declaration*, of his *Majeſties Anſwer*, (which according to the Attribute, then given unto it, had *Imaginem Cæſaris*, fair, and lively, graven,) made this true, and effectuall Diſtribution: That there depended upon *Tenures*, Conſiderations of *Honour*; of *Conſcience*; And of *Utility*: Of theſe three, *Utility*, as his *Majeſty* ſet it by, for the preſent, out of the Greatneſs

of

of his Mind; So we ſet it by, out of the Juſtneſſe, of our Deſires: For we never ment, but a goodly, and worthy Augmentation, of the Profit, now received, and not a Diminution. But, (to ſpeak truly,) that *Conſideration* falleth naturally to be examined, when *Liberty* of *Treaty* is granted: But the former Two, indeed, may exclude *Treaty*; And cut it off, before it be admitted.

Nevertheleſs, in this that we ſhall ſay, concerning thoſe Two, We deſire to be conceived rightly: We mean not, to diſpute with his *Majeſty*, what belongeth to *Soveraign Honour*, or his *Princely Conſcience*; Becauſe we know, we are not capable, to diſcern them; Otherwiſe, then as Men uſe, ſometimes, to ſee the Image, of the *Sun*, in a Pail of Water. But this we ſay for our ſelves; *God* forbid, that we, knowingly, ſhould have propounded any thing, that mought, in our Senſe, and perſwaſion, touch, either of both: And therefore herein we deſire to be heard, not to enform, or perſwade his *Majeſty*, but to free, and excuſe, our ſelves.

And firſt, in generall, we acknowledge, that this *Tree* of *Tenures*, was Planted, into the *Prerogative*, by the ancient common *Law* of this *Land*: That it hath been Fenced in, and Preſerved, by many *Statutes*; And that it yieldeth, at this day, to the *King*, the *Fruit*, of a great *Revenue*. But yet notwithſtanding, if upon the *Stemme*, of this Tree, may be raiſed a *Pillar*, of ſupport to the *Crown*, Permanent, and durable as the *Marble*, by inveſting the *Crown*, with a more ample, more certain, and more loving, Dowry, then this of *Tenures*, we hope we propound no Matter of Diſſervice.

But to ſpeak, diſtinctly, of both, and firſt of *Honour*. Wherein, I pray your *Lordſhips*, give me leave, in a Subject, that may ſeem, *ſupra Nos*, to handle it, rather as we are capable, then as the Matter, perhaps, may require. Your *Lordſhips* well know, the various Mixture, and Compoſition, of our *Houſe*. We have, in our *Houſe*, learned *Civilians*, that profeſs a Law, that we reverence, and ſometimes conſult with: They can tell us, that all the *Laws de Feodis*, are but *Additionals*, to the *Ancient Civill Law*; And that the *Roman Emperours*, in the full Heigth of their *Monarchy*, never knew them; So that they are not *Imperiall*. We have grave Profeſſours, of the *Common Law*, who will define unto us, that thoſe are Parts of *Soveraignty*, and of the *Royall Prerogative*, which cannot be communicated with *Subjects*: But for *Tenures*, in ſubſtance, there is none of your *Lordſhips*, but have them; And few of us, but have them. The *King*, indeed, hath a priority, or firſt Service, of his *Tenures*; which ſhewes, that they are not *Regall*, nor any point of *Soveraignty*. We have Gentlemen, of honourable Service, in the *Wars*, both by Sea and Land; Who can enform us, that when it is in queſtion, who ſhall ſet his foot, foremoſt, towards the Enemy, it is never asked, whether he hold in *Knights Service*, or in *Socage*. So have we many *Deputy Lieutenants*,

to your *Lordſhips*; And many *Commiſſioners*, that have been for *Muſters*, and *Levies*, That can tell us, that the Service, and Defence, of the *Realm*, hath, in theſe dayes, little dependance upon *Tenures*. So then we perceive, that it is no Bond, or Ligament, of *Government*; No Spur of Honour; No Bridle of Obedience: Time was, when it had other uſes, and the Name of *Knights Service* imports it: But, *Vocabula manent, Res fugiunt*. But all this, which we have ſpoken, we confeſs to be, but in a vulgar Capacity; which, nevertheleſs, may ſerve, for our Excuſe; Though we ſubmit, the Thing it ſelf, wholy to his *Majeſties* Judgement.

For Matter of *Conſcience*, Far be it from us, to caſt in any Thing, willingly, that, may trouble, that clear Fountain, of his *Majeſties* conſcience. We do confeſs, it is a noble Protection, that theſe young *Birds*, of the *Nobility*, and good *Families*, ſhould be gathered, and clocked, under the wings of the *Crown*. But yet, *Naturæ vis maxima: And ſuus cuique diſcretus ſanguis*. Your *Lordſhips* will favour me, to obſerve my former Methode. The *Common Law* it ſelf, which is the beſt Bounds of our wiſdom, doth even, in *hoc Individuo*, prefer the *prerogative* of the *Father*, before the *prerogative* of the *King*: For if *Lands* deſcend, held in chief, from an Anceſtour, on the part of a Mother, to a Mans eldeſt Son, the *Father* being alive; The *Father*, ſhall have the Cuſtody of the Body, and not the *King*. It is true, that this is only for the *Father*; And not, any other *Parent*, or *Anceſtour*: But then, if you look, to the high *Law* of *Tutelage*, and *Protection*; And of *Obedience*, and *Duty*, which is the *Relative* thereunto; It is not ſaid; *Honour thy Father alone*; *But, Honour thy Father, and thy Mother*, &c. Again, the *Civilians* can tell us, that there was a ſpeciall Uſe, of the *Pretorian* Power, for *Pupills*, and yet no *Tenures*. The *Citizens* of *London*, can tell us; There be *Courts* of *Orphants*, and yet no *Tenures*. But, all this while, we pray your *Lordſhips*, to conceive; That we think our ſelves, not competent, to diſcern of the *Honour*, of his *Majeſties Crown*, or the *Shrine* of his *Conſcience*; But leave it, wholy, unto him, and alledge theſe things, but in our own *Excuſe*.

For Matter of *Petition*, we do continue our moſt humble ſuit, by your *Lordſhips* loving Conjunction, that his *Majeſty* will be pleaſed, to open unto us this entrance of his Bounty, and Grace; As to give us liberty, to treat. And laſtly, we know his *Majeſties* Times, are not ſubordinate at all, but to the *Globe* above: About this time, the *Sun* hath got even with the Night, and will riſe apace; And we know, *Solomons Temple*, (whereof your *Lordſhip*, my *Lord Treaſurer*, ſpake) was not built in a day: And if We ſhall be ſo happy, as to take the Axe to hew, and the Hammer to frame, in this Caſe; We know, it cannot be, without Time; And therefore, as far, as we may, with Duty, and without Importunity, we moſt humbly deſire, an Acceleration of his *Majeſties Anſwer*, according to his good time, and Royall Pleaſure.

A Speech, *of the* Kings Sollicitor, *perſwading the* Houſe *of* Commons, *to deſiſt from further Queſtion, of receiving the* Kings Meſſages, *by their* Speaker; *And from the* Body *of the* Councell; *As well as from the* Kings Perſon; *In the* Parliament 7°. Jac.

IT is my Deſire, that if any the *Kings* Buſineſs, either of Honour or Profit, ſhall paſs the *Houſe*; It may be, not onely, with externall prevailing; But with ſatisfaction, of the Inward Man. For in Conſent, where *Tongue ſtirings*, not *Hart-ſtrings*, make the *Muſick*; That *Harmony* may end in *Diſcord*. To this I ſhall alwayes bend my Endeavours.

The *Kings Soveraignty*, and the *Liberty* of *Parliament*, are; as the two Elements, and Principles of this *Eſtate*; which, though the one be more Active, the other more Paſſive, yet they do not croſſe, or deſtroy, the one the other; But they ſtrengthen, and maintain, the one the other. Take away *Liberty* of *Parliament*, the *Griefes*, of the *Subject*, will bleed inwards. Sharp, and Eager, Humours, will not evaporate; And then they muſt exulcerate, and ſo may indanger, the *Soveraignty*, it ſelf. On the other ſide, if the *Kings Soveraignty*, receive Diminution, or any Degree of Contempt, with us, that are born under an *Hereditary Monarchy*; (So as the Motions of our *Eſtate*, cannot work, in any other Frame, or Engine;) It muſt follow, that we ſhall be a *Meteore*, or *Corpus imperfectè miſtum*; which kind of Bodies, come ſpeedily to Confuſion, and Diſſolution. And herein, it is our Happineſſe, that we may make, the ſame Judgement of the *King*, which *Tacitus* made of *Nerva*; *Diuus Nerva, res olim Diſſociabiles miſcuit, Imperium, & Libertatem.* Nerva *did temper things, that before were thought incompatible, Soveraignty, and Liberty.* And it is not amiſſe, in a great Councell, and a great Cauſe, to put the other part of the Difference; which was ſignificantly expreſſed, by the Judgement, which *Apollonius* made of *Nero*; which was thus. When *Veſpaſian* came out of *Judea*, towards *Italy*, to receive the *Empire:* As he paſſed by *Alexandria*, he ſpake with *Apollonius*, A Man much admired; And asked him a Queſtion, of State. *What was* Nero's *Fall, or overthrow?* Apollonius *ſaid*, Nero *could tune the Harp well, but in Government, he alwaies, either wound up the Pinns too high, and ſtrained the ſtrings too far; or let them down too low, and ſlackened the ſtrings too much.* Here we ſee the Difference, between Regular, and Able, *Princes*; And Irregular, and Incapable; *Nerva*, and *Nero*. The one tempers, and mingles, the *Soveraignty*, with the *Liberty*, of the *Subject*, wiſely; And the other, doth interchange it, and vary it unequally, and abſurdly. Since therefore, we have a *Prince* of ſo excellent Wiſdom, and Moderation; Of whoſe

whoſe *Authority*, we ought to be tender, as he is, likewiſe, of our *Liberty*; Let us enter, into a true, and indifferent, conſideration, how far forth the Caſe in Queſtion, may touch his *Authority*, and how far forth our *Liberty*. And to ſpeak cleerly; In my Opinion, it concerns his *Authority*, much; And our Liberty nothing at all.

The *Queſtions* are Two. The one, whither our *Speaker*, be exempted, from Delivery, of a Meſſage from the *King*; without our Licence. The other, whither it is not all one, whither he received it from the *Body* of the *Counſell*, as if he received it immediatly from the *King*. And I will ſpeak of the laſt Firſt, becauſe it is the Circumſtance, of the preſent Caſe.

Firſt, I ſay, let us ſee, how it concerns the *King*, and then how it concerns *Us?* For the *King*; certainly, if it be obſerved, it cannot be denyed, but if you may not receive his pleaſure, by his *Repreſentative Body*, which is his *Counſel* of his *Eſtate*; you both ſtreighten his *Majeſty*, in point of Conveniency; And *weaken* the Reputation, of his *Counſell*. All *Kings*, though they be *Gods* on Earth, yet (as he ſaid) they are *Gods* of Earth: They may be of Extreme Age; they may be indiſpoſed in Health; They may be abſent. In theſe Caſes, if their *Councells* may not ſupply their Perſons, to what infinite Accidents, do you expoſe them? Nay more, ſometimes in Pollicy, *Kings* will not be ſeen, but cover themſelves, with their *Councell*; And if this be taken from them, a great part of their ſafety, is taken away. For the other point, of *weakning* the *Councel:* you know they are nothing, without the *King*. They are no *Body Politique:* They have no *Commiſſion* under *Seal*. So as, if you begin, to diſtinguiſh, and disjoyn them, from the *King*, they are *Corpus Opacum*; For they have *Lumen de Lumine*; And ſo, by diſtinguiſhing, you extinguiſh, the principle Ergine, of the *Eſtate*. For it is truly affirmed; That *Conſilium non habet poteſtatem delegatam, ſed in hærentem:* And it is, but *Rex in Cathedrâ*; The *King* in his *Chair*, or *Conſiſtory*, where, his Will and Decrees, which are, in privacy, more changeable, are ſetled and fixed.

Now for that which concerns our *ſelves*. Firſt for Dignity, no man muſt think this a Diſparagement for us. For the greateſt *Kings* in *Europe*, By their *Embaſſadours*, receive Anſwers and Directions, from the *Councell*, in the *Kings* abſence; And if that *Negotiation* be fit, for the *Fraternity*, and *Party*, of *Kings*; It may much leſſe, be excepted to, by *Subjects*.

For Uſe or Benefit, no Man can be ſo Raw, and Unacquainted in the *Affaires* of the *World*, as to conceive, there ſhould be any Diſadvantage in it; As if ſuch *Anſwers*, were leſſe Firm and *Certain*. Fo it cannot be ſuppoſed, that Men of ſo great Caution, as *Counſellours* of *Eſtate*, commonly are; (whether you take Caution for Wiſedom, or Providence; Or for *Pledges*, of Eſtate, or Fortune;) Will ever erre, or adventure ſo far, as to exceed their

their Warrant. And therefore, I conclude, that, in this point, there can be, unto us, neither Diſgrace, nor Diſadvantage.

For the Point, of the *Speaker*. Firſt, on the *Kings* Part, it may have a ſhrewd Illation: For it hath a ſhew, as if, there could be a ſtronger Duty, then the Duty, of a *Subject*, to a *King*. We ſee, the Degrees, and Differences, of Duties, in Families, between *Father*, and *Son*; *Maſter*, and *Servant*; In Corporate Bodies, between Communalties, and their Officers; Recorders, Stewards, and the like; yet all theſe, give place, to the *Kings* commandements. The Bonds are more ſpeciall, but not ſo Forcible. On our Part, it concerns us nothing. For firſt it is, but *de Canali*, of the Pipe; How the *Kings* Meſſage ſhall be conveyed to us, and not of the Matter. Neither hath the *Speaker*, any ſuch Dominion; As that, comming out of his mouth, it preſſeth us more, then out of a *Privy Councellours*. Nay, it ſeems to be, a great Truſt, of the *Kings*, towards the *Houſe*; When the *King*, doubteth not, to put his Meſſage, into their *Mouth*; As if, he ſhould ſpeak to the *Citty*, by the *Recorder*: Therefore, me thinks, we ſhould not entertain, this unneceſſary Doubt. It is one uſe of wit, to make clear Things Doubtfull; But it is a much better, uſe of wit, to make Doubtfull Things clear; And to that, I would, Men would bend themſelves.

A brief Speech, *in the End, of the Seſſion, of* Parliament, 7°. Jac. *Perſwading ſome* Supply, *to be given, to his* Majeſty; *which ſeemed then, to ſtand, upon doubtfull terms*; *And paſſed upon this* Speech.

THe proportion, of the *Kings Supply*, is not now in queſtion: For when that ſhall be, it may be, I ſhall be of Opinion, that we ſhould give ſo now, as we may the better give again. But as Things ſtand for the preſent, I think, the point of Honour, and Reputation, is that, which his *Majeſty* ſtandeth moſt upon, That our Gift, may, at leaſt be like thoſe *ſhowers*, that may ſerve, to lay the *Winds*; Though they do not, ſufficiently, *Water* the *Earth*.

To labour, to perſwade you, I will not; For I know not, into what Form, to caſt my *Speech*. If I ſhould enter, into a Laudative, (though never ſo due, and juſt,) of the *Kings* great Merits, it may be taken for Flattery: If I ſhould ſpeak, of the ſtrait Obligations, which intercede, between the *King*, and the *Subject*, in caſe of the *Kings* want, it were a kind of concluding the *Houſe*: If I ſhould ſpeak, of the dangerous Conſequence, which Want may reverberate upon *Subjects*, it might have a ſhew, of a ſecret Menace.

Theſe *Arguments*, are, (I hope,) needleſs; And do better, in your

your Minds, then in my Mouth. But this, give me leave to ſay; That, whereas the Example, of *Cyrus*, was uſed; Who ſought his *Supply*, from thoſe, upon whom he had beſtowed his *Benefits*; We muſt always, remember; That there are, as well *Benefits* of the *Scepter*, as *Benefits* of the *Hand*; As well of *Government*, as of *Liberality*. Theſe, I am ſure, we will acknowledge, to have come, *plenâ manu*, amongſt us All; And all thoſe, whom we repreſent; And therefore, it is every Mans *Head*, in this Caſe, that muſt be his Counſellor; And every Mans *Heart*, his Orator; And thoſe inward Powers, are more forcible, then any Mans *Speech*; I leave it, and wiſh, it may go to the *Queſtion*.

A Speech, *delivered by the* Kings Atturney, *Sir* Francis Bacon, *in the* Lower Houſe; *When the* Houſe *was in great heat, and much troubled, about the* undertakers; *which were thought to be, ſome able, and forward* Gentlemen; *Who, to ingratiate themſelves, with the* King, *were ſaid, to have undertaken, that the* Kings Buſineſs, *ſhould paſs in that* Houſe, *as his* Majeſty *could wiſh. In the* Parliament, 12°. Jac.

(Mr. *Speaker*,)

I Have been hither o ſilent, in this Matter of *undertaking*; wherin, as I perceive, the *Houſe*, is much enwrapped.

Firſt, becauſe, (to be plain with you,) I did not well underſtand, what it meant, or what it was; And, I do not love, to offer at that, that I do not throughly conceive. That Private Men, ſhould *undertake*, for the *Commons* of *England*: Why? A Man mought as well undertake, for the four *Elements*: It is a thing, ſo giddy, and ſo vaſt, as cannot enter, into the Brain, of a ſober Man. And ſpecially, in a new *Parliament*; When, it was impoſſible to know, who ſhould be of the *Parliament*; And when all Men, that know never ſo little, the Conſtitution of this *Houſe*, do know it to be ſo open to Reaſon; As Men, do not know, when they enter into theſe Dores, what mind themſelves will be of, untill they hear Things argued, and debated. Much leſſe, can any Man make, a pollicy, of Aſſurance; what Ship, ſhall come ſafe home, into the Harbour, in theſe Seas. I had heard, of *undertakings*, in ſeverall kinds: There were *undertakers*, for the Plantations, of *Derry*, and *Colerane*, in *Ireland*, the better to command, and bridle, thoſe Parts: There were, not long ago, ſome *undertakers*, for the *North-Weſt Paſſage*. And now, there are ſome *undertakers*, for the Project, of *Died*, and *Dreſſed*, *Cloaths*. And, in ſhort, every Novelty uſeth to be ſtrengthened, and made good,

good, by a kind of *undertaking*. But, for the Ancient *Parliament* of *England*, which moves, in a certain Manner, and Sphear; To be *undertaken*, it paſſes my reach, to conceive, what it ſhould be. Muſt we be all *Died*, and *Dreſſed*; And no pure *Whites* amongſt us? Or muſt there be, a new paſſage found, for the *Kings Buſineſs*, by a point of the *Compaſs*, that was never *ſailed* by, before? Or muſt there be, ſome *Forts* built, in this *Houſe*, that may command, and contain the reſt? (Mr. *Speaker*) I know, but two *Forts*, in this *Houſe*, which the *King* ever hath; The *Fort* of *Affection*; and the *Fort* of *Reaſon*; The one, Commands the *Hearts*, and the other, Commands the *Heads*; And others, I know none. I think *Aeſop* was a Wiſe Man; that deſcribed, the rature, of the *Fly*, that ſat upon the Spoke, of the *Chariot Wheele*, and ſaid to her ſelf; *What a Duſt do I raiſe?* So, for my part, I think, that all this Duſt, is raiſed, by light Rumours, and Buzzes, and not upon any ſolid Ground.

The ſecond *Reaſon*, that made me ſilent, was, becauſe this Suſpicion, and Rumor, of undertaking, ſettles upon no Perſon certain. It is like, the *Birds* of *Paradiſe*, that they have in the *Indies*, that have no Feet, and therefore, they never light upon any place, but the wind, carries them away: And ſuch a Thing, do I take, this *Rumour* to be.

And laſtly, when that the *King*, had in his two ſeverall *ſpeeches*, freed us, from the main of our Fears, In affirming, directly, that there was no *undertaking* to him; And that, he would have taken it, to be no leſs derogation, to his own *Majeſty*, then to our Merits; To have the Acts, of his people, transferred, to particular perſons; That did quiet me, thus far; That theſe Vapours, were not gone up to the *Head*, howſoever, they might glow, and eſtuate, in the *Body*.

Nevertheleſſe, ſince I perceive, that this Cloud, ſtill hangs over the *Houſe*; And that it may do hurt, as well in Fame abroad, as in the *Kings* Eare; I reſolved with my ſelf, to do the part, of an honeſt voice, in this *Houſe*, to counſell you, what I think, to be for the beſt.

Wherein firſt, I will ſpeak plainly, of the pernicious Effects of the Accident, of this Brute, and Opinion, of *undertaking*; Towards *Particulars*; Towards the *Houſe*; Towards the *King*; And wards the *People*.

Secondly, I will tell you, in Mine Opinion, what *undertaking*, is tolerable; And how far, it may be juſtified, with a good mind; And, on the other ſide, this ſame Ripping up, of the *Queſtion*, of *Vndertakers*; How far it may proceed, from a good Mind; And in what kind, it may be thought Malicious, and Dangerous.

Thirdly, I will ſhew you, my poor advice, what Meanes there are, to put an end, to this Queſtion of *Undertaking*; Not falling, for the preſent, upon a preciſe Opinion; But breaking it, how many wayes there be, by which you may get out of it; And leaving

ving, the choice of them, to a *Debate*, at the *Committee*.

And Laſtly, I will adviſe you, how things, are to be handled, at the *Commitee*, to avoid diſtraction, and loſſe of Time.

For the Firſt of theſe, I can ſay to you, but as the Scripure ſaith, *Si invicem mordetis, ab invicem conſumemini.* If ye Fret, and Gall, one anothers Reputation; The end will be, that every Man ſhall go hence, like *Coyn* cried down; Of leſſe price, than he came hither. If ſome, ſhall be thought, to fawn upon the *Kings* Buſineſs openly; And others, to croſſe it ſecretly; Some ſhall be thought *Practicers*, that would pluck the Cardes; And others, ſhall be thought *Papiſts*, that would ſhuffle the Cardes; what a Miſery is this, that we ſhould come together, to foul one another, inſtead of procuring the publick good?

And this ends not in particulars, but will make, the whole *Houſe*, Contemptible: For now, I hear Men ſay; That this Queſtion, of *undertaking*, is the predominant Matter of this *Houſe*. So that we are now, according to the *Parable* of *Jotham*, in the Caſe, of the *Trees* of the *Forreſt*; That when Queſtion was, whether the *Vine* ſhould *raign* over them? That mought not be: And whether the *Olive* ſhould *raign* over them? That mought not be; But we have accepted the *Bramble*, to *raign* over us. For it ſeemes, that the good *Vine*, of the *Kings Graces*, that is not ſo much in eſteem: And the good Oyle, whereby we ſhould ſalve, and relieve, the wants, of the Eſtate, and Crown, that is laid aſide too: And this *Bramble*, of *Contention*, and *Emulation*; This *Abimelech*, which (as was truly ſaid, by an underſtanding Gentleman,) is a *Baſtard*: (For every Fame, that wants a Head, is *Filius populi*;) This muſt *Raign*, and *Rule* amongſt us.

Then for the *King* nothing can be more oppoſite, *Ex diametro*, to his Ends and Hopes, then this. For you have heard him profeſs like a *King*; and like a *gracious King*, that he doth not, ſo much, reſpect, his preſent ſupply; As this demonſtration, that the *Peoples* Hearts are more knit to him, then before. Now then, if the Iſſue ſhall be this, that whatſoever ſhall be done for Him, ſhall be thought to be done, but by a number of Perſons, that ſhall be laboured, and packt; This will rather be a ſign of Diffidence, and Alienation, then of a naturall Benevolence, and Affection, in his People, at home; And rather Matter, of Diſreputation, then of Honour, abroad. So that to ſpeak plainly to you; The *King* were better call, for a new Pair of Cards, then play upon theſe, if they be packt.

And then for the *People*; It is my manner, ever, to look, as well beyond a *Parliament*, as upon a *Parliament*; And if they abroad, ſhall think themſelves, betrayed by thoſe, that are their *Deputies*, and *Atturnies* here; it is true, we may bind them, and conclude them, But it will be, with ſuch Murmur, and Inſatisfaction, as I would be loath to ſee.

Theſe Things mought be diſſembled; And ſo things left, to bleed

bleed inwards; But that is not the way, to cure them. And therefore I have ſearched the *Soare*, in hope, that you will endeavour the *Medecine*.

But this to do more throughly, I muſt proceed, to my Second Part; To tell you cleerely, and diſtinctly, what is to be ſet on the Right hand, and what on the left, in this buſineſs.

Firſt, if any Man, hath don good Offices, to adviſe the *King*, to call a *Parliament*; And to increaſe, the good Affection, and Confidence of his *Majeſtie*, towards his *People*; I ſay, that ſuch a *Perſon*, doth rather *Merit* well, then commit any Errour; Nay further, if any Man, hath out of his own good mind, given an opinion, touching the Minds of the *Parliament*, in generall; How it is probable, they are like to be found; And that they will have, a due feeling of the *Kings* wants; And, will not deal drily, or illiberally, with him; This Man, that doth but think, of other Mens minds, as he finds his own, is not to be blamed. Nay further, if any Man, hath coupled this, with good wiſhes, and Propoſitions; That the *King* do comfort, the Hearts of his *People*, and teſtifie his own love to them, by filing off, the harſhneſs of his *Prerogative*; Retaining the ſubſtance, and ſtrength; And to that purpoſe, like the good *Houſholder* in the *Scripture*, *That brought forth old ſtore and new*, hath revolved the Petitions, and Propoſitions, of the laſt *Parliament*, and added new; I ſay, this Man hath *ſown good ſeed*; And he that ſhall draw him, into Envy for it, *ſowes Tares*. Thus much of the *Right hand*. But on the other ſide, if any ſhall mediatly, or immediatly, infuſe into his *Majeſty*, or to others; That the *Parliament*, is as *Cato* ſaid of the *Romans*, like *ſheep*; That a Man, were better drive a Flock of them, then one of them; And however, they may be wiſe Men ſeverally, yet, in this Aſſembly, they are guided by ſome few; which if they be made, and aſſured, the reſt will eaſily follow: This is a plain Robbery, of the *King* of Honour, and his *Subjects* of Thanks; And it is to make the *Parliament* vile, and ſervile, in the eyes of their *Soveraign*; And I count it no better, than a ſupplanting, of the *King* and *Kingdom*. Again, if a Man ſhall make this Impreſſion; that it ſhall be enough for the *King* to ſend us ſome things of ſhew, that may ſerve, for colours; And let ſome *Eloquent Tales*, be told of them; And that will ſerve, *Ad faciendum populum*; any ſuch Perſon, will find, that this *Houſe* can well skill, of falſe Lights: And that it is, no wooing Tokens, but the true Love, already planted, in the Breaſt of the *Subjects*, that will make them do for the *King*. And this is my Opinion, touching thoſe that may have perſwaded a *Parliament*. Take it on the other ſide, (for I mean in all things to deale plainly) If any Man hath been diffident touching the Call of a *Parliament*, Thinking, that the beſt Meanes, were firſt for the *King*, to make his utmoſt tryall, to ſubſiſt of himſelf, and his own Meanes; I ſay, an Honeſt, and Faithfull Heart, mought conſent to that Opinion; And the event, it ſeems doth, not greatly diſcredit it hitherto. Again, if any Man,

ſhall have been of Opinion, that it is not a particular Party, that can bind the *Houſe*; Nor, that it is not Shews or *Colours*, can pleaſe the *Houſe*; I ſay, that Man, though his ſpeech tend to diſcouragement, yet it is coupled with Providence. But by your leave, if any Man ſince the *Parliament* was called, or when it was in ſpeech, ſhall have laid Plots, to croſſe the good will of the *Parliament*, to the *King*; By poſſeſſing them, that a few ſhall have the thanks; And that they are (as it were) Bought and Sold, and betrayed; And that, that which the *King* offers them, are but Baites, prepared by particular perſons; Or have raiſed rumours, that it is a packt *Parliament*; To the end, nothing may be done, But that the *Parliament* may be diſſolved (as Gameſters uſe to call for new Cards, when they miſtruſt a *Pack*:) I ſay, Theſe are Engins, and Deviſes, Naught, Maligne, and Seditious.

Now for the *Remedy*; I ſhall rather break the Matter, (as I ſaid in the Beginning,) then adviſe poſitively. I know but three wayes. Some *Meſſage* of *Declaration* to the *King*. Some *Entry*, or *proteſtation*, amongſt our ſelves: Or ſome, *ſtrict* and *punctuall Examination*. As for the laſt of theſe, I aſſure you, I am not againſt it, if I could tell where to begin, or where to end. For certainly, I have often ſeen it, that Things, when they are in ſmother, trouble more, then when they break out. Smoak blinds the Eyes, but when it blazeth forth into Flame, it gives light to the Eyes. But then, if you fall to an *Examination*, ſome *Perſon* muſt be charged; ſome *Matter* muſt be charged: And the *Manner*, of that *Matter*, muſt be likewiſe charged; For it may be in a Good Faſhion, and it may be in a Bad; In as much difference as between Black, and White: And then, how far Men will *ingenuouſly confeſs*; How far they will *politickly deny*; And what we can *Make*, and *gather*, upon their Confeſſion; And how we ſhall *prove*, againſt their *Deniall*, It is an endleſs peece of Work; And, I doubt, that we ſhall grow, weary of it.

For a *Meſſage* to the *King*; It is the Courſe, I like beſt; ſo it be carefully, and conſiderately, handled: For if, we ſhall repreſent to the *King*, the Nature of this *Body*, as it is; Without the vayles, or ſhadows, that have been caſt upon it; I think, we ſhall do him Honour, and our ſelves Right.

For any Thing, that is to be done, *amongſt our ſelves*, I do not ſee much gained by it; Becauſe it goes no further then *our ſelves*: Yet if any thing, can be wiſely conceived, to that end, I ſhall not be againſt it; But, I think, the purpoſe of it, is fitteſt to be; Rather, that the Houſe conceives, that all this, is but a Miſ-underſtanding; Then to take knowledge, that there is, indeed, a Juſt Ground; And then, to ſeek, by a *Proteſtation*, to give it a *Remedy*. For *Proteſtations*, and *Profeſſions*, and *Apologies*, I never found them very Fortunate; But they rather encreaſe ſuſpicion, then clear it.

Why then the Laſt Part is, that theſe things, be handled at the

the *Committee*, ſeriouſly, and temperately: Wherein I wiſh, that theſe four Degrees, of *Queſtions*, were handled, in order.

Firſt, whether we ſhall do any thing, at all, in it; Or paſſe by it, and let it ſleep?

Secondly, whether we ſhall enter, into a particular *Examination*, of it?

Thirdly, whether we ſhall content our ſelves, with ſome *Entry*, or *Proteſtation*, amongſt our ſelves?

And Fourthly, whether we ſhall proceed, to a *Meſſage*, to the *King*; And what?

Thus I have told you mine Opinion. I know, it had been more ſafe, and politick, to have been ſilent; But it is, perhaps, more honeſt, and loving, to ſpeak. The old *Verſe* is: *Nam nulli tacuiſſe nocet, nocet eſſe locutum.* But, by your leave, *David* ſaith; *Silui à bonis, & Dolor meus renovatus eſt.* When a Man ſpeaketh, He may be wounded by Others; but if He holds his peace, from Good Things, he wounds Himſelf. So I have done my part, and leave it to you, to do that, which you ſhall judge, to be the beſt.

The Charge, *of* Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, *his* Majeſties Atturney Generall, *againſt* William Talbot, *a Counſellor at Law, of* Ireland, *upon an* Information, *in the* Star-Chamber, Ore tenus; *For a writing, under his Hand, whereby, the ſaid* William Talbot *being demanded, whether the Doctrine of* Suarez, *touching Depoſing, and Killing, of* Kings Excommunicated, *were true, or no? He anſwered, that he referred himſelf, unto that, which the* Catholick Roman Church, *ſhould determine thereof.* Ultimo die Termini *Hilarij*, undecimo *Jacobi Regis.*

My Lords,

I Brought before you, the firſt ſitting, of this *Term*, the Cauſe of *Duels*: But now, this laſt ſitting, I ſhall bring before you, a Cauſe, concerning the greateſt *Duell*, which is in the *Chriſtian World*; The *Duels*, and Conflicts, between the lawfull Authority, of *Soveraign Kings*, which is *Gods* Ordinance, for the comfort of Humane Society; And the ſwelling pride, and uſurpation, of the *See* of *Rome*, *in Temporalibus*; Tending, altogether, to *Anarchy*, and Confuſion. Wherein, if this pretence, by the *Pope* of *Rome*, by *Cartels*, to make *Soveraign Princes*, as the *Banditi*; And to proſcribe their Lives; and to expoſe their *Kingdomes* to prey; If theſe pretences, (I ſay,) and all Perſons, that ſubmit themſelves,

ſelves, to that part of the *Popes* Power, be not, by all poſſible Severity, repreſſed, and puniſhed; The State of *Chriſtian Kings*, will be no other, then the ancient Torment, deſcribed by the *Poets*, in the *Hell* of the *Heathen*: *A man ſitting, richly roabed, ſolemnly attended, delicious fare* &c. *With a Sword hanging over his Head, hanging by a ſmall thread, ready every moment to be cut down, by an accurſing, and accurſed, hand.* Surely, I had thought, they had been the Prerogatives, of *God* alone, and of his ſecret Judgements; *Solvam Cingula Regum*; *I will looſen the Girdles of Kings*; Or again; *He powreth contempt upon Princes*; Or, *I will give a King in my wrath, and take him away again, in my diſpleaſure.* And the like: But if theſe be the Claims, of a *Mortall Man*, certainly, they are but the *Myſteries*, of that *Perſon*, which exalts himſelf, above all that is called *God*: *Supra omne quod dicitur Deus*; (Note it well:) Not above *God*, (though that, in a ſenſe, be true, in reſpect of the Authority, they claim over the *Scriptures*;) But, *Above all that is called God*; That is, Lawfull *Kings*, and *Magiſtrates*.

But, *my Lords*, in this *uel*, I find this *Talbot* that is now before you, but a Coward: For he hath given ground; He hath gone backward, and forward; But in ſuch a faſhion, and with ſuch Interchange, of Repenting, and Relapſing, as I cannot tell, whether it doth extenuate, or aggravate, his Offence. If he ſhall, more publikely, in the face of the *Court*, fall, and ſettle, upon a right mind, I ſhall be glad of it; And he that would be againſt the *Kings* Mercy, I would he might need the *Kings* Mercy; But, nevertheleſſe, the *Court* will proceed, by Rules of Juſtice.

The Offence, wherewith I charge this *Talbot*, *Priſoner* at the *Bar*, is this, in brief, and in Effect: *That he hath maintained, and maintaineth, under his hand, a power in the Pope for the Depoſing, and Murthering, of Kings.* In what ſort he doth this, when I come, to the proper, and particular, *charge*, I will deliver it, in his own words, without Preſſing, or Straining.

But before I come to the particular *charge*, of this Man; I cannot proceed ſo coldly, but I muſt expreſſe, unto your *Lordſhips*, the extreme, and imminent Danger, wherein our Dear, and Dread *Soveraign*, is; And, in him, we all; Nay, and wherein, all *Princes* of both *Religions*, (For it is a common Cauſe,) do ſtand at this day; By the ſpreading, and Enforcing, of this furious, and pernicious, Opinion, of the *Popes* Temporall Power: which though, the modeſt Sort, would blanch, with the *Diſtinction* of; *In ordine ad Spiritualia*, yet that is but an Eluſion; For he that maketh the *Diſtinction*, will alſo make the *Caſe*. This perill, though it be, in it ſelf, notorious, yet becauſe there is a kind of Dulneſs, and, almoſt, a Lethargy, in this Age; Give me leave to ſet before you, two Glaſſes; Such as, certainly, the like, never met, in one Age; The *Glaſſes* of *France*, and the *Glaſſe* of *England*. In that of *France*, the *Tragedies* acted, and executed, in two Immediate *Kings*; In the *Glaſſe* of *England*, the ſame, or more horrible, attempted

tempted, likewiſe, in a *Queen*, and *King*, immediate; But ending, in a happy Deliverance. In *France*, *H.* 3. in the face of his Army, before the walls of *Paris*, ſtabbed, by a wretched *Jacobine Fryer*: *H.* 4. (a *Prince*, that the *French* do ſurname the *Great*;) One, that had been a Saviour, and Redeemer, of his Country from infinite Calamities; And a Reſtorer of that *Monarchy*, to the ancient State, and Splendour; And a *Prince*, almoſt, *Heroicall*; (except it be, in the Point, of *Revolt*, from *Religion*;) At a time, when he was, as it were to mount on Horſe-back, for the Commanding, of the greateſt, Forces, that, of long time, had been levied in *France*; This *King*, likewiſe, ſtilletted, by a *Raſcal votary*; which had been enchanted and conjured, for the purpoſe.

In *England*, Queen *Elizabeth*, of bleſſed memory; A *Queen* comparable, and to be rankt, with the greateſt *Kings*; Ottentimes attempted, by like votaries; *Sommervile*, *Parry*, *Savage*, and others; But ſtill protected, by the *Watch-man*, that *Slumbreth not*. Again, our excellent *Soveraign*, King *James*; The Sweetneſs, and Clemency, of whoſe nature, were enough, to quench, and mortifie, all Malignity; And a *King* ſhielded, and ſupported, by Poſterity: Yet this *King*, in the Chair of *Majeſty*, (his *Vine* and *Olive Branches* about him;) Attended, by his *Nobles*, and *Third Eſtate*, in *Parliament*; Ready, in the *Twinckling of an Eye*; (As if it had been, a particular *Doomeſday*;) To have been brought to Aſhes, diſperſed to the *four Winds*. I noted, the laſt day my *Lord Chief Juſtice*, when he ſpake, of this *Powder Treaſon*, he laboured for words; Though they came from him, with great Efficacy, yet he truly confeſſed, and ſo muſt all Men; *That, that Treaſon, is above the Charge, and Report, of any Words whatſoever.*

Now, my *Lords*, I cannot let paſſe, but in theſe *Glaſſes*, which I ſpake of, beſides the *Facts* themſelves, and *Danger*, to ſhew you two Things. The one, the Wayes of *God Almighty*, which turneth the *Sword* of *Rome*, upon the *Kings*, that are the *Vaſſals* of *Rome*; And over them, gives it power; But protecteth thoſe *Kings*, which have not accepted, the Yoak of his Tyranny, from the Effects of his Mallice. The other, that, (as I ſaid at firſt,) this is a common Cauſe, of *Princes*; It involveth *Kings*, of both *Religions*; And therefore, his *Majeſty*, did moſt worthily, and prudently, ring out the *Alarum Bell*, to awaken all other *Princes*, to think of it, ſeriouſly, and in Time. But this is a miſerable caſe, the while; That theſe *Roman Souldiers*, do, either thruſt the Spear, into the Side of *Gods Annointed*; Or, at leaſt, they *Crown* them with *Thorns*; That is, piercing, and pricking, Cares, and Feares, that they can never be quiet, or ſecure, of their Lives, or States. And as this Perill, is common to *Princes*, of *both Religions*: So *Princes* of both *Religions* have been, likewiſe, *equally* ſenſible, of every Injury, that touch't their *Temporall*.

Thuanus reports in his Story; That when the *Realme of Fraunce*

was

was interdicted by the violent proceedings of *Pope Julius* the 2d. the *King*, *Lewis* the 12th. otherwiſe noted for a Moderate Prince, cauſed Coyns of *Gold* to be ſtamped with his own Image, and this *Superſcription*; *Perdam nomen Babylonis è terrâ*. And *Thuanus* ſaith, Himſelf hath ſeen, divers *pieces* thereof. So as this *Catholick King* was ſo much incenſed at that time, in reſpect of the *Popes Vſurpation*; As he did fore-run *Luther*, in applying *Babylon* to *Rome*. *Charles* the 5th. *Emperour*, who was accounted, one of the *Popes* beſt *Sonnes*; yet proceeded, in matter temporall, towards *Pope Clement*, with ſtrange Rigour; Never regarding the *Pontificality*, but kept him *Priſoner* 18. Moneths, in a Peſtilent Priſon; And was hardly diſſwaded by his Councell, from having ſent him, *Captive* into *Spain*; And made ſport with the Threats of *Frosberg*, the *Germaine*; who wore a ſilk Rope, under his Caſſock, which he would ſhew in all Companies; Telling them, that he carried it, to ſtrangle the *Pope* with his own hands. As for *Philip* the *Faire*; It is the ordinary Example, how he brought *Pope Boniface* the 8th. to an ignominious End; Dying Mad and Enraged; And how he ſtiled his Reſcript, to the Popes Bull, whereby he challenged his Temporall; *Sciat Fatuitas Veſtra*; Not your *Beatitude*, but your *Stultitude*; A Stile, worthy to be continued, in like Caſes. For certainly, that claim is meerly Folly, and Fury. As for *Native Examples* here, it is too long a Field to enter into them. Never *Kings* of any *Nation*, kept the Partition wall, between Temporall, and Spirituall, better in times of greateſt Superſtition: I report me, to *King Edward* 1. that ſet up ſo many *Croſſes*; And yet croſſed that part of the *Popes Juriſdiction*, no Man more ſtrongly. But theſe things, have paſſed better *Penns* and *Speeches*: Heere I end them.

But now to come to the *particular Charge*, of this Man: I muſt enform your *Lordſhips* the *Occaſion*, and *Nature*, of this *Offence*. There hath been publiſhed, lately, to the *World*, a Work of *Suarez*, a *Portugeſe*; A *Profeſſor* in the *Univerſity* of *Coimbra*; A Confident, and daring Writer; ſuch an one, as *Tully* deſcribes in deriſion; *Nihil tam verens, quam ne dubitare, aliquâ de re, videretur*: *One that feares nothing but this, leaſt he ſhould ſeem to doubt of any thing*. A Fellow, that thinks, with his Magiſtrallity, and Gooſe-quill, to give Lawes, and Mannages, to *Crowns* and *Scepters*. In this *Mans writing* this *Doctrine* of *Depoſing*, and *Murthering*, *Kings*, ſeems to come to a higher Elevation, then heretofore; And it is more artted, and poſitived, then in others. For in the paſſages, which your *Lordſhips* ſhall hear read anon, I find three *Aſſertions*, which run, not in the vulgar Track, But are ſuch, as wherewith Mens Eares (as I ſuppoſe) are not much acquainted. Whereof the firſt is, *That the Pope hath a ſuperiority over Kings, as Subjects to depoſe them; Not only, for Spirituall Crimes, as Hereſie, and Schiſme; But for Faults, of a Temporall Nature; Foraſmuch, as a Tyrannicall Government, tendeth ever, to the Deſtruction of Soules*. So by this Poſition, *Kings* of either *Religi-*

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on, are alike comprehended, and none exempted. The Second, that after a *Sentence*, given by the *Pope*, this *Writer*, hath defined, of a Series, or Succeſſion, or Subſtitution, of *Hangmen*, or *Burreo's*, to be ſure, leaſt an *Executioner* ſhould fail. His *Aſſertion* is; *That when a King, is ſentenced, by the Pope, to Deprivation, or Death*; *The Executioner, who is firſt in place, is He, to whom the Pope ſhall commit the Authority*; Which may, be a *Forraign Prince*; It may be, *a Particular Subject*; It may be, in generall, to the firſt undertaker. *But if there be no Direction, or Aſſignation, in the Sentence, ſpeciall, nor generall, then*, de Jure, *it appertains to the next Succeſſour:* (A naturall, and pious, Opinion; For, commonly, they are Sons, or Brothers, or near of Kin, all is one:) *So as the Succeſſor be Apparent, and alſo that he be a Catholique. But, if he be Doubtfull, or that he be no Catholique, then it devolves, to the Commonalty, of the Kingdome*; So as, he will be ſure, to have it done, by one *Miniſter*, or other. In the Third, he diſtinguiſheth, of two kinds, of *Tyrants*; *A Tyrant in Title*, and A *Tyrant* in *Regiment*, *The Tyrant in Regiment, cannot be reſiſted, or killed, without a Sentence, precedent, by the Pope: But a Tyrant in Title, may be killed, by any private Man, whatſoever.* By which *Doctrine*, he hath put the Judgement, of *Kings Titles*; (which, I will undertake, are never ſo clean, but that ſome vain Quarrel, or Exception, may be made unto them;) upon the Fancy, of every *Private Man*; And alſo couples, the Judgement, and Execution, together; That he may judge him, by a Blow, without any other *Sentence.*

Your *Lordſhips* ſee, what *Monſtrous Opinions*, theſe are; And how, both theſe *Beaſts*, the *Beaſt* with *ſeven Heads*, and the *Beaſt* with *Many Heads*, *Pope*, and people, are, at once, let in, and ſet upon the ſacred *Perſons* of *Kings.*

Now, to go on, with the *Narrative.* There was an *Extract* made, of certain *Sentences*, and *Portions*, of this *Book*; (Being, of this nature, that I have ſet forth;) By a great *Prelate*, and *Councellor*, upon a juſt Occaſion; And, there being ſome Hollowneſs, and Heſitation, in theſe Matters, (wherein, it is a thing impious, to doubt,) diſcovered, and perceived, in *Talbot*; He was asked, his Opinion, concerning theſe Aſſertions, in the Preſence of his *Majeſty:* And afterward, they were delivered to him; That, upon adviſe, and *Sedato animo*, he mought declare himſelf; Whereupon, under his hand, he ſubſcribes thus.

May it please your Honourable good Lordships: *Concerning this* Doctrine *of* Suarez, *I do perceive, by what I have read, in his Book, that the same, doth concern,* Matter *of* Faith; *The Controversie growing, upon* Expofition *of* Scriptures, *and* Councels; *Wherein, (being ignorant, and not studied,) I cannot take upon me, to judge: But I do submit mine Opinion therein, to the Judgement, of the* Catholick Roman Church, *as in all other Points, concerning* Faith, *I do. And for Matter, concerning my* Loyalty, *I do acknowledge, my* Soveraign Liege Lord King James, *to be lawfull, and undoubted, King, of all the* Kingdomes, *of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; *And I will bear, true faith, and Allegeance, to his Highness, during my life.*

NOw, (my *Lords*,) upon these words, I charge *William Talbot*, to have committed a great Offence; And such an one, as if he had entred, into a voluntary, and malicious, Publication, of the like writing; It would have been, too great an Offence, for the *Capacity* of this *Court*. But because, it grew from a *Question*, askt by a *Councell* of *Estate*; And so, rather seemeth, in a favourable Construction, to proceed, from a kind of Submission to answer, then from any malicious, or insolent Will, it was fit, according to the Clemency, of these Times, to proceed in this maner, before your *Lordships*. And yet, let the *Hearers*, take these things right; For certainly, if a Man be required, by the *Lords* of the *Councell*, to deliver his Opinion, whether *King James*, be *King*, or no? And He deliver his Opinion, that He is not; This is, *High Treason*. But, I do not say, that these words, amount to that; And therefore, let me open them, truly, to your *Lordships*; And, therein, open also, (it may be,) the Eyes, of the *Offender* Himself, how far they reach.

My *Lords*, a Mans Allegeance, must be Independant, not provisionall, and conditionall. *Elizabeth Barton*, that was called, the *Holy Maid of Kent*, affirmed; *That if K. H. 8. Did not take*, Katherine *of* Spain, *again, to his Wife, within a twelve moneth, he should be no King*; And this was judged *Treason*. For though this Act, be Contingent, and Future; yet *Treason*, of *compassing*, and imagining, the *Kings* Destruction, is present.

And in like manner, if a Man should, voluntarily publish, or maintain; That whensoever a *Bull*, or *Deprivation*, shall come forth against the *King*, that from thenceforth, he is no longer *King*;

King: This is of like Nature: But with this, I do not charge you neither: But this, is the true *Latitude* of your *Words*; That if the *Doctrine*, touching the *Killing* of *Kings*, be *Matter* of *Faith*, that you ſubmit your ſelf, to the Judgement, of the *Catholick Roman Church*: So as now, (to do you right,) your *Allegeance*, doth not depend ſimply, upon a *Sentence*, of the *Popes Deprivation*, againſt the *King*; But upon another point alſo; If theſe *Doctrines* be already, or ſhall be declared, to be Matter of *Faith*. But my *Lords*, there is little won in this: There may be ſome Difference, to the guiltineſſe, of the Party; But there is little, to the Danger of the *King*. For the ſame *Pope of Rome*, may with the ſame breath, declare both. So as ſtill, upon the matter, the King is made, but *Tennant at will*, of his *Life*, and *Kingdomes*; And the *Allegiance* of his *Subjects*, is pinn'd upon the *Popes Act*. And Certainly, it is Time, to ſtop the *Current* of this Opinion, of Acknowledgement of the *Popes* power, *in Temporalibus*; Or elſe, it will ſupplant, the Seat of *Kings*. And let it not be miſtaken, that Mr. *Talbots* Offence, ſhould be no more, then the Refuſing the *Oath of Allegiance*. For it is one thing to be ſilent, and another thing to affirm. As for the Point of *Matter* of *Faith*, or not of *Faith*; To tell your *Lordſhips* plain, it would aſtoniſh a Man, to ſee the Gulf of this implyed *Beliefe*. Is nothing excepted from it? If a Man ſhould ask Mr. *Talbot*, whether he do condemn *Murther*, or *Adultery*, or *Rape*, or the *Doctrine* of *Mahomet*, or of *Arius*, in ſtead of *Zuarius*; Muſt the Anſwer be, with this exception, that if the Queſtion concern matter of Faith, (as no queſtion, it doth, for the Moral Law is matter of *Faith*) That therein, he will ſubmit himſelf, to what the *Church* ſhall determine? And no doubt, the *Murther* of *Princes*, is more then *Simple Murther*. But to conclude, (*Talbot*,) I will do you this Right; and I will not be reſerved in this, but to declare that, that is true; That you came afterwards to a better mind; Wherein, if you had been conſtant, the *King*, out of his great goodneſſe, was reſolved, not to have proceeded with you, in Courſe of Juſtice: But then again, you *Started aſide, like a Broken Bow*. So that, by your Variety, and *Vacillation*, you loſt, the acceptable time, of the firſt Grace; which was, Not to have convented you.

Nay, I will go farther with you. Your laſt *Submiſſion*, I conceive to be *Satisfactory* and *Compleat*; But then it was too late; The *Kings Honour* was upon it; It was publiſhed, and the *Day* appointed, for *Hearing*: Yet, what preparation, that may be, to the Second Grace of *Pardon*; that I know not: But I know, my *Lords*, out of their accuſtomed favour, will admit you, not only to your Defence, concerning that, that hath been *Charged*; But to extenuate, your Fault, by any *Submiſſion*, that now, *God* ſhall put, into your mind, to make.

The Charge *given, by* S^r. Francis Bacon, his Majeſties Atturney Generall, *againſt* M^r. *I. S. for Scandalizing, and Traducing, in the publick* Seſſions, *Letters ſent, from the* Lords *of the* Councell, *touching the* Benevolence.

MY *Lords*, I ſhall inform you, *ore tenus*, againſt this Gentleman, Mr. *I. S.* A Gentleman, (as it ſeems) of an ancient *Houſe*, and *Name*; But for the preſent, I can think of him, by no other Name, then the Name of a grear *Offender*. The *Nature*, and *Quality*, of his *Offence*, in ſum, is this. This *Gentleman*, hath, upon advice, not ſuddenly, by his *Pen*; Nor by the *Slip* of his *Tongue*; Not privatly, or in a Corner, but publickly; As it were, to the face of the *Kings Miniſters*, and *Juſtices*; Slandered and Traduced; The *King*, our *Sovereign*; The *Law* of the Land; The *Parliament*; And infinite *Particulars*, of his *Majeſties* worthy, and loving *Subjects*. Nay, the Slander is, of that Nature, that it may ſeem, to intereſt, the *People*, in Grief, and Diſcontent, againſt the *State*; whence mought have enſued, Matter of Murmur, and Sedition. So that it is not a Simple *Slander*, but a Seditious *Slander*; like to that, the *Poet* ſpeaketh of; —— *Calamoſq; armare Veneno.* A *Venemous Dart*, that hath both *Iron*, and *Poyſon*.

To open, to your *Lordſhips*, the true State, of this *Offence*, I will ſet before you; Firſt, the Occaſion, whereupon Mr. *I. S.* wrought: Then the *Offence*, it ſelf, in his own words: And laſtly, the *Points*, of his *Charge*.

My *Lords*, you may remember, that there was the laſt *Parliament*, an Expectation, to have had the *King*, ſupplied, with Treaſure, although the Event failed. Herein, it is not fit for me to give opinion, of an *Houſe* of *Parliament*: But I will give teſtimony of *Truth*, in all places. I ſerved, in the *Lower Houſe*, and I obſerved ſomewhat. This I do affirm; That I never could perceive, but that there was, in that *Houſe*, a generall Diſpoſition to give; And to give, largely. The *Clocks* in the *Houſe*, perchance, might differ; Some went too faſt, ſome went too ſlow: But the Diſpoſition to *give*, was generall; So that I think, I may truly ſay; *Solo tempore lapſus Amor.*

This Accident, happening thus, beſides expectation: It ſtirred up, and awaked, in divers of his *Majeſties* worthy *Servants*, and *Subjects*; of the *Clergy*, the *Nobility*, the *Court*, and others here neer at hand, an Affection loving, and cheerfull; To preſent the *King*, ſome with *Plate*, ſome with *Money*, as a *Freewill offering*; (A Thing, that *God Almighty* loves; A *Cheerfull Giver*; what an *Evill Eye* doth, I know not.) And (my *Lords*) let me ſpeak it, plainly

unto

unto you; God forbid, any Body ſhould be ſo wretched, as to think, that the Obligation of Love, and Duty, from the *Subject*, to the King, ſhould be Joynt, and not ſeverall: No, my *Lords* it is both. The *Subject* petitioneth, to the *King*, in *Parliament*. He Petitioneth likewiſe, out of *Parliament*. The *King*, on the other ſide, gives *Graces*, to the *Subjects*, in *Parliament*: He gives them likewiſe, and poureth them, upon his *People*, out of *Parliament*: And ſo, no doubt, the *Subject*, may give, to the *King*, in *Parliament*, and out of *Parliament*. It is true, the *Parliament*, is *Intercurſus Magnus*; The great *Intercourſe*, and main *Current*, of *Graces*, and Donatives, from the *King*, to the *People*; from the *People*, to the *King*: But *Parliaments* are held, but at certain times: Whereas the Paſſages, are alwayes open, for Particulars: Even as you ſee, great *Rivers*, have their *Tides*; But particular *Springs*, and *Fountains*, run continually.

To proceed therefore; As the Occaſion, (which was the failing of Supply, by *Parliament*,) did awake the Love, and Benevolence, of thoſe, that were at hand, to give: So it was apprehended, and thought fit, by my *Lords* of the *Councell*, to make a proof, whether the occaſion, and Example both, would not awake, thoſe in the Country, of the better ſort, to follow. Whereupon, their *Lordſhips* deviſed, and directed *Letters*, unto the *Sheriffs*, and *Juſtices*, which declared what was done here above, and wiſhed, that the Country might be moved, eſpecially Men of value.

Now, *My Lords*, I beſeech you, give me favour, and attention, to ſet forth, and obſerve, unto you, five *Points*: (I will number them, becauſe other Men may note them; And I will but touch them, becauſe they ſhall not be drowned, or loſt in diſcourſe;) which I hold worthy, the obſervation, for the *Honour* of the *State*, and *Confuſion* of *Slanders*: Whereby, it will appear, moſt evidently; What care was taken, that that, which was then done, might not have the effect, no nor the ſhew, no nor ſo much as the ſhadow, of a *Taxe*: And that it was, ſo far, from breeding, or bringing in, any ill preſident, or Example, As, contrary wiſe, it is a *Corrective*, that doth *correct*, and *allay*, the Harſhneſs, and Danger, of former *Examples*.

The firſt is; That what was done, was done, immediately after ſuch a *Parliament*, as made generall Profeſſion to give, and was interrupted by Accident; So as, you may truly, and juſtly eſteem it; *Tanquam Poſthuma Proles Parliamenti*; As an *After Child* of the *Parliament*; And in purſuit, (in ſome ſmall meaſure,) of the firm Intent, of a *Parliament* paſt. You may take it alſo, if you will, as an Advance, or Proviſionall Help, untill a Future *Parliament*: Or, as a Gratification ſimply, without any Relation, to a *Parliament*; you can, no wayes, take it amiſſe.

The Second is, That it wrought, upon Example; As a Thing, not deviſed; Or projected; Or required; No, nor ſo much as recommended, untill many, that were never moved, nor dealt with,

with, *Ex mero motu*, had freely and frankly, ſent in their preſents. So that, the *Letters*, were rather like *Letters* of Newes, what was done at *London*, then otherwiſe: And we know, *Exempla ducunt, non trahunt*; *Examples, they do but Lead, they do not Draw, nor Drive.*

The Third is, That it was not done, by *Commiſſion*, under the *Great Seal*; A Thing warranted, by a Multitude of Preſidents, both ancient, and of late time, as you ſhall hear anon; And no doubt, warranted by *Law*; So that, the *Commiſſions*, be of that *Stile*, and Tenour, as that they be to move, and not to levy: But this was done, by *Letters* of the *Councell*, and no higher Hand, or Form.

The Fourth is, That theſe *Letters*, had no manner of Shew, of any *Binding Act*, of *State*. For they contain, not any ſpeciall Frame of Direction, how the *Buſineſſe* ſhould be Mannaged; But were written, as upon truſt; Leaving the matter, wholy, to the Induſtry, and Confidence, of thoſe in the *Country*; So that it was, an *abſque Compoto*; Such a form of Letter, as no Man could, fitly, be called to accompt upon.

The Fift, and laſt *Point* is; That the whole *Carriage* of the *Buſineſs*, had no Circumſtance *compulſory*. There was no Proportion, Or Rate, ſet down, not ſo much as by way of a *Wiſh*: There was no Menace of any that ſhould deny: No Reproof of any that did deny, No certifying, of the *Names* of any, that had denied. Indeed, if Men could not content themſelves to deny, but that they muſt cenſure, and inveigh; Nor to excuſe themſelves, but they muſt accuſe the *State*, that is another *Caſe*. But, I ſay, for Denying, no Man was apprehended, no nor noted. So that, I verily think, that there is none ſo ſubtill a Diſputer, in the *Controverſie* of *Liberum Arbitrium*, that can, with all his Diſtinctions, faſten, or carp, upon the *Act*, but that there was *Free Will*, in it.

I conclude therefore, (My *Lords*,) that this was a *True*, and *pure*, *Benevolence*; Not an *Impoſition*, called a *Benevelence*, which the *Statute* ſpeaks of; As you ſhall hear, by one of my *Fellows*. There is a great Difference, I tell you, (though *Pilate* would not ſee it,) between *Rex Judæorum*, *and ſe dicens Regem Judæorum*; And there is a great difference, between a *Benevolence*, and an *Exaction*, called a *Benevolence*, which the *Duke* of *Buckingham*, ſpeaks of, in his *Oration* to the *Citty*: And defineth it, to be, not what the Subject, of his good will, would give, but what the *King*, of his good will, would take. But this, I ſay, was a *Benevolence*, wherein every man, had a *Princes Prerogative*; A *Negative Voyce*: And this word, (*Excuſe moy*,) was a *Plea peremptory*. And therefore, I do wonder, how Mr. *I. S.* could foul, or trouble, ſo clear a Fountain; Certainly, it was but his own Bitterneſs, and unſound Humours.

Now to the particular *Charge*. Amongſt other *Countries*, theſe Letters, of the *Lords*, came to the *Juſtices* of *D*——*ſhire*, Who ſignified, the Contents thereof; And gave Directions, and Appoint-

pointments, for meetings, concerning the Buſineſs, to ſeverall *Towns*, & Places, within that *County*: And amongſt the reſt, notice was given, unto the Town, of *A*: The *Majour* of *A*; conceiving, that this Mr. *I. S.* (being a Principall Perſon, and a *Dweller*, in that *Town*;) was a Man, likely to give, both money, and good Example: Dealt with him, to know his mind. He, intending, (as it ſeems,) to play prizes, would give no Anſwer, to the *Majour*, in private, but would take Time. The next day then, being an Appointment of the *Juſtices* to meet, he takes occaſion, or pretends occaſion, to be abſent, becauſe he would bring his *Papers*, upon the *Stage*: And thereupon, takes Pen in hand, and, in ſtead, of excuſing himſelf, ſets down, and contriveth, a ſeditious, and libellous, Accuſation, againſt the *King*, and *State*; which your *Lordſhips* ſhall now hear; And ſends it to the *Majour*: And withall, becauſe the Feather of his Quill, might fly abroad, he gives authority, to the *Majour*, to impart it to the *Juſtices*, if he ſo thought good. And now, my *Lords*, becauſe I will not miſtake, or miſ-repeat, you ſhall hear the *Seditious Libell*, in the proper termes, and words thereof.

Here the Papers were read.

MY *Lords*, I know, this *Paper*, offends your Ears, much, and the Eares of any good *Subject*: And ſorry I am, that the Times, ſhould produce Offences, of this nature: But ſince they do, I would be more ſorry, they ſhould be paſſed, without ſevere puniſhment: *Non tradite factum*, (as the *Verſe* ſayes, altered a little;) *Aut ſi tradatis, Facti quoque tradite pœnam.* If any man, have a mind, to diſcourſe, of the Fact; let him likewiſe, diſcourſe, of the puniſhment, of the Fact.

In this *Writing*, (*my Lords*,) there appears, a *Monſter*, with four *Heads*; Of the progeny, of him, that is the *Father of* Lies, and takes, his *Name*, from *Slander*.

The firſt is, a wicked, and ſeditious, Slander; Or, (if I ſhall uſe the *Scripture* phraſe,) a Blaſpheming, of the *King* himſelf; Setting him forth, for a *Prince*, perjured, in the great, and ſolemne, *Oath*, of his *Coronation*; which is, as it were, the *Knot* of the *Diademe*: A *Prince*, that ſhould be a *Violatour*, and *Infringer*, of the *Liberties*, *Lawes*, and *Cuſtomes*, of the *Kingdome*: A mark, for an *H.* the 4th. A Match, for a *R.* the 2d.

The Second is, a *Slander*, and *Falſification*, and *wreſting*, of the Law, of the *Land*, groſſe, and palpable: It is truly ſaid, by a Civilian; *Tortura Legum peſſima*: The *Torture* of *Lawes*, is worſe, then the *Torture* of *Men*.

The Third is, a ſlander, and falſe charge, of the *Parliament*; That they had denied, to give to the *King*: A Point, of notorious untruth.

And the laſt is, a Slander, and *Taunting*, of an infinite Number, of

of the *Kings* loving *Subjects*, that have given, towards this *Benevolence*, and *free Contribution*: Charging them, as Acceſſary, and Coadjutours, to the *Kings* Perjury. Nay, you leave us not there; But you take, upon you, a *Pontificall Habite*; And couple, your *Slander*, with a *Curſe*: But thanks be to *God*, we have learned ſufficiently, out of the *Scripture*; That, *as the Bird flies away, ſo the cauſeleſſe Curſe ſhall not come.*

For the firſt of theſe, which concerns the *King*, I have taken to my ſelf, the opening, and Aggravation, thereof: The other three, I have diſtributed, to my *Fellows*.

My *Lords*, I cannot, but enter, into this part, with ſome Wonder and Aſtoniſhment; How it ſhould come, into the Heart, of a *Subject*, of *England* to vapour forth, ſuch a wicked, and venemous *ſlander* againſt the *King*; whoſe Goodneſs, & Grace, is comparable (if not incomparable, junto any the *Kings*, his *Progenitors*. This therefore, gives me a Juſt, & neceſſary, occaſion, to do two things. The one to make, ſome Repreſentation, of his *Majeſty*; Such as truly he is found to be, in his Government, which Mr. *I. S.* chargeth, with Violation of *Lawes*, and *Liberties*. The other, to ſearch, and open the Depth of Mr. *I. S.* his Offence. Both which, I will do briefly; Becauſe, the one, I cannot expreſſe, ſufficiently; And the other, I will not preſſe, too far.

My *Lords*, I mean to make, no *Panegyrick*, or *Laudative*: The *Kings* delights not in it, neither am I fit for it: But if it were, but a *Councellor*, or *Noble-man*, whoſe Name had ſuffered, and were to receive, ſome kind of Reparation, in this *High Court*, I would do him that Duty, as not to paſs his Merits, and juſt Attributes, (eſpecially, ſuch as are limitted with the preſent Caſe) in ſilence: For, it is fit, to burn Incenſe, where evill Odours, have been caſt, and raiſed. Is it ſo, that *King James* ſhall be ſaid to be a Violater, of the *Liberties*, *Lawes*, and *Cuſtomes* of his *Kingdomes*? Or is he not, rather, a noble, and Conſtant, *Protector*, and *Conſervator*, of them all? I conceive, this conſiſteth, in maintaining *Religion*, and the *true Church*; In maintaining the *Lawes* of the *Kingdom*, which is the *Subjects Birth-right*; In *temperate uſe*, of the *Prerogative*; In due, and free, *Adminiſtration* of *Juſtice*; And Conſervation, of the *Peace*, of the *Land*.

For *Religion*, we muſt ever acknowledge, in firſt place, that we have a *King*, that is, the *Principall Conſervator* of true *Religion*, through the *Chriſtian World*. He hath maintained it, not only, with *Scepter* and *Sword*; But likewiſe by his *Pen*, wherein alſo he is *Potent*.

He hath Awaked, and Reauthorized, the whole *Party*, of the *Reformed Religion*, throughout *Europe*; which through the Inſolency, and diverſe Artifices, and Inchantments, of the advers part, was grown, a little Dull, and Dejected. He hath ſummoned, the *Fraternity* of *Kings*, to infranchiſe Themſelves, from the Uſurpation, of the *ſee of Rome*. He hath made himſelf a *Mark, of Contradiction for it*.

Neither

Neither can I omit, when I ſpeak of *Religion*, to remember, that excellent *Act* of his *Majeſty*; which though it were done, in a *Forraign Country*, yet the *Church* of *God* is one; And the *Contagion* of theſe things, will ſoon paſs Seas, and Lands: I mean, in his conſtant, and holy, proceeding againſt the *Heretick Vorſtius*; whom, (being ready, to enter into the *Chair*, and there to have authorized, one of the moſt *peſtilent*, and *Heatheniſh Hereſies*, that ever was begun;) His *Majeſty*, by his conſtant oppoſition, diſmounted, and pulled down. And I am perſwaded, there ſits, in this *Court* one, whom *God* doth the rather bleſſe, for being his *Majeſties Inſtrument*, in that Service.

I cannot remember *Religion*, and the *Church*, but I muſt think, of the *ſeed-plots* of the ſame, which are the *Univerſities*. His *Majeſty*, as for Learning amongſt *Kings*, he is incomparable, in his Perſon; So likewiſe, hath he been in his Government, a benign, or benevolent *planet*, towards *Learning*. By whoſe influence, thoſe Nurſeries, and Gardens of Learning, (the *Univerſities*) were never, more in Flower, nor Fruit.

For the *Maintaining*, of the *Lawes*, which is the Hedge, and Fence, about the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, I may truly affirm, it was never in better repair. He doth concur, with the Votes, of the *Nobles*; *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare*. He is an Enemy of *Innovation*. Neither doth the Univerſality, of his own Knowledge, carry him, to neglect, or paſs over, the very *Formes* of the *Lawes*, of the *Land*. Neither was there ever *King*, (I am perſwaded) that did conſult, ſo oft, with his *Judges*; As my *Lords*, that ſit here, know well. The *Judges*, are a kind of *Councell*, of the *Kings*, by *Oath*, and ancient *Inſtitution*; But he uſeth them ſo indeed. He confers regularly, with them, upon their Returnes, from their *Viſitations*, and *Circuits*. He gives them Liberty, both to enform him, and to debate matters with him; And in the Fall, and Concluſion, commonly, relyeth, on their Opinions.

As for the uſe, of the *Prerogative*, it runs within the ancient *Channels*, and *Banks*; Some Things, that were conceived, to be in ſome Proclamations, Commiſſions, and Pattents, as Overflowes, have been, by his Wiſedom, and Care, reduced; whereby, no doubt, the Main *Channell*, of his *Prerogative*, is ſo much the ſtronger. For evermore, *Overflowes*, do hurt the *Channell*.

As for *Adminiſtration* of *Juſtice*, between Party and Party, I pray obſerve theſe points. There is no Newes, of *Great Seal*, or *Signet*, that flies abroad, for Countenance, or Delay of Cauſes: *Proteſtions* rarely granted, and only upon great Ground, or by Conſent: My *Lords*, here of the *Councell*, and the *King* himſelf, meddle not, (as hath been uſed in former times) with Matters, of *Meum*, and *Tuum*; except they have apparent mixture, with Matters of *Eſtate*, but leave them to the *Kings Courts* of *Law*, or *Equity*. And for *Mercy*, and *Grace*, (without which, there is no ſtanding,

before *Juſtice*;) we ſee, the *King* now hath raigned 12. years, in his *White Robe*, without, almoſt, any Aſperſion, of the *Crimſen Die*, of *Blood*. There ſits my *Lord Hobert*, that ſerved Atturney ſeven years. I ſerved with him. We were ſo happy, as there paſſed not, through our hands, any one *Arraignment* for *Treaſon*; And but one, for any *Capitall Offence*; which was that, of the *Lord Sanquier*; The *Nobleſt piece* of *Juſtice*, (one of them) that ever came forth, in any *Kings* Times.

As for *Penall Lawes*, which lie, as Snares, upon the *Subjects*: And which were, as a *Nemo ſcit*, to *King Henry* 7. It yeelds a Revenue, that will ſcarce pay, for the Parchment, of the *Kings Records*, at *Weſtminſter*.

And laſtly for *Peace*; we ſee, manifeſtly, his *Majeſty*, bears ſome Reſemblance, of that great Name; *A Prince of Peace*: He hath preſerved his *Subjects*, during his *Raign*, in *Peace*, both within, and without. For the *Peace*, with States abroad, We have it, *uſque ad Satietatem*: And for *Peace*, in the *Lawyers phraſe*, which count *Treſpaſſes*, and *Forces*, and *Riots*, to be *Contra pacem*; Let me give your Lordſhips, this Token, or Taſt; That this *Court*, where they ſhould appear, had never leſſe to do. And certainly, there is no better Sign, of *Omnia benè*, then when this *Court*, is in a Still.

But, (my *Lords*,) this is a Sea of Matter; And therefore, I muſt give it over, and conclude; That there was never *King*, raigned, in this *Nation*, that did better keep Covenant, in preſerving the Liberties, and procuring the Good, of his People. So that, I muſt needs ſay, for the *Subjects* of *England*; *O Fortunatos nimium, ſua ſi bona nôrint*: As, no doubt, they do, both know, and acknowledge it: What ſoever, a few turbulent Diſcourſers, may, through the Lenity of the time, take Boldneſs to ſpeak.

And as for this particular, touching the *Benevolence*, wherein, Mr. *I. S.* doth aſſign, this breach of Covenant; I leave it, to others, to tell you; what the *King* may do; Or what other *Kings*, have done: But I have told you, what our *King*, and my *Lords*, have done: Which, I ſay, and ſay again, is ſo far, from introducing, a new Preſident; As it doth, rather, correct, and mollifie, and qualifie, former preſidents.

Now, (Mr. *I. S.*) let me tell you your fault in few words; For that, I am perſwaded, you ſee it already; Though I wooe no Mans Repentance; But I ſhall, as much as in me is, cheriſh it, where I find it. Your *Offence* hath three parts knit together,

Your *Slander*;
Your *Menace*; and
Your *Compariſon*.

For your *Slander*, it is no leſſe, then that the *King* is perjured, in his *Coronation Oath*. No greater *Offence* then *Perjury*: No greater

ter *Oath*, then that of a *Coronation*. I leave it; It is too great to aggravate.

Your *Menace*, that if there were a *Lulling-broke*, or I cannot tell what, there were Matter for him, is a very ſeditious Paſſage. You know well, that howſoever *Henry the fourths* Act, by a ſecret Providence of God, prevailed, yet it was but an *Uſurpation*: And, if it were poſſible, for ſuch a one, to be, this day, (wherewith, it ſeemes, your *Dreames* are troubled;) I do not doubt, his End would be upon the *Block*; And that he would, ſooner, have the *Ravens*, ſit upon his *Head*, at *London Bridge*, then the *Crown* at *Weſtminſter*. And it is not your interlacing, of your (*God forbid*,) that will ſalve theſe ſeditious Speeches; Neither could it be a *Fore-warning*, becauſe the Matter was paſt, and not revocable; But, a very Stirring up, and Incenſing, of the People. If I ſhould ſay to you, (for Example,) if theſe times, were like ſome former times, of *King H.* 8; Or ſome other times, which God forbid, Mr. *I. S*, it would coſt you your life. I am ſure, you would not think this, to be a gentle warning, but rather, that I incenſed the *Court* againſt you.

And for your *Compariſon*, with R. the 2. I ſee you follow the Example of them, that brought him upon the Stage, and into Print, in *Queen Elizabeths* time; A moſt prudent, and admirable, *Queen*; But let me entreat you, that when you will ſpeak, of *Queen Elizabeth*, or *King James*; you would compare them to *K. H.* the 7th, or *K. Ed.* 1. Or ſome other *Paralels*, to which they are like. And this I would wiſh, both you, and all, to take heed of; How you ſpeak ſeditious Matter, in *Parables*, or by *Tropes*, or *Examples*. There is a thing, in an *Indictment*, called an *Innuendo*; You muſt beware, how you becken, or make Signs upon the *King*, in a Dangerous ſenſe: But I will contain my ſelf, and Preſs this no further: I may hold you, for Turbulent, or Preſumptuous, but I hope you are not Diſloyall: You are graciouſly, and mercifully, dealt with. And therefore having now opened to my *Lords*, and, (as I think,) to your own Heart, and Conſcience, the principall part of your *Offence*, which concerns the *King*;) I leave the reſt, which concerns the *Law*, *Parliament*, and the *Subjects* that have given, to Mr. *Serjeants*, and Mr. *Solliciteur*.

The Charge *of* Owen, *indicted of High* Treaſon, *in the* Kings Bench, *by* Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, *his* Majeſties Atturney Generall.

THe *Treaſon*, wherewith, this *Man* ſtandeth Charged, is, for the Kind, and Nature, of it, Ancient; As Ancient, as there is, any *Law* of *England*: But, in the particular, Late, and Upſtart:

And again, in the Manner, and Boldneſs, of the preſent Caſe, New, and almoſt unheard of, till this *Man*. Of what mind he is now, I know not, but I take him as he was, and as he ſtandeth charged. For *High* Treaſon, is not written in Ice; That when the *Body* relenteth, the *Impreſſion* ſhould go away.

In this Cauſe, the *Evidence* it ſelf, will ſpend little Time: Time therefore, will be beſt ſpent, in opening, fully, the Nature of this *Treaſon*, with the Circumſtances thereof; Becauſe the *Example*, is more then the *Man*. I think good, therefore, by way of Inducement, and Declaration, in this Cauſe, to open unto the *Court*, *Jury*, and *Hearers*, five Things.

The firſt is, the Clemency, of the *King*; Becauſe, it is Newes, and a kind of Rarety, to have a proceeding, in this place, upon *Treaſon*: And perhaps, it may be marvelled by ſome, why after, ſo long an Intermiſſion, it ſhould light upon this *Fellow*: Being a perſon, but contemptible; A kind of venemous fly; And a Hang by of the Seminaries.

The Second is, the Nature of this *Treaſon*, as concerning the *Fact*; which, of all kinds, of compaſſing the *Kings* Death, I hold to be the moſt perillous; And as much differing from other Conſpiracies, as the lifting up of a 1000 Hands, againſt the *King*, (like the *Giant Briareus*,) differs, from lifting up one, or a few Hands.

The Third Point, that I will ſpeak unto, is, the *Doctrine*, or *Opinion*; Which is the Ground of this *Treaſon*; Wherein, I will not argue, or ſpeak, like a Divine, or Scholler; But, as a Man, bred, in a Civill Life: And to ſpeak plainly, I hold the Opinion to be ſuch, that deſerveth, rather, Deteſtation, then Conteſtation.

The Fourth Point, is the *Degree*, of this Mans *Offence*; which is more preſumptuous, then I have known, any other, to have fallen into, in this kind: And hath, a greater Overflow, of *Malice*, and *Treaſon*.

And Fifthly, I will remove ſomewhat, that may ſeem to qualifie, and extenuate, this *Mans Offence*; in that, he hath not affirmed, ſimply; That it is lawfull to kill the King, but conditionally; that if the *King* be *Excommunicate*, it is lawfull to kill him; which maketh little Difference, either in Law, or Perill.

For the *Kings Clemency*, I have ſaid it, of late, upon a good Occaſion; And I ſtill ſpeak it, with comfort: I have now, ſerved his *Majeſtie*, *Solliciter*, and *Atturney*, eight years, and better: yet, this is the firſt time, that ever I gave in Evidence, againſt a *Traytor*, at this *Barr*, or any other. There hath not wanted Matter, in that Party, of the *Subjects*, whence this kind of *Offence* floweth, to irritate the *King*: He hath been irritated, by the *Powder Treaſon*, which might have turned Judgement, into Fury: He hath been irritated, by wicked, and monſtrous, *Libels*; Irritated, by a generall Inſolency, and preſumption, in the *Papiſts*, throughout the Land; And yet, I ſee, his *Majeſty* keepeth *Cæſars* Rule: *Nil malo*,

malo, quam eos eſſe ſimiles ſui, & memei. He leaveth them, to be like themſelves; And he remaineth, like Himſelf; And ſtriveth, to overcome Evill, with Goodneſs. A ſtrange thing, Bloudy Opinions, Bloudy Doctrines, Bloudy Examples, and yet the *Government*, ſtill, unſtained with *Bloud*. As for this *Owen*, that is brought in queſtion, though his Perſon be, in his Condition, contemptible; yet we ſee, by miſerable *Examples*; That theſe Wretches, which are but the Scum of the Earth, have been able, to ſtir *Earth-quakes*, by *Murthering* of *Princes*: And, if it were, in caſe of Contagion; (As this is a Contagion, of the Heart, and Soul;) A Raskall, may bring in a Plague, into the *Citty*, as well as a *great Man*: So it is not the *Perſon*, but the *Matter*, that is to be conſidered.

For the *Treaſon* it ſelf, which is the ſecond Point, my Deſire is, to open it, in the Depth thereof, if it were poſſible, But it is bottomeleſſe: And ſo the *Civill Law* ſaith: *Conjurationes, omnium proditionum, odioſiſſimæ, & perniciosiſſimæ.* Againſt Hoſtile Invaſions, and the Adherence of *Subjects*, to *Enemies*, *Kings* can arm: *Rebellions*, muſt go over, the Bodies, of many good *Subjects*, before they can hurt the *King*: but *Conſpiracies*, againſt the *Perſons* of *Kings* are like *Thunder-bolts*, that ſtrike upon the ſuddain, hardly to be avoyded: *Major metus à ſingulis*, (ſaith he,) *quam ab univerſis.* There is no *Preparation* againſt them. And that *Preparation*, which may be, of Guard, or Cuſtody, is a perpetuall Miſery. And therefore, they that have written, of the *Priviledges* of *Ambaſſadours*, and of the *Amplitude* of *Safe-Conducts*, have defined; That if an *Ambaſſadour*, or a Man, that commeth in, upon the higheſt *ſafe-Conducts*, do practiſe, Matter of *Sedition*, in a *State*, yet, by the *Law* of *Nations*, he ought to be remanded: But, if he *conſpire*, againſt the *Life* of a *Prince*, by violence, or Poyſon, he is to be juſticed: *Quia odium eſt omni Privilegio Majus.* Nay, even amongſt Enemies, and in the moſt deadly Wars, yet, nevertheleſſe, Conſpiracy, and Aſſaſſinate of Princes, hath been accounted villanous, and execrable.

The *Manners*, of *Conſpiring*, and *compaſſing* the *Kings Death*, are many: But it is moſt apparent, that amongſt all the reſt, this ſurmounteth. Firſt, becauſe it is grounded, upon pretenced *Religion*; which is a *Trumpet*, that enflameth the *Heart*, and *Powers* of a Man, with Daring, and Reſolution, more than any Thing elſe. Secondly, it is the Hardeſt to be avoided; For when a particular *Conſpiracy*, is plotted, or Attempted, againſt a *King*, by ſome one, or ſome few *Conſpiratours*, it meets with a Number of Impediments. Commonly, he that hath the *Head* to deviſe it, hath not the *Heart* to undertake it: And the *Perſon*, that is uſed, ſometime faileth in *Courage*, ſometime faileth in *Opportunity*, ſometimes is touched with *Remorce*. But to publiſh, and maintain, that it may be lawfull, for any Man living, to attempt the Life of a *King*, this Doctrine, is a Venomous Sop; Or, as a *Legion* of *Malign Spirits*;

rits; Or an univerſall Temptation; Doth enter, at once, into the Hearts of all, that are any way prepared, or of any Prediſpoſition, to be *Traytors*: So that whatſoever faileth in any one, is ſupplied in Many: If one *Man* faint, another will dare: If one man hath not the Opportunity, another hath: If one *Man* Relent, another will be Deſperate. And Thirdly, particular *Conſpiracies*, have their *Periods* of *Time*, within which, if they be not taken, they vaniſh. But this is endleſs, and importeth, Perpetuity, of ſpring ng Conſpiracies. And ſo much, concerning the *Nature*, of the *Fact*.

For the *Third Point*, which is the *Doctrine*; That upon an *Excommunication* of the *Pope*, with *ſentence* of *Depoſing*; A *King* by any *Son* of *Adam*, may be ſlaughtered; And that, it is *Juſtice*, and no *Murther*; And that their *Subjects*, are abſolved, of their *Allegeance*; And the *Kings* themſelves, expoſed to *ſpoyl* and *Prey*. I ſaid before, that I would not argue, the ſubtilty of the *Queſtion*: It is rather, to be ſpoken too, by way of Accuſation of the Opinion, as Impious; then by way of Diſpute of it, as Doubtfull. Nay, I ſay, it deſerveth, rather, ſome *Holy-war*, or *League*, amongſt all *Chriſtian Princes*, of either *Religion*; for the Extirpating and Razing of the Opinion, and the Authors thereof, from the face of the Earth; Then the Stile of Pen, or Speech. Therefore in this kind I will ſpeak to it, a few words and not otherwiſe. Nay, I proteſt, if I were a *Papiſt*, I ſhould ſay as much. Nay, I ſhould ſpeak it, perhaps with more Indignation, and Feeling. For this *Horrible Opinion*, is our Advantage; And it is their Reproach; And will be their Ruine.

This *Monſter* of *Opinion*, is to be accuſed, of Three moſt evident, and moſt miſerable *Slanders*.

Firſt, of the Slander, it bringeth, to the *Chriſtian Faith*; Being a plain plantation, of *Irreligion and Atheiſm*.

Secondly, the *Subverſion*, which it introduceth, into all Pollicy, and Government.

Thirdly, the great Calamity, it bringeth, upon *Papiſts* themſelves; Of which, the more Moderate ſort, as Men miſled, are to be pittied.

For the Firſt, if a Man doth viſit, the foul, and polluted Opinions, Cuſtomes, or Practiſes, of *Heatheniſm*, *Mahometiſm*, and *Hereſie*, he ſhall find they do not attain to this *Height*. Take the Examples of damnable Memory, amongſt the *Heathen*. The Proſcriptions, in *Rome*, of *Sylla*; And afterwards of the *Triumvirs*, what were they? They were, but of a finite Number of Perſons, and thoſe not many, that were expoſed, unto any Mans Sword. But what is that, to the proſcribing of a *King*, and all that ſhall take his Part? And what was the Reward of a *Souldier* that amongſt them, killed one of the proſcribed? A ſmall *piece* of *Money*: But what is now the reward of one, that ſhall kill a *King*? The *Kingdom*, of *Heaven*. The Cuſtome, among the *Heathen*, that was

was moſt ſcandalized was, that ſometimes the *Prieſt* ſacrificed *Men*; But yet, you ſhall not read, of any *Prieſthood*, that ſacrificed *Kings*.

The *Mahometans*, make it, a part of their *Religion*, to propagate their *Sect*, by the *Sword*: But yet ſtill, by *Honourable Wars*, never by Villanies, and ſecret Murthers. Nay, I find, that the *Saracen Prince*, of whom, the Name, of the *Aſſaſſins*, is derived; which had divers Votaries at Commandement; which he ſent, and imployed, to the Killing, of divers Princes, in the Eaſt; (By one of whom, *Amurath* the Firſt was ſlain; And *Edward* the Firſt of *England*, was wounded;) was put down, and rooted out, by common Conſent, of the *Mahometan Princes*.

The *Anabaptiſts* (it is true) come neareſt. For they profeſſe, the pulling down of *Magiſtrates*; And they can chaunt, the Pſalm; *To bind their Kings in Chaines, and their Nobles in fetters of Iron.* This is, the Glory of the *Saints*, much like, the *Temporall Authority*, that the *Pope* Challengeth over *Princes*. But this is the difference; That that is a Furious, and Fanaticall, Fury; And this is a ſad, and ſolemn Miſchief. *He imagineth Miſchief as a Law*; A Law-like Miſchief.

As for the *Defence*, which they do make, it doth aggravate the ſin; And turneth it from a *Cruelty* towards *Man*, to a *Blaſphemy* towards *God*. For to ſay, that all this, is, *in ordine ad ſpirituale*; And to a *good End*; And for the *ſalvation of Soules*; It is, directly, to make *God, Author of Evill*; And to draw him, into the likeneſſe, of the *Prince*, of *Darkneſſe*; And to ſay with thoſe, that *Saint Paul* ſpeaketh of; *Let us do Evill, that good may come thereof.* Of whom, the *Apoſtle* ſaith definitively; *That their damnation is Juſt.*

For the *Deſtroying* of *Government*, univerſally, it is moſt evident; That it is not the Caſe, of *Proteſtant Princes*, onely, But of *Catholick Princes* likewiſe: As the *King* hath excellently ſet forth. Nay, it is not the Caſe of *Princes* onely, but of all *Subjects*, and private Perſons. For touching *Princes*, let Hiſtory be peruſed, what hath been the Cauſes of *Excommunication*; And namely, this Tumour of it; (the *Depoſing* of *Kings*;) It hath not been for *Hereſie*, and *Schiſm*, alone, but for *Collation*, and *Inveſtitures*, of *Biſhopricks*, and *Benefices*, *Intruding* upon *Eccleſiaſticall Poſſeſſions*, *violating* of any *Eccleſiaſticall Perſon*, or *Liberty*. Nay, generally, they maintain it, that it may be for any ſin: So that, the Difference, wherein their Doctors vary; That ſome hold; That the *Pope*, hath his *Temporall power, immediatly*; And others, but *in ordine ad ſpirituale*, is but a Deluſion, and an Abuſe. For all commeth to one. What is there, that may not be made, ſpirituall, by Conſequence? ſpecially, when He, that giveth the Sentence, may make the Caſe? And accordingly, hath the miſerable Experience followed. For this *Murthering* of *Kings*, hath been put in practiſe, as well againſt *Papiſt Kings*, as *Proteſtants*. Save that, it hath pleaſed *God*, ſo to guide it by his admirable providence; As the Attempts, upon *Papiſt Princes*,

Princes, have been executed, And the Attempts, upon *Proteſtant Princes*, have failed: Except that of the *Prince Aurange*. And not that neither, untill ſuch time, as he had joyned, too faſt, with the *Duke of Anjou*, and the *Papiſts*.

The reſt is wanting.

The Charge, *of Sir* Francis Bacon, *the* Kings Atturney Generall, *againſt* M. L. S. W. *and* H. I. *for Scandall, and Traducing, of the* Kings Juſtice, *in the proceedings againſt* Weſton: *In the* Star-Chamber, 10. Novemb. 1615.

THe *Offence*, wherewith I ſhall charge, the three *Offenders*, at the *Bar*, is a *Miſdemeanour*, of a High Nature; Tending, to the Defacing, and Scandall, of *Juſtice*, in a great *Cauſe Capitall*. The particular *Charge* is this.

The *King*, amongſt many his Princely vertues, is known, to excell, in that proper vertue, of the *Imperiall Throne*, which is *Juſtice*. It is a *Royall Vertue*, which doth employ, the other three *Cardinall Vertues*, in her Service. *Wiſdome*, to diſcover, and *diſcern*, Nocent, or Innocent: *Fortitude*, to proſecute, and execute: *Temperance*, ſo to carry *Juſtice*, as it be not paſſionate, in the purſuit, nor confuſed, in involving *perſons*, upon light ſuſpicion; Nor precipitate in time. For this his *Majeſties* Vertue of *Juſtice*, *God* hath of late raiſed an occaſion, and erected, as it were, a Stage, or Theater, much to his Honour, for him to ſhew it, and act it, in the purſuit, of the untimely Death of *Sir Thomas Overbury*; And therein cleanſing the *Land* from *Bloud*. For, (*my Lords*) if *Bloud* ſpilt, Pure, doth cry to *Heaven*, in *Gods* Eares, much more *Bloud defiled* with *Poyſon*.

This Great Work, of his *Majeſties Juſtice*, the more excellent it is, your *Lordſhips* will ſoon conclude, the greater is the *Offence* of any, that have ſought, to Affront it, or Traduce it. And therefore, before I deſcend, unto the *Charge*, of theſe *Offenders*, I will ſet, before your *Lordſhips*, the weight of that, which they have ſought to impeach: Speaking ſomewhat of the generall *Crime* of *Impoyſonment*; And then, of the particular *Circumſtances*, of this *Fact*, upon *Overbury*: And thirdly, and chiefly, of the *Kings* great, and worthy, Care, and Carriage, in this Buſineſs.

This *Offence* of *Impoyſonment*, is moſt truly figured, in that Deviſe, or Deſcription, which was made, of the Nature, of one, of the *Roman Tyrants*; That he was *Lutum Sanguine maceratum*; *Mire, mingled, or cymented, with Bloud*: For, as it is, one of the higheſt *Offences*, in *Guiltineſs*; So it is, the Baſeſt, of all others, in the *Mind* of the *Offenders*. Treaſons, *Magnum aliquid ſpectant*: They aym at great things; But this, is vile, and baſe. I tell your *Lordſhips*, what

what I have noted; That in all *Gods* Book, (both of the *Old*, and *New Teſtament*,) I find Examples, of all other *Offences*, and *Offendours*, in the *world*, but not any one, of an *Impoyſonment*, or an *Impoyſoner*. I find mention, of Fear, of caſuall *Impoyſonment*, when the *Wild Vine*, was ſhred, into the Pot, they came complaining, in a fearfull manner; *Maiſter*; *Mort in olla*. And, I find mention, of Poyſons, of Beaſts, and Serpents; *The Poyſon of Aſpes is under their Lips*. But I find no Example, in the *Book* of *God*, of *Impoyſonment*. I have, ſometime, thought, of the *Words*, in the *Pſalme*; *Let their Table be made a Snare*: Which certainly, is moſt True of *Impoyſonment*: For the *Table*, the *Daily Bread*, for which we pray, is turned to a deadly Snare: But I think rather, that that was meant, of the *Treachery* of *Friends*, that were participant, of the ſame *Table*.

But let us go on. It is an *Offence*, (*my Lords*,) that hath the two *Spurs*, of *Offending*: *Spes Perficiendi*, and *Spes Celandi*. It is eaſily *committed*, and eaſily *concealed*.

It is an *Offence*, that is, *Tanquam Sagitta nocte volans*; It is the *Arrow* that *flies by Night*. It diſcerns not, whom it hits: For, many times, the *Poyſon* is laid for one, and the other takes it: As in *Sanders* Caſe, where the *Poyſoned Apple* was laid for the *Mother*, and was taken up by the *Child*, and killed the *Child*. And ſo, in that notorious caſe, whereupon the *Statute*, of 22. *H.* 8, *Cap.* 9°, was made; where the Intent, being to poyſon, but one, or two; Poyſon was put, into a little Veſſell, of Barm, that ſtood, in the Kitchin, of the *Biſhop* of *Rocheſters Houſe*; Of which Barm, Pottage, or Gruell, was made, wherewith 17, of the *Biſhops Family* were *Poyſoned*: Nay, Divers of the *Poor*, that came to the *Biſhops Gate*, and had the broken Pottage, in Alms, were likewiſe Poyſoned; And therefore, if any Man, will comfort himſelf, or think with himſelf, Here is great Talk of *Impoyſonment*, I hope I am ſafe, For I have no Enemies; Nor, I have nothing, that any Body, ſhould long for; why? that is all one, For he may ſit, at *Table*, by one, for whom *Poyſon* is prepared, and have a *Drench*, of his *Cup*, or of his *Pottage*. And ſo, as the *Poet* ſaith; *Concidit infelix alieno vulnere*; He may die another Mans Death. And therefore, it was moſt, gravely, and judiciouſly, and properly, provided by that *Statute*; That *Impoyſonment* ſhould be *High Treaſon*; Becauſe, whatſoever *Offence*, tendeth, to the utter Subverſion, and Diſſolution, of Human Society, is, in the nature, of *High Treaſon*.

Laſtly, it is an *Offence*, that I may truly ſay of it; *Non eſt noſtri Generis, nec Sanguinis*. It is, (Thanks be to *God*,) rare, in the *Iſle* of *Brittanny*: It is neither of our *Country*, nor of our *Church*; you may find it, in *Rome*, or *Italy*. There is a *Region*, or perhaps a *Religion*, for it: And if it ſhould come amongſt us, certainly, it were better living in a *Wilderneſſe*, than in a *Court*.

For the particular *Fact*, upon *Overbury*. Firſt for the *Perſon*, of Sir *Thomas Overbury*: I knew the Gentleman. It is true, his Mind

was great, but it moved not, in any good Order; yet, certainly, it did, commonly, fly, at good Things. And the greateſt Fault, that I ever heard by him, was, that he made, his *Friend*, his *Idoll*. But I leave him, as Sir *Thomas Overbury*.

But then, take him, as he was the *Kings Priſoner*, in the *Tower*; And then ſee, how the Caſe ſtands. In that place, the *State* is, as it were, Reſpondent; to make good, the *Body*, of a *Priſoner*: And, if any thing, happen to him there, it may, (though not in this Caſe, yet in ſome others,) make an Aſperſion, and a Reflexion, upon the *State* it ſelf. For the *Perſon* is utterly out of his own Defence; His own Care, and Providence, can ſerve him nothing. He is in Cuſtody, and Preſervation, of *Law*. And, we have a *Maxime*, in our *Law*, (as my *Lords*, the *Judges*, know,) that when a *State* is, in preſervation of *Law*, nothing can deſtroy it, or hurt it. And *God* forbid, but the like ſhould be, for the *Perſons* of thoſe, that are in *Cuſtody*, of *Law*; And therefore, this was a *Circumſtance*, of great *Aggravation*.

Laſtly, to have a Man, chaced to Death, in ſuch manner, (as it appears now by Matter of *Record*; For other Privacy, of the Cauſe, I know not;) By *Poyſon* after *Poyſon*; firſt *Roſeaker*, then *Arſenick*, then *Mercury Sublimate*, then *Sublimate* again; It is a Thing, would aſtoniſh, Mans Nature, to hear it. The *Poets* faign, that the *Furies* had whips, and that they were corded, with *Poyſonous Snakes*; And a Man would think, that this were the very Caſe; To have a Man, tied to a Poaſt, and to ſcourge him to Death, with *Snakes*: For ſo, may truly be termed, *Diverſity* of *Poyſons*.

Now, I will come unto that, which is the *Principall*; That is, his *Majeſties Princely*, yea, and as I may truly term it, *Sacred* proceeding, in this Cauſe. Wherein, I will firſt ſpeak, of the *Temper* of his *Juſtice*, and then of the *Strength* thereof.

Firſt, it pleaſed my *Lord Chief Juſtice*, to let me know; (That, which I heard, with great Comfort;) Which was, the *Change*, that his *Majeſty* gave to Himſelf firſt; And afterwards, to the *Commiſſioners*, in this Caſe; worthy, certainly, to be written in *Letters* of *Gold*; wherein, his *Majeſty* did fore-rank, and make it his prime Direction, that it ſhould be carried, without touch, to any, that was innocent. Nay more, not onely without *Impeachment*, but without *Aſperſion*: which was a moſt *Noble*, and *Princely* Caution, from his *Majeſty*: For Mens Reputations, are tender Things; And ought to be, like *Chriſts Coat*, without *Seam*. And it was the more to be reſpected, in this Caſe, becauſe it met, with two great *Perſons*; A *Nobile Man*, that his *Majeſty*, had favoured, and advanced; And his *Lady*, being of a Great, and Honourable Houſe: Though, I think it be true, that the Writers ſay, that there is no *Pomgranate*, ſo fair, or ſo ſound, but may have a periſhed *Kernell*. Nay, I ſee plainly, that in thoſe excellent *Papers*, of his *Majeſties*, own Hand-writing; Being, as ſo many

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ny Beams of *Juſtice*, iſſuing from that Vertue, which doth ſhine in him; I ſay, I ſee it was ſo evenly carried, without prejudice; (whither it were a true Accuſation, of the one part, or a Practiſe, of a falſe Accuſation on the other;) As ſhewed plainly, that his Majeſties, Judgement, was *tanquam Tabula Raſa*, as a clean pair of *Tables*; And his Ear, *tanquam Janua aperta*; As a Gate, not ſide open, but wide open, to Truth, as it ſhould be, by little and little, diſcovered. Nay I ſee plainly, that at the firſt, (till further Light did break forth,) his *Majeſty*, was little moved, with the Firſt *Tale*; which he vouchſafeth not ſo much, as the Name of a *Tale*; But calleth it a *Rumour*, which is an *Headleſs Tale*.

As for the Strength, or Reſolution, of his *Majeſties Juſtice*, I muſt tell your *Lordſhips* plainly. I do not marvell, to ſee *Kings*, thunder out *Juſtice*, in Caſes of *Treaſon*, when they are touched Themſelves; And that, they are *Vindices Doloris Proprij:* But that a *King*, ſhould, *pro Amore Juſtitiæ*, onely; Contrary to the *Tide* of his own *Affection*, for the preſervation of his *People*, take ſuch Care, of a Cauſe of *Juſtice*; That is rare, and worthy, to be celebrated, far, and near. For, I think, I may truly affirm, that there was never, in this *Kingdome*, nor in any other *Kingdome*, the *Bloud* of a private Gentleman, vindicated, *Cum tanto Motu Regni*; or to ſay better, *Cum tanto Plauſu Regni*. If it had concerned, the *King*, or *Prince*, there could not have been, Greater, nor Better, *Commiſſioners*, to examine it. The *Term*, hath been, almoſt, turned, into a *Juſtitium*, or *Vacancy:* The *People* themſelves, being more willing, to be Lookers on, in this Buſineſs, then to follow their own. There hath been, no Care of *Diſcovery* omitted, no *Moment* of *Time* loſt. And therefore, I will conclude this Part, with the Saying of *Salomon*; *Gloria Dei celare rem, & gloria Regis Scrutari rem.* And his *Majeſties* Honour, is much the greater, for that, he hath ſhewed, to the World, in this Buſineſſe, as it hath Relation to my *Lord of Sommerſet*; (whoſe Caſe, in no ſort I do prejudge, being ignorant of the Secrets, of the Cauſe, but taking him, as the Law takes him, hitherto, for a *Suſpect*;) I ſay, the *King* hath, to his great Honour, ſhewed; That were any Man, in ſuch a Caſe of Bloud, as the *Signet upon his Right Hand*, (as the *Scripture* ſayes,) yet would He put him off.

Now will I come, to the particular *Charge*, of theſe Gentlemen, whoſe *Qualities*, and *Perſons*, I reſpect, and love: For they are all my particular Friends: But now, I can only do, this Duty, of a Friend, to them, to make them know, their Fault to the full.

And therefore firſt, I will, by way of *Narrative*, declare to your *Lordſhips*, the *Fact*, with the occaſion of it; Then you ſhall have their *Confeſſions* read, upon which you are to proceed; Together, with ſome *Collaterall Teſtimonies*, by way of Aggravation: And laſtly, I will note, and obſerve to your *Lordſhips*, the *Materiall*

points, which I do inſiſt upon, for their *Charge*; And ſo leave them to their *Anſwer*. And this I will doe, very briefly, for the Caſe is not perplexed.

That wretched Man *Weſton*, who was the *Actor*, or *Mechanicall Party*, in this *Impoyſonment*, at the firſt day, being indicted, by a very ſubſtantiall *Jury*, of Selected *Cittizens*, to the number of 19. who found *Lilla vera*; yet nevertheleſſe, at the firſt, ſtood mute. But, after ſome dayes Intermiſſion, it pleaſed *God*, to *caſt out the Dumb Devill*; And that he did put himſelf, upon his Tryall; And was, by a Jury alſo, of great Value, upon his Confeſſion, and other Teſtimonies, *found guilty*. So as 31. ſufficient *Jurours*, have paſſed upon him; whereupon Judgement, and Execution, was awarded againſt him. After this, being in preparation for another *World*, he ſent for Sr. *Thomas Overburies Father*, and falling down upon his knees, with great Remorce, and Compunction, asked him forgiveneſſe. Afterwards, againe, of his own Motion, deſired, to have his like prayer of forgiveneſſe, recommended to his *Mother*, who was abſent. And at both times, out of the *abundance of his Heart*, Confeſſed that he was to die juſtly, and that he was worthy of *Death*. And after again, at his Execution (which is a kind, of ſealing time, of Confeſſions) even at the point of *Death*; (Although there were Tempters about him, as you ſhall hear by and by) yet he did again, confirm publickly, that his *Examinations* were true; And that, he had been, juſtly, and honourably, dealt with. Here is the Narrative, which enduceth the *Charge*. The *Charge* it ſelf is this.

M. L. Whoſe Offence ſtands alone ſingle, (the *Offence* of the other two, being in conſort; And yet, all three, meeting, in their End, and Center, which was to interrupt, or deface, this Excellent piece of *Juſtice*) M. *L.* (I ſay) mean while, between *Weſtons* ſtanding mute, and his Tryall; Takes upon him, to make a moſt Falſe, Odious, and Libellous, Relation; Containing, as many Untruths, as Lines; And ſets it down, in writing, with his own Hand; And delivers it, to Mr. *Henry Gibb*, of the *Bed-chamber*, to be put into the *Kings* Hand. In which writing, he doth falſifie, and pervert, all that was done, the firſt day, at the *Arraignment* of *Weſton*; Turning the Pike, and Point, of his Imputations, principally, upon my *Lord Chief Juſtice* of *England*. Whoſe Name, (thus occurring) I cannot paſs by, And yet, I can, not skill to flatter. But this I will ſay of him, and I would ſay as much to Ages, if I ſhould write a Story: *That never Mans Perſon, and his place, were better met, in a Buſineſſe, then my Lord* Cooke, *and my Lord Chief Juſtice, in the Cauſe of* Overbury.

Now, *My Lords*, in this *Offence*, of *M. L*; For the particulars, of theſe *ſlanderous Articles*, I will obſerve them unto you, when the *Writings*, and *Examinations*, are read, For, I do not love, to ſet the *Gloſs*, before the Text. But, in generall, I note to your *Lordſhips*; Firſt the *Perſon* of *M. L.* I know, he is a *Scottiſh Gentle-*

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man, and thereby, more ignorant, of our *Lawes*, and *Formes*. But, I cannot tell, whither this doth extenuate his *Fault*, in reſpect of *Ignorance*; Or aggravate it much, in reſpect of *Preſumption*; That he would meddle in that, that he underſtood not: But I doubt, it came not out, of his Quiver; Some other Mans *Cunning* wrought upon this Mans *Boldneſſe*. Secondly, I may note unto you, the Greatneſſe of the *Cauſe*; Wherein, he being a private mean Gentleman, did preſume to deal. M. *L* could not but know, to what great, and grave *Commiſſioners*, the *King* had committed this *Cauſe*: And that, his *Majeſty*, in his Wiſedom, would expect, return of all things, from them, to whoſe truſt he had committed this *Buſineſſe*. For it is the part of *Commiſſioners*, as well to report the Buſineſſe, as to mannage the Buſineſſe; And then his *Majeſty*, mought have been ſure, to have had, all thing, well weighed, and truly informed: And therefore, it ſhould have been far from M. *L*. to have preſumed, to have put forth his Hand, to ſo high, and tender a Buſineſſe; which was not to be touched, but by Employed Hands. Thirdly, I note to your *Lordſhips*, that this *Infuſion*, of a *Slander*, into a *Kings* Ear, is, of all *Formes* of *Libells*, and *Slanders*, the worſt. It is true, that *Kings* may keep ſecret their Informations, and then no Man ought to enquire after them, while they are ſhrined in their Breaſt. But where a *King* is pleaſed, that a Man ſhall anſwer, for his falſe *Information*; There, I ſay, the falſe *Information*, to a *King*; exceeds in Offence, the falſe Information, of any other kind; Being a kind (ſince we are in matter of *Poyſon*,) of *Impoyſonment*, of a *Kings* Ear. And thus much, for the *Offence*, of M. *L*.

For the *Offence*, of *S. W.* and *H. I.* which I ſaid was in conſort, it was ſhortly this. At the *Time*, and *Place*, of the *Execution* of *Weſton*; To ſupplant his *Chriſtian Reſolution*, and to *Scandalize* the *Juſtice*, already paſt; & perhaps, to cut off the thred of that which is to come; Theſe Gentlemen, with others, came mounted on Horſeback; And in a Ruffling, and Facing manner, put themſelves forward to re-examine *Weſton*, upon *Queſtions*; And what *Queſtions*? Directly, croſſe to that, that had been tryed, and judged: For what was the point tried? That *Weſton* had *poyſoned Overbury*: What was *S. W. Queſtion*; *Whether Weſton, did poyſon Overbury or no?* A *Contradictory* directly: *Weſton* anſwered only, *that he did him wrong*: And turning to the *Sheriffe*, ſaid; You promiſed me, I *ſhould not be troubled, at this time*. Nevertheleſſe, He preſſed him to anſwer; ſaying; *He deſired to know it, that he mought pray with him*. I know not that *S. W.* is an *Eccleſiaſtick*, that he ſhould cut any Man, from Communion of Prayer: And yet, for all this vexing, of the Spirit, of a poor Man, now in the Gates of Death; *Weſton*, nevertheleſſe, ſtood conſtant, and ſaid; *I die not unworthily: My Lord Chief Juſtice, hath my mind, under my hand, and he is an Honourable and juſt Judge*. This is *S. W.* his Offence.

For *H. I.* he was not ſo much a *Queſtioniſt*; but wrought upon the

points, which I do inſiſt upon, for their *Charge*; And ſo leave them to their *Anſwer*. And this I will doe, very briefly, for the Caſe is not perplexed.

That wretched Man *Weſton*, who was the *Actor*, or *Mechanicall Party*, in this *Impoyſonment*, at the firſt day, being indicted, by a very ſubſtantiall *Jury*, of Selected *Cittizens*, to the number of 19. who found *Lilla vera*; yet nevertheleſſe, at the firſt, ſtood mute. But, after ſome dayes Intermiſſion, it pleaſed *God*, to *caſt out the Dumb Devill*; And that he did put himſelf, upon his Tryall; And was, by a Jury alſo, of great Value, upon his Confeſſion, and other Teſtimonies, *found guilty*. So as 31. ſufficient *Jurours*, have paſſed upon him; whereupon Judgement, and Execution, was awarded againſt him. After this, being in preparation for another *World*, he ſent for Sr. *Thomas Overburies Father*, and falling down upon his knees, with great Remorce, and Compunction, asked him forgiveneſſe. Afterwards, againe, of his own Motion, deſired, to have his like prayer of forgiveneſſe, recommended to his *Mother*, who was abſent. And at both times, out of the *abundance of his Heart*, Confeſſed that he was to die juſtly, and that he was worthy of *Death*. And after again, at his Execution (which is a kind, of ſealing time, of Confeſſions) even at the point of *Death*; (Although there were Tempters about him, as you ſhall hear by and by) yet he did again, confirm publickly, that his *Examinations* were true; And that, he had been, juſtly, and honourably, dealt with. Here is the Narrative, which enduceth the *Charge*. The *Charge* it ſelf is this.

M. L. Whoſe Offence ſtands alone ſingle, (the *Offence* of the other two, being in conſort; And yet, all three, meeting, in their End, and Center, which was to interrupt, or deface, this Excellent piece of *Juſtice*) M. *L.* (I ſay) mean while, between *Weſtons* ſtanding mute, and his Tryall; Takes upon him, to make a moſt Falſe, Odious, and Libellous, Relation; Containing, as many Untruths, as Lines; And ſets it down, in writing, with his own Hand; And delivers it, to Mr. *Henry Gibb*, of the *Bed-chamber*, to be put into the *Kings* Hand. In which writing, he doth falſifie, and pervert, all that was done, the firſt day, at the *Arraignment* of *Weſton*; Turning the Pike, and Point, of his Imputations, principally, upon my *Lord Chief Juſtice* of *England*. Whoſe Name, (thus occurring) I cannot paſs by, And yet, I can, not skill to flatter. But this I will ſay of him, and I would ſay as much to Ages, if I ſhould write a Story: *That never Mans Perſon, and his place, were better met, in a Buſineſſe, then my Lord* Cooke, *and my Lord Chief Juſtice, in the Cauſe of* Overbury.

Now, *My Lords*, in this *Offence*, of *M. L*; For the particulars, of theſe *ſlanderous Articles*, I will obſerve them unto you, when the *Writings*, and *Examinations*, are read, For, I do not love, to ſet the *Gloſs*, before the Text. But, in generall, I note to your *Lordſhips*; Firſt the *Perſon* of *M. L.* I know, he is a *Scottiſh Gentle-*

man

man, and thereby, more ignorant, of our *Lawes*, and *Formes*. But, I cannot tell, whither this doth extenuate his *Fault*, in reſpect of *Ignorance*; Or aggravate it much, in reſpect of *Preſumption*; That he would meddle in that, that he underſtood not: But I doubt, it came not out, of his Quiver; Some other Mans *Cunning* wrought upon this Mans *Boldneſſe*. Secondly, I may note unto you, the Greatneſſe of the *Cauſe*; Wherein, he being a private mean Gentleman, did preſume to deal. M. *L* could not but know, to what great, and grave *Commiſſioners*, the *King* had committed this *Cauſe*: And that, his *Majeſty*, in his Wiſedom, would expect, return of all things, from them, to whoſe truſt he had committed this *Buſineſſe*. For it is the part of *Commiſſioners*, as well to report the Buſineſſe, as to mannage the Buſineſſe; And then his *Majeſty*, mought have been ſure, to have had, all things well weighed, and truly informed: And therefore, it ſhould have been far from M. *L*. to have preſumed, to have put forth his Hand, to ſo high, and tender a Buſineſſe; which was not to be touched, but by Employed Hands. Thirdly, I note to your *Lordſhips*, that this *Infuſion*, of a *Slander*, into a *Kings* Ear, is, of all *Formes* of *Libells*, and *Slanders*, the worſt. It is true, that *Kings* may keep ſecret their Informations, and then no Man ought to enquire after them, while they are ſhrined in their Breaſt. But where a *King* is pleaſed, that a Man ſhall anſwer, for his falſe *Information*; There, I ſay, the falſe *Information*, to a *King*; exceeds in Offence, the falſe Information, of any other kind; Being a kind (ſince we are in matter of *Poyſon*,) of *Impoyſonment*, of a *Kings* Ear. And thus much, for the *Offence*, of M. *L*.

For the *Offence*, of *S. W.* and *H. I.* which I ſaid was in conſort, it was ſhortly this. At the *Time*, and *Place*, of the *Execution* of *Weſton*; To ſupplant his *Chriſtian Reſolution*, and to *Scandalize* the *Juſtice*, already paſt; & perhaps, to cut off the thred of that which is to come; Theſe Gentlemen, with others, came mounted on Horſeback; And in a Ruffling, and Facing manner, put themſelves forward to re-examine *Weſton*, upon *Queſtions*; And what *Queſtions*? Directly, croſſe to that, that had been tryed, and judged: For what was the point tried? That *Weſton* had *poyſoned Overbury*: What was *S. W. Queſtion*; *Whether Weſton, did poyſon Overbury or no?* A *Contradictory* directly: *Weſton* anſwered only, *that he did him wrong*: And turning to the *Sheriffe*, ſaid; You promiſed me, I *ſhould not be troubled, at this time*. Nevertheleſſe, He preſſed him to anſwer; ſaying; *He deſired to know it, that he mought pray with him*. I know not that *S. W.* is an *Eccleſiaſtick*, that he ſhould cut any Man, from Communion of Prayer: And yet, for all this vexing, of the Spirit, of a poor Man, now in the Gates of Death; *Weſton*, nevertheleſſe, ſtood conſtant, and ſaid; *I die not unworthily: My Lord Chief Juſtice, hath my mind, under my hand, and he is an Honourable and juſt Judge*. This is *S. W.* his Offence.

For *H. I.* he was not ſo much a *Queſtioniſt*; but wrought upon the

the others *Queſtions*; And like a kind of *Confeſſor*, wiſhed him to diſcharge his Conſcience, and to ſatisfie the *World*. What *World* I marvaile? It was ſure the *World* at *Tyburn*: For the *World* at *Guild-Hall*, and the *World* at *London* was ſatisfied before; *Teſte* the *Bells* that rang: But men have a got faſhion, now a dayes, that two or three buſie Bodies, will take upon them the Name of the *World*; And broach their own Conceits, as if it were, a general Opinion: Well, what more? When they could not work upon *Weſton*, then *H. I.* in an Indignation, turned abont his Horſe, (when the other, was turning over the Ladder;) And ſaid, he was ſorry of ſuch a Concluſion: That was, to have the *State*, honoured, or juſtified; But others took, and reported his words, in another degree: But that I leave, ſeeeing it is not *Confeſſed*.

H. I. his *Offence*, had another *Appendix*, before this, in time; which was, that, at the day, of the *Verdict* given up, by the *Jury*, He alſo, would needs give his *Verdict*; Saying openly that if he were of the *Jury*, he would doubt what to do. Marry (he ſaith,) he cannot tell well, whether he ſpake this, before the Jury, had given up the *Verdict*, or after; Wherein there is little gained. For whether, *H. I.* were a Pre-Jurour, or a Poſt-Jurour; The one was as to *prejudge* the *Jury*, the other, as to taint them.

Of the *Offence*, of theſe two Gentlemen, in generall, your *Lordſhips* muſt give me leave, to ſay, that it is an *Offence*, greater, and more dangerous, then is conceived. I know well, that as we have no *Spaniſh Inquiſitions*, nor *Juſtice* in a *Corner*; So we have, no *Gagging*, of Mens *Mouths*, at their *Death*; But that they may ſpeak freely, at the laſt Hour; But then, it muſt come, from the free Motion, of the *Party*, not by Temptation of *Queſtions*. The *Queſtions*, that are to be asked, ought to tend, to further Revealing, of their own, or others *Guiltineſs*; But to uſe, a *Queſtion*, in the Nature, of a falſe *Interrogatory*, to falſifie that, which is *Res Judicata*, is intollerable. For that were, to erect a *Court*, or *Commiſſion*, of *Review*, at *Tyburn*, againſt the *Kings Bench*, at *Weſtminſter*. And beſides, it is a Thing, vain, and idle: For if they anſwer, according to the *Judgement* paſt, it adds no Credit; Nor if it be contrary, it derogateth nothing. But yet, it ſubjecteth, the *Majeſty* of *Juſtice*, to popular, and vulgar Talk, and opinion.

My *Lords*, theſe are great, and dangerous, Offences; For if we do not maintain *Juſtice*, *Juſtice* will not maintain us.

But now, your *Lordſhips* ſhall hear, the *Examinations* themſelves; upon which, I ſhall have occaſion, to note, ſome particular Things, &c.

The Effect of that, which was ſpoken, by the Lord Keeper, *of the* Great Seal of England, *at the taking, of his place, in* Chancery; *In performance of the* Charge, *his* Majeſty *had given him, when he received the* Seal, 1617.

BEfore I enter, into the *Buſineſs*, of the *Court*, I ſhall take advantage, of ſo many *Honourable witneſſes*, to publiſh, and make known, ſummarily, what *charge* the *Kings* moſt excellent *Majeſty*, gave me, when I received the *Seal*; And what Orders, and Reſolutions, my Self have taken, in Conformity, to that *charge*: That the *King* may have, the Honour of Direction; And I the part of Obedience: Whereby, *Your Lordſhips*, and the Reſt, of the *Preſence*, ſhall ſee, the whole Time, of my ſitting in the *Chancery*, (which may be, longer, or ſhorter, as pleaſe *God*, and the *King*;) contracted into one Houre. And this I do, for three Cauſes.

Firſt, to give Account, to *the King*, of his *Commandement*.

Secondly, that I may be a *Guard*, and *Cuſtody*, to my ſelf, and mine own Doings; That I do not ſwerve, or recede, from any Thing, that I have profeſſed, in ſo *Noble Company*.

And thirdly, that all men, that have to do, with the *Chancery*, or the *Seal*, may know, what they ſhall expect; And both ſet their Hearts, and my Ears, at reſt; Not moving me, to any Thing, againſt theſe *Rules*: Knowing, that my Anſwer, is now turned, from a *Nolumus*, into a *Non poſſumus*. It is no more, *I will not*; But, *I cannot*; After this Declaration.

And this, I do alſo, under three *Cautions*.

The firſt is, that there be ſome Things, of a more Secret, and Counſell like, Nature, which are rather, to be *Acted*, then *Publiſhed*: But theſe Things, which I ſhall ſpeak of, to day, are of a more *publick* Nature.

The ſecond is, that I will not trouble this *Preſence*, with every Particular; which would be too long; But ſelect, thoſe Things, which are of greateſt efficacy, and conduce moſt, *ad ſummas Rerum*: Leaving many other Particulars, to be ſet down, in a *Publick Table*; According, to the good Example, of my laſt *Predeceſſour*, in his *Beginning*.

And laſtly, that thoſe *Imperatives*, which I have made, but to my Self, and my Times, be without prejudice, to the *Authority* of the *Court*, or *Wiſer Men*, that may ſucceed me: And chiefly, that they are wholy ſubmitted, unto the great Wiſdom, of my *Soveraign*, (The abſoluteſt *Prince*, in *Judicature*, that hath been, in the *Chriſtian World*:) For if any of theſe Things, which I intend, to be *Subordinate*, to his Directions, ſhall be thought by his *Majeſty*, to be *Inordinate*, I ſhall be, moſt ready, to reform them. Theſe things, are but, *tanquam Album Prætoris*; For ſo did the

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Roman Prætors; (which have the greateſt Affinity, with the *Juriſdiction*, of the *Chancellor* here;) who uſed to ſet down, at their Entrance, how they would uſe their *Juriſdiction*. And this I ſhall do, (*my Lords*,) in *verbis Maſculis*; No flouriſhing, or Painted, *Words*, but ſuch, as are fit, to go before *Deeds*.

The Kings Charge, *which is my* Lanthorn, *reſted upon four* Heads.

THe firſt was, that I ſhould contain, the *Juriſdiction* of the *Court*, within his true, and due, *Limits*, without *Swelling*, or *Exceſſe*.

The ſecond, that I ſhould think, the putting, of the *Great Seal* to *Letters Patents*, was not a Matter of *Courſe* after precedent *Warrants*; But that I ſhould take it to be, the *Maturity*, and *Fulneſs*, of the *Kings* Intentions: And therefore, that it was one, of the greateſt Parts, of my Truſt, if I ſaw, any Scruple, or Cauſe of ſtay, that I ſhould acquaint him; Concluding with a, *Quod dubites, ne feceris*.

The third was, that I ſhould retrench, all unneceſſary delayes; That the *Subject* mought find, that he did enjoy, that ſame *Remedy*, againſt the Fainting of the *Seal*, and againſt the Conſumption of the Means, and eſtate; which was *ſpeedy Juſtice*. *Bis dat, qui citò dat*.

The fourth was, that *Juſtice* might paſſe, with as eaſie charge, as mought be: And that thoſe ſame *Brambles*, that grow about *Juſtice*, of needleſſe Charge, and Expence; And all manner, of *Exactions*, mought be rooted out, ſo far as mought be.

Theſe *Commandements*, (my Lords,) are *Righteous*; And, (as I may term them,) *Sacred*; And therefore, to uſe a *Sacred Form*: I pray *God*, bleſſe the *King*, for his great care, over the *Juſtice* of the *Land*; And give me, his poor Servant, Grace, and Power, to obſerve his *Precepts*.

Now for a Beginning towards it, I have ſet down, and applied, particular Orders, to every one of theſe four Generall *Heads*.

For the *Exceſſe*, or *Tumour*, of this *Court* of *Chancery*, I ſhall divide it, into five Natures.

The firſt is, when the *Court*, doth embrace, or retain, *Cauſes*, both in Matter, and Circumſtance, meerly Determinable, and Fit, for the *Common Law*. For, (my Lords,) the *Chancery*, is ordained, to *ſupply* the *Law*, and not to *ſubvert* the *Law*. Now to deſcribe unto you, or delineate, what thoſe Cauſes are, (and upon what differences,) that are fit for the *Court*, were too long a Lecture. But I will tell you, what Remedy, I have prepared. I will keep the *Keyes* of the *Court*, my ſelf, and I will never refer, any Demurrer, or Plea, (tending to diſcharge, or diſmiſſe the *Court*,

Court, of the *Cauſe*,) to any *Mr.* of the *Chancery*; But judge of it my ſelf, or, at leaſt, the *Mr.* of the *Rowles*. Nay further, I will appoint regularly, that on the *Tueſday*, in every week; (which is the *Day* of *Orders*,) firſt to hear all *Motions*, of that Nature, before any other; That the Subject, may have his *Vale*, at firſt, without further attending; And that the *Court*, do not keep, and accumulate, a Miſcellany, and Confuſion, of *Cauſes*, of all Natures.

The ſecond Point, concerneth the time of the Complaint; And the late Commers into the *Chancery*: which ſtay, till a *Judgement* be paſſed againſt them, at the *Common Law*, and then complain: Wherein your *Lorſhips*, may have heard, a great *Rattle*, and a *Noyſe*, of a *Premunire*, and I cannot tell what. But that *Queſtion* the *King* hath ſetled, according to the ancient preſidents, in all times continued. And this I will ſay, that the Opinion, not to relieve any Caſe, after *Judgement* would be a guilty *Opinion*: Guilty, of the *Ruine*, and *Naufrage*, and *periſhing*, of infinite *Subjects*: And as the *King* found it well out; why ſhould a Man fly, into the *Chancery*, before he be *Hurt? The whole need not the Phyſician, but the ſick.* But (My *Lords*,) the *Power* would be preſerved, but then, the *Practiſe* would be moderate. My *Rule*, ſhall be, therefore, that in Caſe of *Complaints*, after *Judgement*; (except the *Judgements* be upon *Nihil dicit*, which are but *Diſguiſes* of Judgement; Obtained, in Contempt, of a preceding Order, of this Court;) yea, and after *Verdicts* alſo, I will have the *Party Complainant*, enter into good Bond, to prove his Suggeſtion: So that if he will be relieved, againſt a *Judgement*, at *Common Law*, upon *Matter* of *Equity*; He ſhall do it, *Tanquam in Vinculis*, at his *Perill*.

The Third *Point* of *Exceſſe*, may be, the over *Frequent*, and *Facile Granting* of *Injunctions* for the ſtaying of the *Common Lawes*; Or the *Altering Poſſeſſions*; wherein theſe ſhall be my *Rules*.

I will grant no *Injunction*, mereely, upon, *Priority* of *ſuit*: That is to ſay; Becauſe this *Court*, was firſt poſſeſſed: A Thing, that was well reformed in the late *Lord Chancellers* time, but uſed in *Chanceller Broomeleyes* time; Inſomuch, as I remember, that Mr. *Dalton*, the *Councellor* at *Law*, put a *Paſquill* upon the *Court*, in Nature of a *Bill*; For ſeeing it was no more, but, *My Lord*, the *Bill* came in on *Munday*, and the *Arreſt* at *Common Law*, was on *Tueſday*; I pray the *Injunction*, upon *Priority* of *Suite*; He cauſed his *Client*, that had a *Looſe Debter*, to put a *Bill* into the *Chancery*, before the *Bond*, due to him, was *forfeited*, to deſire an *Order*, that he might have his *Money*, at the *Day*; Becauſe he would be ſure, to be before the other. I do not mean to make it, a Matter of an *Horſe-Race*, or Poaſting, who ſhall be firſt, in *Chancery*, or in *Courts* of *Law*.

Neither will I grant an *Injunction*, upon *Matter*, contained, in the *Bill* only, be it never ſo ſmooth, and Specious: But upon Matter confeſſed, in the *Defendants Anſwer*; Or *Matter pregnant*

in Writing, or of *Record*; Or upon *Contempt*, of the *Defendant*, in not *Appearing*, or not *Answering*, or *Trifling*, with the *Court* by *insufficient Answering*. For then, it may be thought, the Defendant stands out, upon purpose, to get the start, at the *Common Law*; And so, take Advantage of his own *Contempt*, which may not be suffered.

As for *Injunctions* for *possession*, I shall maintaine *possessions*, as they were, at the time, of the *Bill*, exhibited; And for the space, of a year before: Except the *possession*, were gotten by *Force*, or by any *Trick*.

Neither will I alter *Possession*, upon *Interlocutory Orders*, untill a *Decree*: Except, upon Matter, plainly confessed, in the *Defendants Answer*, joyned, with a plain *Disability*, and *Insolvency* of the *Defendants* to *answer* the *Profits*.

As for taking the Possession away, in respect of *Contempts*, I will have all the proceedings of the *Court*, spent first, and a *Sequestration* of the *Profits*, before I come to an *Injunction*.

The Fourth Part of *Excesse*, is, concerning the *Communicating* of the *Authority*, of the *Chancellor* too far; And making, upon the matter, too many *Chancellors*, by relying too much, upon *Reports* of the *Masters of the Chancery*, as concludent. I know, my *Lords*, the *Masters of the Chancery*, are *Reverend Men*; And the great Mass, of Businesse, of the *Court*, cannot be sped, without them; And it is a Thing, *the Chancellor* may soon fall into, for his own Ease, to rely too much upon them. But the Course, that I will take, generally, shall be this: That I will make no Binding *Order*, upon any report of the *Masters*, without giving a seven nights day, at the least, to shew cause, against the Report; (which nevertheless, I will have done modestly, & with due reverence, towards them:) And again, I must utterly discontinue, the Making, of an *Hypothetical*, or *Conditionall Order*; That if a *Master of the Chancery*, do certifie thus, that then it is *Ordered*, without further Motion: For that is a Surprise, and gives no time, for Contradiction.

The last *Point* of *Excesse*, is: If a *Chancellor*, shall be so much of himself, as he should neglect, Assistance of *Reverend Judges*, in Cases of Difficulty, (especially if they touch upon *Law*:) or Calling them, shall do it, but *Pro formâ tantùm*, and give no due respect, to their Opinions: Wherein, (my *Lords*) preserving the Dignity, and *Majesty*, of the *Court*; (which I count, rather increased, then diminished, by grave, and due Assistance) I shall never be found so Soveraign, or abundant, in mine own sense, but I shall both desire, and make true use, of *Assistants*. Nay I assure, your *Lordships*, if I should find, any main Diversity of Opinion, of my *Assistants*, from mine own; Though I know well the *Judicature*, wholy resides in my self; yet, I think, I should have Recourse, to the *Oracle* of the *Kings* own Judgement, before I should pronounce. And so much, for the temperate use, of the Authority, of this *Court*; wherein, the Health of the *Court*, doth much consist, As that of the *Body*, consists in *Temperance*.

For

For the Second *Commandement* of his *Majesty*, touching *staying of Grants*, at the *Great Seale*: There may be just Cause of Stay: Either, in the *Matter* of the *Grant*: Or, in the *Manner* of *passing* the same. Out of both which, I extract, these 6. *principall Cases*, which I will now make known. All which, nevertheless, I understand, to be wholly submitted, to his *Majesties* Will, and Pleasure, after by me, he shall have been informed? For if *Iteratum Mandatum* do come, *Obedience is better then sacrifice.*

The First *Case* is, where any Matter of *Revenew*, or *Treasure*, or *Profit*, passeth from his *Majesty*; My First Duty shall be, to examine, whether the *Grant*, hath passed, in the due, and naturall Course, by the *Great Officers* of the *Revenew*; (*The Lord Treasurer, and Chanceller of the Exchequer*;) And with their privity: which if I find it not to be, I must presume it, to have passed, in the dark, and by a kind of surreption; And will make stay of it, till his *Majesties* pleasure, be further known.

Secondly, if it be a *Grant*, that is not meerly vulgar, And hath not, of Course, passed at the *Signet*, by a *Fac Simile*; But needeth Science, my Duty shall be, to examine, whether it hath passed, by *the Learned Counsell*; and had their *Dockets*: which is that, which his *Majesty* reades, and that leades him. And if I find it otherwise, (although the Matter, were not, in it self inconvenient) yet I hold it, Just *Cause of Stay*, (for *Presidents* sake,) to keep Men, in the right way.

Thirdly, if it be a *Grant*, which I conceive, (out of my little knowledge) to be against the *Law*; Of which nature, *Theodosius* was wont to say, when he was pressed; *I said it, but I granted it not, if it be unlawfull*: I will call the *learned Counsell* to it; (As well him, that drew the Book, as the Rest) or some of them; And if we find cause, I will enform his *Majesty*, of our Opinion, either by my self, or some of them. For as for the *Iudges*, they are *Iudges* of *Grants past*, but not of *Grants to come*, except the *King* call them.

Fourthly, if the *Grants* be against the *Kings Booke*, of *Bounty*; I am expresly Commanded, to stay them; untill the *King*, either Revise his *Booke* in Generall, or give Direction in the particular.

Fiftly, if as a *Counseller* of *Estate*, I do foresee inconvenience, to ensue by the *Grant*, in reason of *Estate*, in respect of the *Kings Honour*, Or Discontent, or Murmur of the People; I will not trust mine own Judgement, but I will either acquaint his *Majesty* with it, or the *Counsell Table*, or some such of my *Lords* as I shall think fit.

Lastly, for *Matter* of *Pardons*; If it be of *Treason*, *Misprision* of *Treason*, *Murther*, either expressed, or involute, by *a non Obstante*; Or of a Pyracy, or *Premunire*, or of *Fines*, Or *Exemplary punishment*, in *Star-Chamber*; Or of some other natures; I shall, by the grace of *God* stay them, untill his *Majesty*, (who is the *Fountain* of *Grace*)

may reſolve, between *God*, and him, (underſtanding the Caſe,) how far *Grace* ſhall abound, or ſuperabound.

And if it be of *Perſons*, attainted, and Convicted, of *Robbery*, *Burglary*, &c. Then will I examin, whether the *Pardons*, paſſed the Hand, of any Juſtice of Aſſiſe; Or other *Commiſſioners*, before whom the *Triall* was made; And if not, I think it my duty, alſo, to ſtay them.

Thus your *Lordſhips* ſee, in this *Matter of the Seal*, agreeable to the Commandement, I have received, I mean to walk in the Light; So that Men, may know, where to find me; And this publiſhing, thereof, plainly, I hope, will ſave the *King*, from a great deal of Abuſe; And Me from a great deal of Envy; When Men ſhall ſee that no particular Turn, or end, leades me, but a *Generall Rule*.

For the Third *Generall Head*, of *his Majeſties Precepts*, concerning *Speedy Juſtice*, I am reſolved, that my *Decree*, ſhall come ſpeedily, (if not inſtantly) after the *Hearing*; And my ſigned *Decree* pronounced. For it hath been a Manner, much uſed of late in my laſt *Lords time* (of whom, I learn much to *Imitate*; and with due reverence, to his memory, let me ſpeak it, Much to avoid;) That upon the Solemn, & *Full*, *Hearing*, of a *Cauſe*, nothing is pronounced in *Court*; But *Breviates*, are required to be made: Which I do not diſlike, in it ſelf, in *Cauſes* perplexed. For I confeſs, I have ſomwhat of the *Cunctative*; And I am of Opinion, that whoſoever is not wiſer, upon *Advice*, then upon the ſuddain; The ſame Man, is no wiſer at 50. yeares old, then he was at 30. *And* it was my *Fathers* ordinary *Word*; *You muſt give me time.* But yet I find; that when ſuch *Breviates* were taken, the Cauſe was, ſometimes, forgotten, a Terme or two; And then ſet down, for a *New hearing*, or a *Rehearing*, three or four *Termes* after. Of which kind, of Intermiſſion, I ſee no Uſe; And therefore I will promiſe, regularly, to pronounce my *Decree*, within few dayes, after my *Hearing*; And to ſign my *Decree*, at leaſt, in the Vacation, after the pronouncing. For freſh *Juſtice*, is the ſweeteſt. And beſides *Juſtice* ought not to be delayed; And it will alſo avoid, all *Meanes-making*, or *Labouring*; For there ought to be, no *Labouring* in *Cauſes*, but the *Labouring* of the *Counſell*, at the *Barr*.

Again, becauſe *Juſtice* is a *Sacred Thing*; And the end, for which I am called, to this place; And therefore is my way to *Heaven*; (And if it be ſhorter, it is never a whit the worſe,) I ſhall by the grace of *God*, (as far as *God* will give me ſtrength) add the Afternoon, to the Forenoon; And ſome *Fourth night*, of the *Vacation*, to the *Term*; For the expediting, and clearing, of the *Cauſes*, of the *Court*: Only, the depth of the Three long Vacations, I would reſerve, in ſome meaſure, free, for *Buſineſs* of *Eſtate*; And for *Studies* of *Artes* and *Sciences*, to which, in my Nature, I am moſt inclined.

There is another *Point*, of *true Expedition*, which reſteth much in

in *Myself*; And that is, in the *Manner* of giving *Orders*. For I have seen, an Affectation of *Dispatch*, turn utterly to *Delay*, and *Length*: For the manner of it, is, to take the Tale, out of the *Counsellor*, at Bar, his Mouth, and to give a Cursory *Order*; nothing tending, or conducing, to the end, of the *Businesse*. It makes me remember, what I heard one say, of a Judge, that sate in the *Chancery*; That he would make, 80. *Orders*, in a Morning, out of the way; And it was out of the way, indeed; For it was nothing, to the *End* of the *Businesse*; And this is that, which makes 60, 80, 100. *Orders*, in a *Cause*, too and fro, begetting one another; and like, *Penelopes Web*, doing and undoing. But, I mean not, to purchase, the *Praise*, of *Expeditive*, in that kind: But as one, that have a *Feeling* of my Duty, and of the Case of others, my Endeavour shall be, to hear patiently; And to cast my *Order*, into such a mould, as may soonest bring the *Subject* to the End of his *Journey*.

As for such *Delayes*, as may concern Others; the great *Abuse* is, that if the *Plaintiffe* have got an *Injunction*, to stay sutes at *Common Law*, then he will Spin on his *Cause*, at length. But, by the grace of *God*, I will make Injunctions, an *hard Pillow*, to sleep on: For if I find, that he prosecutes not with effect, he may hap, when he is awake, find, not onely his *Injunction dissolved*, but his *Cause dismissed*.

There be other *particular Orders*, I mean to take, *for Non Prosecution, or faint Prosecution*, wherewith I will not trouble you now, Because, *Summa sequar Fastigia Rerum*. And so much for *Matter* of *Expedition*.

Now for the fouth, and last Point, of the *Kings Commandement*; For the cutting off, of *unnecessary charge*, of the *Subject*; A great part of it, is fulfilled, in the precedent *Article*, touching *Expedition*: For it is, the *Length* of Suits, that doth multiply *Charge*, chiefly: But yet, there are some other Remedies, that conduce thereunto.

First therefore, I shall maintain strictly, and with Severity, the *Former Orders*, which I find, made, by my *Lord Chancellor*, for the immoderate, and needles prolixity, and length of *Bills*, and *Answers*, and so forth; As well in *punishing* the *party*, as *fining* the *Counsell*, whose hand I shall find, at such *Bills*, *Answers*, &c.

Secondly, for all the *Examinations*, taken in the *Court*, I do give charge, unto the *Examiners*, (upon perill of their places,) that they do not, use idle *Repetitions*, or needless *Circumstances*, in setting down, the *Depositions*, taken by them; And I would, I could help it, likewise, in *Commissions*, in the *Countrey*; But that is almost unpossible.

Thirdly, I shall take a diligent Survey, of the *Ceppies* in *Chancery*; That they have their just number of Lines, and without open, or wastfull, writing.

Fourthly, I shall be carefull, that there be no *Exaction*, of any new

new *Fees*, but according, as they have been, heretofore, ſet, and Tabled.

As for *Lawyers Fees*, I muſt leave, to the Conſcience, and Merit, of the *Lawyer*; And the Eſtimation, and Gratitude, of the *Client*; But yet this I can do. I know, there have uſed to attend this *Barr*, a Number of *Lawyers*, that have not been heard, ſometimes, ſcarce once, or twice, in a *Term*; And that, makes the *Client*, ſeek to Great *Counſell*, and *Favourites*, (as they call them: A Term, fitter for *Kings*, then *Judges*;) And that, for every *Order*, that a mean *Lawyer* mought diſpatch, and as well. Therefore, to help the *Generality* of *Lawyers*; And therein, to eaſe the Client; I will, conſtantly, obſerve, that every *Tueſday*, and other Dayes of *Orders*, after nine a Clock ſtrucken, I will hear the *Bar*, untill 11, or half an Hour, after 10, at the leaſt. And ſince, we are upon the point, whom I will hear, your *Lordſhips* will give me leave, to tell you a Fancy. It falls out, that there be three of us, the *Kings ſervants*, in great place, that are *Lawyers* by *Deſcent*: Mr. *Atturney*, Son of a *Judge*; Mr. *Solliciter*, likewiſe, Son of a *Judge*: And my ſelf, a *Chancellers* Son.

Now becauſe, the *Law*, roots ſo well, in my time, I will water it at the Root, thus far; As beſides theſe great Ones, I will hear any *Judges Sonn*, before a *Sergeant*, And any *Sergeants Sonn*, before a *Reader*.

Laſtly, for the better *Eaſe*, of the *Subjects*; And the *Brideling* of *contentious Sutes*, I ſhall give better, (that is greater,) *Coſts*, where the *ſuggeſtions* are not proved then hath been hitherto uſed.

There be divers other *Orders*, for the better *Reiglement*, of this *Court*; And for *Granting* of *Writs*; And for *Granting* of *Benefices*; And other Things, which I ſhall ſet down in a *Table*. But I will deal with no other, to day, but ſuch, as have a proper Relation, to his *Majeſties Commandement*: It being my Comfort, that I ſerve ſuch a *Maſter*, that I ſhall need to be but a *Conduit*, for the *conveying* onely, of his *Goodneſs*, to his *People*. And it is true, that I do affect, and aſpire, to make good that Saying; That *Optimus Magiſtratus præſtat optimæ Legi*; which is true in his *Majeſty*. But for my ſelf, I doubt, I ſhall not attain it. But yet, I have, a *Domeſticall Example*, to follow. *My Lords*, I have no more to ſay, but now, I will go on, to the *Buſineſſe*, of the *Court*.

The Speech, *which was uſed, by the* Lord Keeper *of the* Great Seal, *in the Star-Chamber, before the Summer Circuits, the* King *being then in* Scotland, 1617.

THe King, by his perfect *Declaration*, publiſhed in this place, concerning *Judges*, and *Juſtices*; Hath made the *Speech* of his *Chanceller*, accuſtomed before the *Circuits*, rather of *Ceremony*, than of *uſe*. For, as in his *Book* to his *Son*, he hath ſet forth a true *Character*, and *Platform*, of a King; So, in this his *Speech*, he hath done, the like, of a *Judge*, and *Juſtice*: Which ſheweth, that as his *Majeſty*, is excellently able, to *Govern*, in *chief*; So, he is likewiſe well ſeen, and skilfull, in the inferiour Offices, and *Stages*, of Juſtice, and Government: which is a Thing, very rare in *Kings*.

Yet, nevertheleſſe, ſomewhat muſt be ſaid, to fulfill an old *Obſervance*; But yet, upon the *Kings Grounds*, and very briefly: For as *Salomon* ſaith, in another *Caſe*; *In, theſe things, who is he, that can come, after the King.*

Firſt, you that are the *Judges* of *Circuits*, are, as it were, the *Planets* of the *Kingdome*; (I do you no Diſhonor, in giving you that name;) And, no doubt, you have a great ſtroak, in the Frame, of this Government; As the other have, in the great *Frame*, of the *World*. Do therefore, as they do; Move alwayes and be carried, with the *Motion* of your firſt *Mover*, which is your *Soveraign*. A *popular Judge* is a Deformed Thing: And *Plaudite's*, are fitter for *Players*, then for *Magiſtrates*. Do good to the people; Love them, and give them Juſtice. But let it be, as the *Pſalm* ſaith, *Nihil inde Expectantes*; Looking for nothing, neither Praiſe, nor Profit.

Yet my Meaning is not, when I wiſh you, to take heed of Popularity, that you ſhould be imperious, and Strange, to the *Gentlemen*, of the *Countrey*: You are, above them, in Power, but your Rank is not much unequall: And learn this; That Power, is ever of greateſt ſtrength, when it is civilly carried.

Secondly, you muſt remember, that beſides your ordinary *Adminiſtration*, of *Juſtice*, you do carry the two *Glaſſes*, or, *Mirrours*, of the *State*: For it is your Duty, in theſe your Viſitations; *To repreſent, to the people, the Graces, and Care, of the King.* And again, upon your Return; *To preſent, to the King, the Diſtaſtes, and Griefs, of the People.*

Mark, what the *King* ſayes, in his Book: *Procure reverence to the King and the Law: Inform my people truly of me*; (which we know is, hard to do, according to the *Excellency* of his *Merit*, but yet Endeavour it;) *How zealous I am for Religion*; *How I deſire, Law may*

be

be maintained, and flouriſh; That every Court, ſhould have his Juriſdiction; That every Subject, ſhould ſubmit himſelf, to the Law. And of this, you have had, of late, no ſmall Occaſion of Notice, and Remembrance, by the great, and ſtrait Charge, that the *King* hath given me, as *Keeper of his Seal*, for the *Governing* of the *Chancery*, without *Tumour*, or *Exceſſe*.

Again, *è re natâ*, you, at this preſent, ought to make the *People* know, and conſider, the *Kings* bleſſed Care, and Providence, in governing this Realm, in his Abſence. So that, ſitting at the Helm, of another *Kingdom*; Not without great Affairs, and Buſineſs; yet, he governs all things, here, by his Letters, and Directions, as punctually, and perfectly, as if he were preſent.

I aſſure you, my *Lords* of the *Counſell* and I, do much admire, the *Extention*, and *Latitude* of his *Care*, in all Things.

In the *High Commiſſion*, he did conceive, a *Sinnew* of *Government*, was a little ſhrunk; He recommended the care of it.

He hath called, for the Accounts, of the laſt *Circuit*, from the Judges, to be tranſmitted unto him, into *Scotland*.

Touching the *Infeſtation* of *Pyrates*, he hath been carefull, and is, and hath put things, in way.

All things that concern the Reformation, or the *Plantation*, of *Ireland*; He hath given, in them, punctuall, and reſolute, Directions. All this in Abſence.

I give but a few *Inſtances*, of a *publique Nature*; The *Secrets* of *Counſell*, I may not enter into; Though, his *Diſpatches* into *France*, *Spain*, and the *Low-Countries*, now in his abſence, are alſo Notorious, as to the outward ſending. So that, I muſt conclude, that his Majeſty, wants but more *Kingdomes*; For I ſee, he could ſuffice, to all.

As for the other *Glaſſe*, I told you of; Of repreſenting to the *King*, the *Griefs*, of his *People*; without doubt, it is properly your Part: For the King, ought to be informed, of any thing, amiſſe in the ſtate, of his *Countries*, from the *Obſervations*, and *Relations*, of the *Judges*; (That, indeed, know the Pulſe of the Country;) Rather then from *Diſcourſe*. But for this *Glaſſe*, (thanks be to *God*,) I do hear, from you all; That there was never greater Peace, Obedience, and Contentment, in the *Country*: Though the beſt *Governments*, be, alwayes, like the faireſt *Cryſtals*; wherin, every little *Iſicle*, or *Grain*, is ſeen; which in a *Fouler Stone*, is never perceived.

Now to ſome *Particulars*, and not Many. Of all other things, I muſt begin, as the King begins; That is, with the Cauſe of Religion; And eſpecially, the *Hollow Church Papiſt*. Saint *Aug.* hath a good Compariſon, of ſuch Men, affirming; That they are like the *Roots* of *Nettles*, which themſelves ſting not, but yet they bear all the Stinging Leaves. Let me know of ſuch *Roots*, and I will root them, out of the Country.

Next, for the *Matter* of *Religion*: In the principall place, I recom-

commend, both to you, and the *Justices*, the *Countenancing*, of *Godly*, and *Zealous*, *Preachers*. I mean, not *Sectaries*, or *Novellists*; But those, which are sound, and conform; But yet pious, and Reverend. For there will be a perpetuall Defection, except you keep Men in, by *Preaching*, as well as Law doth, by *punishing*: And commonly, *Spirituall Diseases*, are not Cured, but by *Spirituall Remedies*.

Next, let me commend unto you, the Repressing, (as much as may be,) of Faction in the Countrys; of which ensue, infinite Inconveniences, and perturbations, of all good Order; And Crossing, of all good Service, in Court, or Country, or whersoever. *Cicero*, when he was *Consul*, had devised, a fine Remedy; (A Milde one, but an effectuall, and an apt one;) For he saith, *Eos qui otium perturbant, reddam otiosos. Those, that trouble, others* Quiet, *I will give them Quiet*; They shall have nothing to do; Nor no Authority, shall be put into their Hands. If I may know, from you, of any who are in the Country, that are Heads, or Hands, of Faction; Or Men, of turbulent Spirits; I shall give them *Cicero's* Reward, as much as in me is.

To conclude; study the *Kings Book*; And study your selves, how you profit by it; And all shall be well. And you, the *Justices of Peace*, in particular; Let me say this to you; Never *King*, of this Realm, did you so much Honour, as the *King* hath done you, in his *Speech*; By being, your immediate Directors; And by sorting you, and your service, with the Service of *Ambassadours*, and of his neareſt *Attendants*. Nay more, it seems his *Majesty*, is willing to do, the state of *Justice* of *Peace*, Honour, actively also; By bringing in, with time, the like Form of *Commission*, into the *Government* of *Scotland*, As that Glorious *King*, *Edward the third*, did plant this *Commission*, here in this *Kingdome*. And therefore, you are not fit to be *Coppies*, except you be *Fair Written*, without *Blots*, or *Blurs*, or any thing, unworthy your Authority. And so, I will trouble you no longer, for this time.

The Speech, *used by* Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Keeper, *of the* Great Seal of England, *to Sir* William Jones, *upon his calling, to be* Lord Chief Justice, *of* Ireland. 1617.

Sir *WILLIAM JONES*,

THe *Kings* most *Excellent Majesty*, being duly informed, of your sufficiency, every way; Hath called you, by his Writ, now returned, to the State, and Degree, of a *Serjeant*, at *Law*;

But not to ſtay there, but being ſo qualified, to ſerve him, as his *Chief Iuſtice*, of his *Kings Bench*, in his *Realm* of *Ireland*. And therefore, that which I ſhall ſay to you, muſt be applied, not to your *Serjeants* place, (which you take but in paſſage,) But to that great place, where you are to ſettle; And becauſe, I will not ſpend Time, to the Delay, of the Buſineſſe, of *Cauſes*, of the *Court*, I will lead you the *ſhort Journey by Examples*, and not the *Long by Precepts*.

The *Place*, that you ſhall now ſerve in, hath been fortunate, to be well ſerved in, four ſucceſſions before you. Do but take unto you, the Conſtancy, and integrity, of *Sir Robert Gardiner*: The Gravity, Temper, and Direction, of *Sir James Lea*: The Quickneſſe, Induſtry, and Diſpatch, of *Sir Hnmphry Winch*: The Care, and Affection, to the *Common-wealth*, and the Prudent, and Politick Adminiſtration, of *Sir Iohn Denham*; And you ſhall need no other Leſſons. They were all *Lincolns Inn Men*, as you are; You have known them, as well in their *Beginnings*, as in their *Advancement*.

But becauſe, you are to be there, not only *Chief Iuſtice*, but a *Counſeller* of *Eſtate*, I will put you in mind, of the great Work, now in hand; that you may raiſe your thoughtes, according unto it. *Ireland* is the laſt, *Ex Filiis Europæ*, which hath been reclaimed, from Deſolation, and a Deſert, (in many parts,) to Population, and Plantation; And from Savage, and Barbarous, Cuſtomes, to Humanity, and Civility. This is the *Kings* Work in chief. It is his *Garland*, of *Heroicall Vertue*, and *Felicity*; Denied to his Progenitors, and Reſerved to his Times. The Work, is not yet conducted, to perfection, but is in fair Advance. And this I will ſay confidently, that if *God* bleſſe this *Kingdom* with Peace, and Juſtice; No Uſurer, is ſo ſure, in ſeven years ſpace, to double his *Principall* with *Intereſt*; And *Intereſt* upon *Intereſt*; As that Kingdom is, within the ſame time, to double the ſtock, both of Wealth, and People. So as that *Kingdom*, which once within theſe Twenty years, *Wiſe men* were wont to doubt, whether they ſhould wiſh it, to be in a *Poole*; Is like now to become, almoſt a *Garden*; And *younger Siſter*, to *Great Britain*. And therefore, you muſt ſet down with your ſelf, to be, not only a juſt *Governer*, and a good *Chief Iuſtice* (as if it were in *England*;) But under the *King*, and the *Deputy*, you are to be a *Maſter Builder*, and a *Maſter Planter*, and *Reducer*, of *Ireland*. To which end, I will trouble you, at this time, but with Three Directions.

1. The Firſt is, that you have ſpeciall care, of the Three *Plantations*. That of the *North*, which is in part acted: That of *Weſtford*, which is now in Diſtribution: And that of *Longford*, and *Letrim*, which is now in ſurvey. And take this from me; That the Bane, of a Plantation, is, when the *Undertakers*, or *Planters*, make ſuch haſt, to a little *Mechanicall preſent profit*, as diſturbeth the whole *Frame*, and nobleneſſe of the work, for Times to come. Therefore, hold them to their *Covenants*, and the ſtrict *Ordinances* of *Plantation*.

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The Second is, that you be carefull, of the *Kings Revenew*; And by little and little, conſtitute him, a good *Demeaſn*, if it may be; Which hitherto is little, or none. For the *Kings* Caſe is hard, when every Mans Land, ſhall be improved, in value, with increaſe manifold; And the *King* ſhall be tied, to his *Dry Rent*.

My laſt Direction, (though firſt in weight,) is, that you do all good Endeavours, to proceed reſolutely, and conſtantly (and yet with due Temparance, and Equality) in *Matters* of *Religion*; leaſt *Ireland Civill*, become more dangerous to us, then *Ireland Savage*. So *God* give you Comfort of your *Place*.

After Sir *William Jones Speech*.

I had forgotten one Thing, which was this. You may take, exceeding great Comfort, that you ſhall ſerve, with ſuch a *Deputy*: One, that (I think) is a Man, ordain'd of *God*, to do great *Good*, to that *Kingdome*. And this, I think good, to ſay to you; That the true Temper, of a *Chief Juſtice*, towards a *Deputy*, is; Neither ſervilly to ſecond him, nor factiouſly to oppoſe him.

The Lord Keepers Speech, *in the Exchecquer*; *to* Sir John Denham; *when he was called to be one of the* Barons *of the* Exchecquer.

SIR *John Denham*; the *King*, of his grace, and favour, hath made choice of you, to be one of the *Barons*, of the Exchecquer; To ſucceed, to one of the graveſt, and moſt Reverend *Judges*, of this *Kingdome*; For ſo I hold *Baron Altham was*. The *King* takes you not upon Credit, but Proof, and great Proof of your former Service; And that, in both thoſe kinds, wherein you are now to ſerve: For as you have ſhewed your ſelf a good *Judge* beween party and party; ſo you have ſhewed your ſelf a good *Adminiſter*, of the *Revenue*; Both when you were *Chief Baron*; And ſince as *Counſeller* of *Eſtate*, there in *Ireland*; where the *Counſell* (as you know) doth in great part, mannage, and meſſuage, the *Revenew*.

And to both theſe Parts, I will apply ſome *Admonitions*; But not vulgar, or diſcurſive; But apt for the Times, and in few words: For they are beſt remembred.

Firſt therefore, above all, you ought to maintain, the *Kings Prerogative*, And to ſet down with your ſelf that the *Kings Prerogative*, and the *Law*, are not two Things; But the *Kings Prerogative is Law*; And the Principall *Part* of the *Law*: The *Firſt-Born*, or *Pars Prima*, of the *Law*: And therefore, in conſerving, or maintaining that, you conſerve and maintain, the *Law*. There is not, in the *Body* of *Man*, one Law of the Head, and another of the Body, but all is one Entire *Law*.

The next *Point*, that I would now adviſe you, is, that you acquaint your ſelf, diligently, with the *Revenew*; And alſo with

the Ancient *Records*, and *Presidents*, of this *Court*: When the famous Case, of the *Copper Mines*, was argued in this *Court*; And judged for the *King*; It was not, upon the fine Reasons, of *Wit*; As that, the *Kings Prerogative*, drew to it, the chief, *in quaque specie*; The *Lion* is the chief of *Beasts*; The *Eagle* the chief of *Birds*; The Whale, the chief of *Fishes*; And so Copper, the chief of Minerals; For these are but *Dalliances* of *Law*, & *Ornaments*; But it was the grave *Records*, and *Presidents*, that grounded, the *Judgement*, of that *Cause*: And therefore, I would have you, both guide, and arm, your self with them, against these Vapours, and Fumes, of Law; which are extracted, out of Mens Inventions, and Conceits.

The third *Advice*, I will give you, hath a large Extent: It is, that you do your Endeavour, in your place, so to mannage the *Kings Justice*, and *Revenue*, as the *King* may have most *Profit*, and the *Subject*, least *vexation*: For when there is much *vexation* to the *Subject*, and *little Benefit* to the *King* then the *Exchecquer* is Sick: And when there is, *Much Benefit* to the *King*, with lesse *Trouble*, and *vexation*, to the *Subject*, then the *Exchecquer* is sound: As for *Example*; If there shall be much *Racking*, for the *Kings* old Debts; And the more *Fresh*, and *Late Debts* shall be, either more negligently called upon, or over easily discharged, or over indulgently stalled: Or if the *Number* of *Informations* be many; and the *Kings Part*, or *Fines* for *Compositions*, a Trifle: Or if there be, much ado, to get the *King new Land*, upon *Concealments*, and that which he hath already, be not well *known*, and *surveyed*; Nor the woods preserved; (I could put you many other *Cases*,) this fals within that, which I term, the *sick Estate* of the *Exchecquer*. And this is that, which makes every Man ready, with their Undertakings, and their Projects, to disturb, the ancient *Frame* of the *Exchecquer*; (Then the which, I am perswaded, there is not a better;) This being the *Burthen* of the *Song*; That much goeth out of the *Subjects Purse*; And little commeth, to the *Kings Purse*. Therefore, give them not, that Advantage, so to say. Sure I am, that besides your own Associates, the *Barons*; you serve, with two superiour, *Great Officers*, that have Honourable, and true, *Ends*; And desire, to serve the *King*, and right the *Subject*.

There resteth, that I deliver you, your *Patent*.

His Lordſhips Speech, *in the* Common Pleas, *to* Juſtice Hutton, *when he was called, to be one of the* Judges, *of the* Common Pleas.

Mr. *Serjeant Hutton*;

THe *Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty*, being duly enformed, of your Learning, Integrity, Diſcretion, Experience, Meanes, and Reputation in your Countrey; Hath thought fit not to leave you theſe *Talents*, to be employed upon your ſelf onely; But to call you, to ſerve *Himſelf*, and his *People*, in the place, of one of his *Juſtices*, of the *Court*, of *Common Pleas*.

This *Court*, where you are to ſerve, is the *Locall Center*, and *Heart*, of the *Laws*, of this *Realm*: Here the *Subject* hath his aſſurance, By *Fines*, and *Recoveries*: Here he hath his Fixed, and Invariable, *Remedies* by *Precipes*, and *Writs* of *Right*: Here *Juſtice* opens not, by a *By-gate* of *Priviledge*, but by the *great Gate* of the *Kings originall Writs*, out of the *Chancery*. Here iſſues Proceſſe of Utlawry; If men will not anſwer *Law*, in this *Center* of *Law*, they ſhall be caſt out. And therefore, it is proper for you, by all means, with your Wiſdome, and Fortitude, to maintain, the *Laws* of the *Realm*: Wherein, nevertheleſſe, I would not have you *Head-ſtrong*, but *Heart-ſtrong*; And to weigh, and remember, with your ſelf, that the 12. *Judges*, of the *Realm*, are, as the 12. *Lions*, under *Salomons Throne*; They muſt ſhew their *Stoutneſſe*, in *Elevating*, and *Bearing* up the *Throne*. To repreſent unto you, the *Lines*, and *Portraitures*, of a Good *Judge*.

The 1. is, That you ſhould draw your *Learning*, out of your *Books*, not out of your *Brain*.

2. That you, ſhould mix well, the *Freedom*, of your *own Opinion*, with the *Reverence*, of the *Opinion*, of your *Fellows*.

3. That you ſhould continue, the *Studying* of your *Books*, and not to *ſpend on*, upon the *old Stock*.

4. That you ſhould fear no *Mans Face*; And yet, not turn *Stoutneſs*, into *Bravery*.

5. That you ſhould be *truly Impartiall*, and not ſo, as Men may ſee *Affection*, through fine *Carriage*.

6. That you be a *Light*, to *Jurours*, to *open* their *Eyes*; But not a *Guid*, to *Lead* them, by the *Noſes*.

7. That you affect not, the *Opinion*, of Pregnancy, and *Expedition*, by an impatient, and Catching, Hearing, of the *Counſellours* at the *Barre*.

8. That your Speech, be *with Gravity*, as one of the *Sages* of the *Law*; And not *Talkative*, nor with impertinent *Flying out*, to ſhew *Learning*.

9. That your *Hands*, and the *Hands* of your *Hands*; (I mean, thoſe about you,) Be *Clean*, and *Uncorrupt*, from *Gifts*; From *Medling*

Medling in *Titles*; And from *Serving* of *Turns*; Be they, of Great Ones, or Small Ones.

10. That you contain, the *Juriſdiction* of the *Court*, within the ancient *Meere-ſtones*, without Removing the *Mark*.

11. Laſtly, that you carry ſuch a *Hand*, over your *Miniſters*, and *Clarks*, as that they may rather be in awe of you, then preſume upon you.

Theſe, and the like Points, of the *Duty*, of a *Judge*, I forbear to enlarge; For the *longer*, I have lived with you, the ſhorter ſhall my ſpeech be to you; Knowing, that you come ſo Furniſhed, and Prepared, with theſe *Good Vertues*, as whatſoever I ſhall ſay, cannot be *New* unto you. And therefore, I will ſay no more unto you, at this time, but deliver you your *Patent*.

His Lordſhips Speech, *in the* Parliament, *being* Lord Chancellor, *To the* Speakers Excuſe.

Mr. *Serjeant Richardſon*;

THe *King* hath heard, and obſerved, your grave, and decent, *Speech*; Tending, to the Excuſe, and Diſablement, of your ſelf, for the place of *Speaker*. In anſwer whereof, his *Majeſty*, hath commanded me, to ſay to you; That he doth, in no ſort, admit of the ſame.

Firſt, becauſe, if the *Parties* own *Judgement*, ſhould be admitted, in caſe of *Elections*, Touching himſelf, it would follow, that the moſt confident, and over-weening, Perſons, would be received; And the moſt conſiderate Men, and thoſe that underſtand themſelves beſt, ſhould be rejected.

Secondly, his *Majeſty*, doth ſo much rely, upon the Wiſdomes, and Diſcretions, of thoſe, of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, that have choſen you, with an unanimous conſent, that his *Majeſty* thinks not good, to ſwerve, from their Opinion, in that, wherein themſelves, are principally intereſſed.

Thirdly, you have diſabled your Self, in ſo good, and decent, a Faſhion; As the *Manner*, of your *Speech*, hath deſtroyed, the *Matter* of it.

And therefore, the *King*, doth allow of the *Election*, and admits you for *Speaker*.

To the *Speakers Oration*.

Mr. *Speaker*;

THe *King* hath heard, and obſerved, your eloquent Diſcourſe, containing, much good Matter, and much good Will:

will: Wherein, you muſt expect from me, ſuch an Anſwer, onely, as is pertinent to the *Occaſion*, and compaſſed, by due reſpect of *Time*.

I may divide, that which you have ſaid, into four parts.

The firſt was, a *Commendation*, or *Laudative*, of *Monarchy*.

The ſecond was, indeed, a large *Field*; Containing, a thankfull *Acknowledgement*, of his *Majeſties*, *Benefits*, *Attributes*, and *Acts* of *Government*.

The third was, ſome *Paſſages*, touching the *Inſtitution*, and *Uſe* of *Parliaments*.

The fourth, and laſt was, certain *Petitions*, to his *Majeſty*; on the behalf, of the *Houſe*, and your *ſelf*.

For your *Commendation* of *Monarchy*, and preferring it, before other *Eſtates*, it needs no *Anſwer*. The *Schools* may diſpute it; But *Time* hath tryed it; And we find it to be the Beſt. Other *States*, have curious Frames, ſoon put out of order; And they, that are made fit to laſt, are not, commonly, fit to grow, or ſpread: And contrarywiſe, thoſe that are made fit to ſpread, and enlarge, are not fit, to continue, and endure. But *Monarchy*, is like a *Work* of *Nature*, well compoſed, both to grow, and to continue. From this I paſſe. 1. Part.

For the ſecond part, of your *Speech*, wherein you did, with no leſſe Truth, then Affection, acknowledge, the great Felicity, which we enjoy, by his *Majeſties Reign*, and *Government*; His *Majeſtie*, hath commanded me, to ſay unto you: That *Praiſes*, and *Thanks-givings*, he knoweth, to be the true Oblations, of Hearts, and loving Affections: But that, which you offer him, he will joyn with you, in offering it up to *God*, who is the *Author* of all *Good*; who knoweth alſo, the *uprightneſs*, of his *Heart*; who, He hopeth, will continue, and encreaſe, his *Bleſſings*, both upon *Himſelf*, and his *Poſterity*; And likewiſe, upon his *Kingdomes*, and the *Generations* of them. 2. Part.

But I, for my part, muſt ſay unto you, as the *Grecian Orator* ſaid, long ſince, in the like caſe: *Solus dignus harum rerum Laudator Tempus*. *Time*, is the onely *Commender*, and *Encomiaſtique*, worthy of his *Majeſty*, and his *Government*.

Why *Time*? For that, in the Revolution, of ſo many years, and Ages, as have paſſed over this *Kingdome*; Notwithſtanding, many Noble, and excellent, Effects, were never produced, untill his *Majeſtys* dayes; But have been reſerved, as proper, and peculiar, unto them.

And becauſe, this is no part of a *Panegyrick*, but meerly *Story*, and that they be, ſo many *Articles* of *Honour*, fit to be recorded, I will onely mention them; extracting part of them, out of that, you, Mr. *Speaker*, have ſaid. They be, in Number, Eight.

1. His *Majeſty*, is the firſt, (as you noted it well,) that hath laid *Lapis Angularis*, the *Corner Stone*, of theſe two mighty *Kingdomes*, of *England*, and *Scotland*; And taken away, the *Wall* of *Separation*: Whereby

Whereby his *Majeſty*, is become, the *Monarch*, of the moſt puiſſant, and Militar, *Nations*, of the *World*: And if one, of the Ancient wiſe Men, was not deceived, *Iron commands Gold.*

2. Secondly, the *Plantation*, and *Reduction*, to *Civility*, of *Ireland*, (the ſecond *Iſland*, of the *Ocean Atlantique*,) did, by *Gods* Providence, wait, for his *Majeſties* Times: Being a work, reſembling, indeed, the *Workes* of the ancient *Heröes*: No new piece, of that kind, in *Modern Times.*

3. Thirdly, this *Kingdom*, now firſt, in his *Majeſties Times*, hath gotten a *Lot*, or *Portion*, in the New *World*, by the *Plantation* of *Virginia*, and the *Summer Iſlands.* And certainly, it is with the *Kingdomes* on *Earth*, as it is, in the *Kingdom* of *Heaven.* Sometimes, a *Grain* of *Muſtardſeed*, proves a great *Tree.* Who can tell?

4. Fourthly, his *Majeſty*, hath made that Truth, which was before Titulary; In that he hath verified the *Stile*, of *Defender of the Faith*; Wherein, his *Majeſties Pen*, hath been ſo happy, as though, the *Deaf Adder*, will not *hear*, yet he is *charmed*, that he doth not *Hiſs.* I mean, in the graver ſort of thoſe, that have anſwered, his *Majeſties Writings.*

5. Fiftly, it is moſt certain, that ſince the *Conqueſt*, yee cannot aſſign Twenty years, (which is the Time, that his *Majeſties Raign*, now drawes faſt upon,) of Inward, and Outward Peace. Inſomuch, as the Time of *Queen Eliz.* of happy memory; And alwaies magnified, for a peaceable *Raign*, was, nevertheleſs, interrupted, the firſt Twenty years, with a *Rebellion*, in *England.* And both firſt, and laſt, Twenty years, with *Rebellions*, in *Ireland.* And yet, I know, that his *Majeſty* will make good, both his *Words*; As well that, of *Nemo me laſceſſet impunè*; As that other, of *Beati pacifici.*

6. Sixthly, that true, and primitive, *Office*, of *Kings*, which is, to *ſit* in the *Gate*, and to *judge* the *People*, was never performed, in like perfection, by any of the *Kings Progenitors*: Whereby, his *Majeſty* hath ſhewed himſelf, to be *Lex loquens*; And to ſit upon the *Throne*, not as a *dumb ſtatua*, but as a *Speaking Oracle.*

7. Seventhly, for his *Majeſties Mercy*, (as you noted it well,) ſhew me a time, wherein, a *King*, of this *Realm*, hath *Reigned*, almoſt 20. years, (as I ſaid,) in his *White Robes*, without the *Blood*, of any *Peer*, of this *Kingdom*: The *Axe*, turned, once or twice, towards a *Peere*, but never ſtrook.

8. Laſtly: The *Flouriſhing*, of *Arts*, and *Sciences*, recreated by his *Majeſties* Countenance, and Bounty, was never in that Heighth; eſpecially, that *Art* of *Arts*, *Divinity*: For that, we may, truly, to *Gods* great glory, confeſs; That ſince the *Primitive times*, there were never, ſo many *Stars*, (for ſo the *Scripture* calleth them,) in that *Firmament.*

Theſe Things, Mr. *Speaker*, I have, partly, choſen, out of your Heap; and are ſo far, from being vulgar, as they are, in effect, ſingular, and proper, to his *Majeſty*, and his *Times.* So that, I have made good, as I take it, my firſt *Aſſertion*; *That the only worthy*

thy Commender of his Majeſty is Time: Which hath ſo ſet off, his *Majeſties Merits*, by the *Shadowes* of *Compariſon*, as it paſſeth the *Luſtre*, or *Commendation*, of *Words*.

How then ſhall I conclude? Shall I ſay, *O Fortunatos nimium ſua ſi Bona nôrint:* No, For I ſee, ye are happy, in injoying them, and happy again, in knowing them. But, I will conclude this part, with that *Saying*, turned to the Right Hand; *Si gratum dixerit, omnia dixeris.* Your gratitude containes, in a word, all that I can ſay to you, touching this *Parliament*.

Touching the Third *Point*, of your *Speech*, concerning *Parliaments*, I ſhall need to ſay little: For there was never, that Honour done, to the *Inſtitution* of *Parliament*, that his *Majeſty* did it, in his laſt Speech; making it, in effect, the *perfection* of *Monarchy*: For that, although *Monarchy*, was the more Ancient, and be independant; yet by the Advice, and Aſſiſtance of *Parliament*, it is the ſtronger, and the ſurer built. 3. Part.

And therefore, I ſhall ſay no more, of this *Point*, but as you, (Mr. *Speaker*,) did well note: That when the *King* ſits in *Parliament*, and his *Prelates*, *Peeres*, and *Commons*, attend him, he is in the *Exaltation* of his *Orb*: So, I wiſh things, may be ſo carried, that he may be then, in greateſt *Serenity*, and *Benignity*, of *Aſpect*; ſhining upon his *People*, both in *Glory*, and *Grace*. Now you know well, that that the *ſhining* of the *ſun*, fair upon the *ground*, whereby all things exhilarate, and do fructifie; is either hindered by *Clouds* above, or *Miſts* below; perhaps by *Brambles*, and *Briars*, that grow upon the *Ground* it ſelf. All which, I hope, at this time, will be diſpelled, and removed.

I come now, to the laſt part of your *Speech*, concerning the *Petitions*: But before, I deliver, his *Majeſties* Anſwer, reſpectively, in particular; I am to ſpeak unto you, ſome few words in generall: Wherein, in effect, I ſhall but glean; His *Majeſty*, having ſo excellently, and fully, expreſſed himſelf. 4. Part.

For that, that can be ſpoken, pertinently, muſt be, either touching the *Subject*, or *Matter*, of *Parliament Buſineſſe*; Or of the *Manner*, and *Carriage* of the ſame; Or laſtly, of the *Time*, and the *Husbanding*, and *Marſhalling*, of *Time*.

For the *Matters*, to be handled, in *Parliament*, they are, either of *Church*, *State*, *Lawes*, or *Grievances*.

For the Firſt two, concerning *Church*, or *State*, ye have heard, the *King* himſelf ſpeak, and as the *Scripture* ſaith; *Who is he, that in ſuch things ſhall come after the King?* For the other two, I ſhall ſay ſomewhat, but very ſhortly.

For *Lawes*, they are Things proper, for your own Element: And therefore therein, ye are rather to lead, then to be led. Only, it is not amiſſe, to put you in mind, of two Things: The one, that you do not *multiply*, or *accumulate*, *Lawes*, more then ye need. There is a Wiſe, and Learned, *Civilian*, that applies, the *Curſe* of the *Prophet*, *Pluet ſuper eos Laqueos*, *To Multiplicity* of *Lawes*; For

they do but enſnare, and entangle the *People.* I wiſh rather, that ye ſhould either revive good *Lawes*, that are fallen, and diſcontinued; Or provide, againſt the ſlack execution, of *Lawes*, which are already in Force; Or meet, with the ſubtile Evaſions, from *Lawes*, which *Time*, and *Craft*, hath undermined; then to make, *Novas Creaturas Legum*, *Lawes upon a new Mould.*

The other *Point*, touching *Lawes*, is; That ye buſie not your ſelves, too much, in private *Bills*; except it be in *Caſes*, wherein the Help, and Arm, of ordinary *Juſtice*, is too ſhort.

For *Grievances*, his *Majeſty*, hath with great Grace, and Benignity, opened himſelf. Nevertheleſſe, the Limitations, which may make up your *Grievances*, not to beat the Air only, but to ſort, to a deſired effect, are, principally, two. The one, (to uſe his *Majeſties* term,) that ye do not *Hunt* after *Grievances*; Such as may ſeem, rather, to be ſtirred here, when ye are met, then to have ſprung, from the deſires of the Country: Ye are to *repreſent* the *People*; ye are not to *perſonate* them.

The other, that ye do not, heap up *Grievances*, as if *Numbers*, ſhould make a *ſhew*, where the *Weight* is ſmall; Or as if, all things amiſs, (like *Plato's Common wealth*,) ſhould be remedied at once. It is certain, that the beſt *Governments*, yea and the beſt *Men*, are like the beſt *precious Stones*, wherein every Flaw, or Iſickle, or Grain, are ſeen, and noted more, then in thoſe, that are, generally, foul, and corrupted.

Therefore, contain, your ſelves, within that Moderation, as may appear to bend, rather to the Effectuall Eaſe of the *People*, then to a Diſcurſive Envy, or ſcandall upon the *State.*

As for the *Manner*, of *Carriage*, of *Parliament Buſineſſe*, ye muſt know, that ye deal with a *King*, that hath been longer *King*, then any of you, have been *Parliament Men*; And a *King*, that is no leſſe ſenſible, of *Formes*, then of *Matter*; And is as far, from induring Diminution, of *Majeſty*, as from regarding *Flattery*, or *Vain Glory*; And a *King*, that underſtandeth, as well, the Pulſe, of the Hearts, of People, as his own Orb. And therefore, both let your Grievances, have a decent, and Reverent Form, and Stile; And (to uſe the words of former *Parliaments*,) let them be, *Tanquam Gemitus Columbæ*, without Pique, or Harſhneſſe; And on the other ſide, in that ye do for the *King*, Let it have a Mark, of *Unity*, *Alacrity*, and *Affection*; which will be of this Force; That whatſoever ye do, in ſubſtance, will be doubled in Reputation abroad, as in a Cryſtall Glaſs.

For the *Time*, if ever *Parliament* was to be meaſured by the Houre-glaſs, it is this; In regard of the inſtant Occaſion, flying away irrecoverably. Therefore let your *Speeches*, in the *Houſe*, be the *Speeches* of *Counſellors*, and not of *Orators*: Let your *Committees*, tend to diſpatch, not to diſpute; And ſo marſhall the *Times*, as the publique Buſineſſe, eſpecially the proper Buſineſſe, of the *Parliament* be put firſt; And private *Bills* be put laſt, as time

ſhall

ſhall give leave, or within the ſpaces, of the *Publique*.

For the Foure *Petitions*, his *Majeſty* is pleaſed to grant them all, as liberally, as the Ancient, and true Cuſtom, of *Parliament*, doth warrant; And with the cautions, that have ever gon with them; That is to ſay; That the *priviledge*, be not uſed, for Defrauding of Creditours, and Defeating of ordinary Juſtice: That *Liberty* of *Speech*, turn not into Licenſe; but be joyned, with that Gravity, and Diſcretion, as may taſt of Duty, and Love, to your *Soveraign*, Reverence to your own *Aſſembly*, and Reſpect to the *Matters* ye handle. That your *Acceſſes*, be at ſuch fit Times, as may ſtand beſt with his *Majeſties* pleaſure, and Occaſions. That *Miſtakings*, and *Miſunderſtandings*, be rather avoided, and prevented, (as much as may be,) then ſalved, or cleared.

CERTAIN

TREATISES

VVritten, or Referring

TO

Queen Elizabeths

TIMES:

BEING

OBSERVATIONS

UPON A

LIBELL,

Publiſhed in *Anno*, 1592.

A true Report of Doctour *LOPEZ* his TREASON.

An Advertiſement, touching the Controverſies, of the Church of ENGLAND.

A Collection, of the Felicities, of Queen *ELIZABETH.*

By the Right Honourable

FRANCIS BACON,

Baron of *Verulam*, Viſcount St. *Alban.*

LONDON,

Printed by *S. Griffin*, for *William Lee*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in *Fleetſtreet*, at the ſigne of the Turks-head, neer the Mitre Tavern, 1661.

CERTAIN

OBSERVATIONS,

UPON A

LIBELL,

Publiſhed this preſent year, 1592.

INTITULED; A

DECLARATION

Of the *TRVE CAVSES*,

OF THE

GREAT TROVBLES,

Preſuppoſed to be intended, againſt the *REALM*, of *ENGLAND*.

IT were Juſt, and Honourable, for *Princes*, being in *Warrs* together, that howſoever, they proſecute their *Quarrels*, and *Debates*, by *Arms*, and *Acts* of *Hoſtility*; yea, though the *Warrs* be ſuch, as they pretend the utter Ruine, and Overthrow, of the *Forces*, and *States*, one of another; yet they ſo limit their *Paſſions*, as they preſerve, two Things, Sacred, and Inviolable; That is, The *Life*, and *good Name*, each of other. For the *Warrs*, are no *Maſſacres*, and *Confuſions*; But they are, the Higheſt *Trials* of *Right*; when *Princes*, and *States*, that acknowledge no Superior upon Earth, ſhall put themſelves, upon the *Juſtice* of *God*, for the Deciding of their Controverſies, by ſuch Succeſſe, as it ſhall pleaſe him, to give, on either ſide. And as, in the Proceſſe,

ceſſe, of particular Pleas, between private Men, all things ought to be ordered, by the Rules, of *Civill Lawes*: So, in the Proceedings, of the *Warrs*, nothing ought to be done, againſt the *Law* of *Nations*, or the *Law* of *Honour*; Which *Lawes*, have ever pronounced, thoſe two *Sorts*, of *Men*; The one, *Conſpiratours*, againſt the *Perſons* of *Princes*; The other, *Libellers*, againſt their *good Fame*, to be ſuch Enemies, of common Society, as are not to be cheriſhed, no not by *Enemies*. For, in the Examples, of Times, which were leſſe corrupted, we find, that when, in the greateſt Heats, and Extremities of *Warrs*, there have been made Offers of *Murderous*, and *Traiterous*, *Attempts*, againſt the *Perſon*, of a *Prince*, to the *Enemy*, they have been, not onely *Rejected*, but alſo *Revealed*. And, in like manner, when *Diſhonourable Mention*, hath been made, of a *Prince*, before an *Enemy Prince*, by ſome, that have thought, therein, to pleaſe his Humour, he hath ſhewed himſelf, contrarywiſe, utterly diſtaſted therewith, and been ready, to conteſt, for the *Honour*, of an *Enemy*.

According to which Noble, and Magnanimous, Kind of Proceeding, it will be found, that, in the whole Courſe, of her *Majeſties* Proceeding, with the *King* of *Spain*; ſince the Amity interrupted; There was never any project, by *her Majeſty*, or any of her *Miniſters*, either moved, or aſſented unto; for the Taking away, of the *Life*, of the ſaid *King*: Neither, hath there been, any *Declaration*, or *Writing*, of *Eſtate*; No, nor *Book allowed*, wherein his *Honour*, hath been touched, or taxed, otherwiſe then for his *Ambition*; A point, which is, neceſſarily, interlaced, with her *Majeſties*, own Juſtification. So that no Man, needeth to doubt, but that thoſe *Warrs*, are grounded, upon her *Majeſties* part, upon juſt, and Honourable Cauſes, which have ſo Juſt, and Honourable, a proſecution; Conſidering, it is a much harder Matter, when a *Prince* is entred into *Warrs*, to hold reſpect then, and not to be tranſported with *Paſſion*; than, to make *Moderate*, and *Juſt Reſolutions*, in the *Beginnings*.

But now, if a Man look, on the other part, it will appear, that rather, as it is to be thought, by the Solicitation of *Traitorous Subjects*, (which is the onely Poyſon, and Corruption, of all Honourable *Warr*, between Forrainers;) Or by the Preſumption of his *Agents*, and *Miniſters*, then, by the proper Inclination, of that *King*, there hath been, if not plotted, and practiſed, yet, at the leaſt, comforted, Conſpiracies, againſt her *Majeſties Sacred Perſon*; which, nevertheleſſe, *Gods Goodneſſe*, hath uſed, and turned, to ſhew by ſuch miraculous Diſcoveries, into how near, and precious, Care, and Cuſtody, it hath pleaſed him, to receive her *Majeſties Life*, and *Preſervation*. But, in the other Point, it is ſtrange; what a number, of *Libellous*, and *Defamatory*, *Bookes*, and *Writings*, and in what Variety, with what Art, and cunning, handled, have been allowed to paſs through the *World*, in all *Languages*, againſt her *Majeſty*, and her *Government*; Sometimes, pretending, the

Gravity,

Gravity, and *Authority*, of *Church Stories*, to move *Belief*; ſometimes, formed into *Remonſtrances*, and *Advertiſements* of *Eſtate*, to move *Regard*; Sometimes, preſented, as it were, in *Tragedies*, of the *Perſecutions* of *Catholicks*, to move *Pitty*; Sometimes, contrived, into pleaſant *Paſquils* and *Satyres*, to move ſport: So as, there is no ſhape, whereinto, theſe Fellowes, have not transformed themſelves; Nor no Humor, nor affection, in the mind of Man, to which they have not applyed themſelves; Thereby, to inſinuate, their Untruths, and abuſes, to the *World*. And, indeed, let a Man look into them, and he ſhall find them, the only *Triumphant Lies*, that ever were confuted, by *Circumſtances*, of *Time*, and *Place*; Confuted by *Contrariety*, in themſelves; Confuted, by the Witneſs, of infinite Perſons, that live yet, and have had, particular Knowledge, of the Matters: But yet avouched, with ſuch Aſſeveration, as if, either they were fallen, into that ſtrange Diſeaſe of the Mind, which a Wiſe *Writer*, deſcribeth, in theſe words; *Fingunt ſimul creduntque*; Or as if, they had received it, as a principall *Precept*, and *Ordinance*, of their *Seminaries*; *Audacter calumniare, ſemper aliquid hæret*; Or as if, they were of the Race, which in old time, were wont, to help themſelves, with Miraculous Lies; But, when the *Cauſe* of this, is entred into; Namely, that there paſſeth over, out of this *Realm*, a number of Eager, and Unquiet, *Schollers*, whom, their own Turbulent, and Humourous, Nature, preſſeth out, to ſeek their Adventures abroad; And that, on the other ſide, they are nouriſhed, rather in Liſtening after News, and Intelligences, and in Whiſperings, then in any Commendable Learning; And after a time, when either their Neceſſitous Eſtate, or their Ambitious Appetites, importune them, they fall on deviſing, how to do, ſome acceptable ſervice, to that ſide, which maintaineth them; So as ever, when their Credit, waxeth Cold, with Forrain *Princes*; Or that their Penſions, are ill pay'd; Or ſome Preferment, is in ſight, at which they levell; Straitwayes, out commeth a *Libell*, pretending thereby, to keep in life the party, which within the Realm, is contrary to the State: (Wherein, they are as wiſe, as he, that thinketh, to kindle a Fire, by blowing the dead Aſhes;) When, I ſay, a man looketh into the *Cauſe*, and *Ground*, of this plentifull yield of *Libells*, he will ceaſe, to marvaile, conſidering the Concurrence, which is, as well, in the Nature of the ſeed, as in the travell of Tilling, and dreſſing; yea, and in the Fitneſſe, of the Seaſon, for the Bringing up of thoſe infectious weeds.

But, to verefie, the Saying, of our *Saviour*, *Non eſt Diſcipulus ſuper Magiſtrum*; As they have ſought to deprave, her *Majeſties Government*, in her ſelf; So, have they not forgotten, to do the ſame, in her principall *Servants*, and *Counſellers*; Thinking belike, that as the *Immediate Invectives*, againſt her *Majeſty*, do beſt ſatisfie, the Malice, of the *Forreiner*; So the ſlander, and Calumniation, of her *principall Counſellours*, agreed beſt, with the Humours, of ſome

Male-contents, within the *Realm*; Imagining alſo, that it was like, they ſhould be more ſcattered here, and freelier diſperſed; And alſo ſhould be leſſe odious, to thoſe *Forrainers*, which were not meerely partiall, and paſſionate; who have, for the moſt part, in deteſtation, the *Traiterous Libellings*, of *Subjects*, directly againſt their *Naturall Prince*.

Amongſt the Reſt, in this kind, there hath been publiſhed, this preſent year, of 1592. a *Libel*, that giveth place, to none of the Reſt, in *Malice*, and *untruths*; Though inferior, to moſt of them, in penning, and Stile; The *Authour*, having choſen, the vaine of a *Lucianiſt*; And yet, being a Counterfeit, even in that kind. This *Libell*, is intituled; *A Declaration, of the true Cauſes, of the great Troubles, preſuppoſed to be intended, againſt the Realm of* England. And hath a Semblance, as if it were bent, againſt the Doings, of her *Majeſties*, Ancient, and *Worthy Counſellor*, the *Lord Burghley*; Whoſe Carefulneſs, and Paines, her *Majeſty*, hath uſed, in her *Counſells*, and *Actions*, of this *Realm*, for theſe 34. years ſpace, in all dangerous Times; And amidſt many, and mighty, practiſes; And with ſuch ſucceſſe, as our Enemies, are put ſtill, to their *Paper-ſhot*, of ſuch *Libels*, as theſe: The memory, of whom, will remain, in this *Land*, when all theſe *Libels*, ſhall be extinct, and forgotten; According to the *Scripture*; *Memoria Juſti cum laudibus, at Impiorum Nomen putreſcet.* But it is more then evident, by the parts of the ſame *Book*, that the *Authors Malice*, was to her *Majeſty*, and her *Government*; As may eſpecially appear, in this, That he charged not, his *Lordſhip*, with any particular *Actions*, of his private Life; (Such power had Truth;) whereas, the *Libels*, made againſt other *Counſellors*, have, principally, inſiſted upon that part: But hath only, wreſted, and detorted, ſuch *Actions* of *Sate*, as in Times, of his Service, have been Mannaged; And depraving them, hath aſcribed, and imputed to him, the Effects, that have followed; Indeed, to the *Good* of the *Realm*, and the *Honour* of her *Majeſty*; Though, ſometimes, to the *Provoking* of the *Malice*, but *Abridging* of the *Power*, and *Meanes*, of Deſperate, and Incorrigible, *Subjects*.

All which *Slanders*, as his *Lordſhip*, might juſtly deſpiſe; Both, for their Manifeſt *Untruths*, and for the *Baſeneſſe*, and *Obſcurity*, of the *Authour*; So nevertheleſſe, according to the Moderation, which his *Lordſhip* uſeth, in all Things; Never claiming the Priviledge, of his Authority, when it is Queſtion, of ſatisfying the *World*; He hath been content, that they be not paſſed over, altogether, in Silence: Whereupon, I have, in particular Duty, to his *Lordſhip*, amongſt others, that do Honour, and Love, his *Lordſhip*; And that have, diligently, obſerved his Actions; And in *Zeal* of *Truth*, collected, upon the *Reading*, of the ſaid *Libell*, certain *Obſervations*; Not in Form, of a juſt Anſwer, leſt, I ſhould fall into the Error, whereof *Salomon*, ſpeaketh thus; *Anſwer not a Foole, in his own kind, leaſt thou alſo be like him*; But only,

to

to diſcover the Malice, & to reprove, and convict the Untruths, thereof.

The Points, that I have obſerved, upon the *Reading*, of this *Libell*, are theſe following.

1. Of the *Scope*, or *Drift*, of the *Libeller*.
2. Of the preſent *Eſtate*, of this *Realm*, of *England*; whether it may be, truly avouched, to be *Proſperous*, or *Afflicted*.
3. Of the *Proceedings*, againſt the pretended *Catholiques*, whether they have been *Violent*; or Moderate, and neceſſary.
4. Of the *Diſturbance*, of the *Quiet*, of *Chriſtendom*; And to what *Cauſes*, it may be, juſtly, imputed.
5. Of the *Cunning*, of the *Libeller*, in *Palliation*, of his Malicious *Invective*, againſt her *Majeſty*, and the *State*, with pretence, of taxing onely, the Actions, of the *Lord Burleigh*.
6. Certain true Generall Notes, upon the *Actions*, of the *Lord Burleigh*.
7. Of diverſe *particular Untruths*, and *Abuſes*, diſperſed through the *Libell*.
8. Of the *Height*, of *Impudency*, that theſe Men, are grown unto, in *Publiſhing*, and *Avouching*, *Untruths*; with *particular Recitall*, of ſome of them, for an *Aſſay*.

1. Of the *Scope*, or *Drift* of the *Libeller*.

It is good Advice, in dealing, with Cautelous, and Malicious, perſons; Whoſe Speech, is ever at diſtance, with their Meanings; *Non quid dixerint, ſed quò ſpectârint, videndum:* A Man, is not to regard, what they affirm, or what they hold; But, what they would convey, under their pretended Diſcovery, and what turn they would ſerve. It ſoundeth ſtrangely, in the Eares, of an *Engliſh Man*; That the Miſeries, of the *preſent State*, of *England*, exceed them, of former times, whatſoever. One would, ſtrait-way, think with himſelf; Doth this Man beleeve what he ſaith? Or not beleeving it, doth he think it poſſible, to make us beleeve it? Surely, in my conceit, neither of both; But his End, no doubt, was, to round the *Pope*, and the *King* of *Spain*, in the Eare, by ſeeming, to tell a Tale, to the *People* of *England*. For ſuch Bookes, are ever wont, to be tranſlated, into diverſe *Languages*: And, no doubt, the Man, was not ſo ſimple, as to think, he could perſwade, the *People* of *England*, the Contrary, of what they taſt, and feele. But he thought, he might better abuſe, the States, abroad, if he directed his Speech to them, who could beſt convict him, and diſprove him, if he ſaid untrue: So that, as *Livy* ſaith, in the like caſe; *Ætolos, magis, coram quibus verba facerent, quam ad quos, penſi habere: That the* Aætolians, *in their Tale, did more reſpect thoſe, which did over-hear them, then thoſe, to whom they directed their Speech:* So, in this matter, this Fellow, cared not, to be counted a *Lier*, by all

Engliſh, upon Price, of Deceiving, of *Spain*, and *Italy*: For it muſt be underſtood, that it hath been, the generall Practiſe, of this kind of Men, many years, of the one ſide, to abuſe, the forraine Eſtates, by making them believe, that all is out of Joynt, and Ruinous, here in *England*. And that, there is a great part ready, to joyn with the *Invader*: And, on the other ſide, to make, the *Evill Subjects*, of *England*, believe, of great *Preparations abroad*, and in great readineſſe, to be put in Act; And ſo to deceive, on both ſides: And this, I take to be, his *Principall Drift*. So again, it is an extravagant, and incredible, Conceit, to Imagine, that all the *Concluſions*, and *Actions*, of *Eſtate*, which have paſſed, during her *Majeſties Raign*, ſhould be aſcribed, to one *Counſeller* alone; And to ſuch an one, as was never noted, for an *Imperious*, or *Overruling*, Man: And to ſay, that though, He carried them, not by Violence, yet he compaſſed, them by Deviſe; There is no Man of *Judgement*, that looketh into the Nature of theſe Times, but will eaſily deſcry, that the Wits, of theſe Dayes, are too much refined, for any Man, to walk Inviſible: Or to make, all the World, his Inſtruments; And therefore, no not in this point, aſſuredly, the *Libeller* ſpake, as he thought; But this he foreſaw; That the *Imputation*, of *Cunning*, doth breed *Suſpicion*; And the *Imputation*, of *Greatneſſe*, and *Sway*, doth breed *Envy*: And therefore, finding, where he was moſt wrung, and by whoſe pollicy, and Experience, their plots were moſt croſſed, the mark he ſhot at, was to ſee, whether he could heave, at his *Lordſhips Authority*, by making him ſuſpected, to the *Queen*; or generally odious, to the Realm: Knowing well enough, for the one point, that there are not only *Jealouſies*, but certain *Revolutions*, in *Princes Minds*: So that, it is a rare Vertue, in the *Rareſt Princes*, to continue conſtant to the End, in their Favours, and Employments. And knowing, for the other point, that Envy, ever accompanieth *Greatneſs*, though never ſo well deſerved: And that his *Lordſhip*, hath alwaies marched, a Round, and a Reall Courſe, in ſervice: And as, he hath not moved *Envy*, by *Pomp*, and *Oſtentation*; ſo, hath he never extinguiſhed it, by any *Popular*, or *Inſinuative*, *Carriage* of Himſelf: And this, no doubt, was his *Second Drift*,

A Third *Drift*, was, to aſſay, if he could ſupplant, and weaken, (by this violent kind of *Libelling*, and turning the whole *Imputation*, upon his *Lordſhip*,) his Reſolution, and Courage; And to make him proceed more cautelouſly, and not ſo throughly, and ſtrongly, againſt them; Knowing his *Lordſhip*, to be a *Politick Man*, and one, that hath, a *great Stake* to *leeſe*.

Laſtly, leaſt while I diſcover *Cunning*, and *Art*, of this Fellow, I ſhould make him wiſer then he was, I think, a great part of this *Book*, was Paſſion; *Difficile eſt tacere, cùm doleas.* The *Humours*, of theſe *Men* being, of themſelves, eager, and Fierce, have, by the Abort, and Blaſting, of their Hopes; been blinded and enraged. And ſurely, this *Book*, is, of all that Sort, that have been written

written, of the meaneſt work-man-ſhip; Being fraughted, with ſundry *baſe Scoffs*, and *cold Amplifications*, and other *Characters*, of Deſpite; But void, of all *Judgement*, or *Ornament*.

2. *Of the preſent* Eſtate, *of this* Realm, *of* England; *whether it may be, truly, avouched, to be* proſperous, *or* Afflicted.

THe *Benefits*, of *Almighty God*, upon this *Land*, ſince the time, that in his ſingular providence, he led, as it were, by the hand, and placed, in the *Kingdome*, his *Servant*, our *Queen Elizabeth*, are ſuch, as not in Boaſting, or in Confidence of our ſelves, but in praiſe of his *Holy Name*, are worthy, to be, both conſidered, and confeſſed; yea, and regiſtred, in perpetuall Memory: Notwithſtanding, I mean not, after the manner of a *Panegyrique*, to *Extoll* the *preſent Time*. It ſhall ſuffice onely, that thoſe *Men*, that through the Gall, and Bitterneſs, of their own Heart, have loſt their *Taſt*, and *Judgement*; And would, deprive *God*, of his *Glory*, and *us*, of our *ſences*, in affirming our *Condition*, to be *Miſerable*, and full of Tokens, of the *Wrath*, and *Indignation* of *God*, be reproved.

If then, it be true, that, *Nemo eſt Miſer, aut Felix, niſi comparatus*; Whether we ſhall, (keeping our ſelves, within the Compaſſe, of our own *Iſland*,) look, into the *Memories*, of *Times paſt*; Or, at this preſent time, take a view, of other *States*, abroad, in *Europe*; We ſhall find, that we need not give place, to the *Happineſſe*, either of *Anceſtours*, or *Neighbours*. For, if a Man weigh well, all the *Parts*, of *State*, and *Religion*, *Lawes*, *Adminiſtration* of *Juſtice*, *Pollicy* of *Covernment*, *Manners*, *Civility*, *Learning* and *Liberall Sciences*, *Induſtry* and *Mannuall Arts*, *Armes* and *Proviſions* of *Wars*, for *Sea*, and *Land*, *Treaſure*, *Traffique*, *Improvement* of the *Soyle*, *Population*, *Honour* and *Reputation*: It will appear, that taking, one part, with Another, the *State*, of this *Nation*, was never more Flouriſhing.

It is eaſie, to call to *Remembrance*, out of *Hiſtories*, the *Kings*, of *England*, which have, in more ancient times, enjoyed greateſt *Happineſſe*; Beſides her *Majeſties Father*, and *Grand father*, that raigned in rare *Felicity*, as is freſh in Memory. They have been, *K. Henry* 1. *K Hen* 2. *K. Hen.* 3. *King Edw.* the 1. *K. Edw.* the 3. *K. Henry* the 5. All which, have been *Princes*, of Royall Vertue, Great Felicity, and Famous Memory. But it may be truly affirmed, without derogation, to any of theſe worthy *Princes*, that whatſoever we find in *Libels*, there is not to be found, in the

the *Engliſh Chronicles*, a *King*, that hath, in all reſpects, laid together, raigned with ſuch Felicity, as her *Majeſty* hath done. For as for the *Firſt* 3. *Henries*; The *Firſt*, came in, too ſoon, after a *Conqueſt*: The *Second*, too ſoon, after an *Uſurpation*; And the *Third*, too ſoon, after a *League*, or *Barons War*; To raign, with *Security*, and Contentation. *King H.* 1. alſo, had unnaturall Wars, with his *Brother Robert*, wherein much *Nobility* was conſumed: He had therewithall, tedious Wars, in *Wales*; And was not, without ſome other Seditions, and Troubles; As namely, the great Conteſtation, of his *Prelates*. *King Henry* 2. his *Happineſſe*, was much deformed, by the *Revolt* of his ſon *Henry*, after he had aſſociated him, and of his other *Sonnes*. *King Hen.* 3, beſides his continuall Wars, in *Wales*, was after 44. years raign, unquieted, with Intricate Commotions, of his *Barons*; As may appear, by the *Mad Parliament*, held at *Oxford*, and the *Acts* thereupon enſuing. His Son, *King Ed.* 1. had a more flouriſhing Time, then any of the other; Came to his Kingdom, at ripe years, and with great Reputation, after his voyage, into the *Holy Land*; And was much loved, and obeyed; contrived his Wars, with great Judgement; Firſt, having *reclaimed Wales*, to a ſetled Allegeance; And being, upon the point, of *Uniting Scotland*. But yet, I ſuppoſe, it was more honour, for her *Majeſty*, to have, ſo important a piece of *Scotland*, in her hand; And the ſame, with ſuch Juſtice, to render up; Then it was, for that worthy *King*, to have advanced, in ſuch Forwardneſſe, the *Conqueſt*, of that Nation. And for *King Edward* 3. his *Raign* was viſited, with much *Sickneſſe*, and *Mortality*, So as they reckoned, in his dayes, 3. ſeverall *Mortalities*: One in the 22. year: Another in the 35. year: And the laſt, in the 43. year, of his *Raign*: And being otherwiſe, Victorious, and in Proſperity, was by that onely *Croſſe*, more afflicted, then he was, by the other *Proſperities*, comforted. Beſides, he entred hardly: And again, according to the Verſe; *Cedebant ultima primis*: His *Latter Times*, were not ſo *proſperous*. And for *King Henry* 5. as his Succeſſe was wonderfull, ſo he wanted Continuance; Being extinguiſhed, after 10. years *Raign*, in the *Prime*, of his *Fortunes*.

1. Continuance

Now for her *Majeſty*, we will, firſt, ſpeak, of the *Bleſſing* of *Continuance*, as that, which wanted, in the *Happieſt*, of theſe *Kings*: And is not only, a *great favour* of *God*, unto the *Prince*, but alſo, a ſingular *Benefit*, unto the *People*: For that *Sentence* of the *Scripture*: *Miſera Natio, cùm multi ſunt principes eius*: is interpreted, not only, to extend, to *Diviſions*, and *Diſtractions*, in *Government*, but alſo, to *Frequent Changes*, in *Succeſſion*: Conſidering, that the *Change* of a *Prince*, bringeth in, many *Charges*, which are *Harſh*, and *Unpleaſant*, to a great part of *Subjects*. It appeareth then, that of the Line, of Five hundred, and foure-ſcore years, and more, containing the Number of 22. *Kings*, God hath already prolonged, her *Majeſties* Raign, to exceed *ſix-*

teen

teen, of the ſaid *Two and Twenty*: And, by the end, of this preſent year, (which *God proſper*,) ſhe ſhall attain, to be equall, with *two more*: During which time, there have deceaſed, *four Emperours*; As many *French Kings*; Twice ſo many *Biſhops* of *Rome*: Yea, every *State*, in *Chriſtendome*, except *Spain*, have received ſundry *Succeſſions*: And, for the *King of Spain*, he is waxed ſo infirm, and thereby ſo Retired, as the *Report* of his *Death*, ſerveth for every years News: whereas her *Majeſty*, (Thanks be given to *God*,) being nothing decayed, in vigor of *Health*, and *ſtrength*, was never more able, to ſupply, and ſuſtain, the weight of her Affairs; And is, as far as ſtandeth, with the Dignity, of her *Majeſties Royall State*, continually to be *Seen*, to the great comfort, and Hearty Eaſe, of her *People*.

Secondly, we will mention, the *Bleſſing* of *Health*: I mean, generally, of the *People*, which was wanting, in the *Raign*, of another of theſe *Kings*: which elſe deſerved, to have the ſecond place, in *Happineſſe*; which is one, of the great *Favours*, of *God*, towards any *Nation*. For, as there be three, *Scourges* of *God*, *War*, *Famine*, and *Peſtilence*; ſo are there three *Benedictions*, *Peace*, *Plenty*, and *Health*. Whereas therefore, this *Realm*, hath been viſited, in times paſt, with ſundry kinds of *Mortalities*; (as *Peſtilences*, *Sweats*, and other *Contagious Diſeaſes*;) it is ſo, that in her *Majeſties* Times, being of the continuance, aforeſaid, there was only, towards the *Beginning* of her *Raign*, ſome *Sickneſſe*, between *June*, and *February*, in the *Citty*, but not diſperſed, into any other part, of the *Realm*, as was noted; which we call yet, the *Great Plague*; Becauſe, that though it was nothing ſo Grievous, and ſo Sweeping, as it hath been, ſundry times heretofore; yet it was great, in reſpect of the *Health*, which hath followed ſince; Which hath been ſuch, (eſpecially of late years,) as we began to diſpute, and move Queſtions, of the *Cauſes*, whereunto it ſhould be aſcribed; Untill ſuch time, as it pleaſed *God* to teach us, that we ought, to aſcribe it, onely to his *Mercy*; By touching us, a little, this preſent year; but with a very Gentle Hand; And ſuch, as it hath pleaſed him, ſince, to remove. But certain it is, for ſo many years together, notwithſtanding, the great *Peſtering* of people, in *Houſes*; The great *Multitude* of *Strangers*, and the *ſundry Voiages* by *Seas*; (*All* which, have been noted, to be *Cauſes* of *Peſtilence*.) The *Health Univerſall*, of the *People*, was never ſo good. 2. Health.

The third *Bleſſing* is that, which all the *Politick*, and *Fortunate* Kings, before recited, have wanted; That is, *Peace*: For there was never Forreiner, ſince her *Majeſties Raign*, by *Invaſion*, or *Incurſion* of *Moment*, that took any footing, within the *Realm* of *England*. One *Rebellion*, there hath been onely, but ſuch an one, as was repreſſed, within the ſpace, of ſeven weeks; And did not waſt, *the Realm*, ſo much, as by the Deſtruction, or Depopulation, of one *poor* Town. And for *wars* abroad, taking in thoſe 3. Peace.

thoſe of *Leeth*, thoſe of *New-Haven*, the ſecond *Expedition into Scotland*, the *wars* of *Spain*, which I reckon, from the year 86, or 87; (before which time, neither had the *King of Spain*, withdrawn his *Embaſſadours*, here reſiding; neither had her *Majeſty*, received into protection, the *united Provinces*, of the *Low Countries*;) And the *Aid* of *France*; They have not occupied, in time, a third part of her *Majeſties Raign*; Nor conſumed, paſt two, of any *Noble Houſe*; whereof *France* took one, and *Flanders* another: And very few, beſides, of *Quality*, or *Appearance*. They have ſcarce, mowed down, the overcharge of the *People*, within the *Realm*. It is therefore true, that the *Kings* aforeſaid, and others her *Maieſties Progenitours*, have been *Victorious*, in their *Wars*; And have made, many *Famous*, and *Memorable*, *Voyages*, and *Expeditions*, into *ſundry parts*; And that her *Majeſty*, contrarywiſe, from the bginning, put on, a firm Reſolution, to content her ſelf, within thoſe *Limits* of her *Dominions*, which ſhe received; And to entertain *Peace*, with her *Neighbour princes*; which Reſolution, ſhe hath ever ſince, (notwithſtanding, ſhe hath had *Rare Opportunities*, *Juſt Claims*, *and pretences*, and *great*, *and mighty Means*,) ſought to continue. But if, this be objected, to be the leſſe *Honourable Fortune*; I anſwer, that ever, amongſt the *Heathen*, who held not, the Expence of *Blood*, ſo precious, as *Chriſtians* ought to do; The peaceable Government of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, was ever, as highly eſteemed, as the *Victories*, of *Julius*, his Uncle; and that the Name, of *Pater Patriæ*, was ever as *Honourable*, as that of *propagator Imperii*. And this, I adde further, that during this inward Peace of ſo many years, in the Actions of *War*, before mentioned, which her *Majeſty*, either in her own *Defence*, or in *Juſt*, and *Honourable Aides*, hath undertaken; The *Service* hath been ſuch, as hath carried, no Note, of a *People*, whoſe *Militia*, were degenerated, through *Long Peace*; But hath, every way, anſwered, the ancient *Reputation*, of the *Engliſh Arms*.

4. Plenty and Wealth.

1. The fourth *Bleſſing*, is *Plenty*, and *Abundance*: And firſt, for *Grain*, and all *Victualls*, there cannot be, more evident Proof, of the *Plenty*, then this. That, whereas *England*, was wont, to be fed, by other *Countries*, from the *Eaſt*, it ſufficeth now, to feed, other *Countries*. So as we do, many times, tranſport, and ſerve, ſundry Forrain *Countries*; And yet, there was never, the like *Multitude* of *People*, to eat it, within the *Realm*. Another *evident Proof* thereof, may be, that the good yields of *Corn*, which have been, together with ſome *Tolleration* of *Vent*, hath, of late time, invited, and enticed Men, to break up more *Ground*, and to convert it to *Tillage*, then all the *Penal Laws*, for that purpoſe, made, and enacted, could ever, by Compulſion, effect. A third Proof may be, that the *Prices* of *Grain*, and *Victuall*, were never, of late years, more *Reaſonable*. Now for Arguments of the great *wealth*, in all other Reſpects, let the *Points* following be conſidered.

2. There was never, the like Number, of fair, and Stately *Houſes*,

ſes, as have been built, and ſet up, from the Ground, ſince her *Majeſties Raign*: Inſomuch, that there have been reckoned, in one *Shire*, that is not great, to the Number, of 33; Which have been all, new built, within that time: And whereof the Meaneſt, was never built, for *two Thouſand pounds*.

There were never, the like Pleaſures, of goodly *Gardens*, and *Orchards*, *Walks*, *Pooles*, and *Parks*, as do adorn, almoſt, every *Manſion Houſe*. 3

There was never, the like Number, of Beautifull, and Coſtly, *Tombes*, and *Monuments*, which are erected, in ſundry *Churches*, in *Honourable Memory*, of the *Dead*. 4.

There was never, the like Quantity of *Plate*, *Jewels*, *Sumptuous Moveables*, and *Stuff*, as is now, within the *Realm*. 5.

There was never, the like Quantity, of *Waſt*, and *unprofitable Ground*, *Inned*, *Reclaimed*, and *Improved*. 6.

There was never, the like *Husbanding*, of all Sorts of *Grounds*, by *Fencing*, *Manuring*, and all kinds, of good *Husbandry*. 7.

The *Towns*, were never better built, nor peopled; Nor the principall *Faires*, and *Markets*, never better cuſtomed, nor frequented. 8.

The Commodities, and Eaſe, of *Rivers*, cut by hand, and brought into a new *Channell*; Of *Peeres*, that have been built; Of *Waters*, that have been forced, and brought, againſt the *Ground*, were never ſo many. 9.

There was never, ſo many excellent *Artificers*, nor ſo many new *Handy-Crafts*, uſed, and exerciſed; Nor new *Commodities*, made within the *Realm*; *Sugar*; *Paper*; *Glaſſe*; *Copper*; divers *Silks*; and the like. 10.

There was never, ſuch Compleat, and Honourable Proviſion, of *Horſe*; *Armour*, *Weapons*, *Ordnance* of the *Warr*. 11.

The Fifth *Bleſſing*, hath been, the great *Population*, and *Multitude*, of *Families*, encreaſed within her *Majeſties* dayes: For which Point, I refer my Self, to the *Proclamations*, of *Reſtraint*, of *Building*, in *London*; The *Inhibition*, of *Inmates*, of ſundry *Citties*; The *Reſtraint*, of *Cottages*, by *Act* of *Parliament*; And ſundry other *Tokens*, of *Record*, of the *Surcharge*, of *People*. 5. Increaſe of People.

Beſides theſe parts of a *Government*, bleſſed from *God*, wherein, the *Condition* of the *People*, hath been more happy, in her *Majeſties* Times, then in the Times, of her *Progenitours*; There are certain Singularities, and Particulars, of her *Majeſties Raign*, wherein, I do not ſay, that we have enjoyed them, in a more ample Degree, and Proportion, then in former Ages; (As it hath fallen out, in the Points, before mentioned;) But ſuch, as were, in Effect, unknown, and untaſted, heretofore. As firſt, the *Purity of Religion*, which is a *Benefit Ineſtimable*; And was, in the time, of all former *Princes*, untill the dayes, of her *Majeſties Father*, of *Famous Memory*, unheard of. Out of which *Purity* of *Religion*, have ſince enſued, beſide the principall Effect, of the true *Knowledge*, 6. Reformation in Religion.

1. The speciall Benefits established among us by the purity of Religion.

ledge, and *Worship* of *God*, three *Points*, of great *Consequence*, unto the *Civill Estate*.

2. One, the stay of a mighty *Treasure*, within the *Realm*, which, in foretimes, was drawn forth, to *Rome*. Another, the *Dispersing*, and *Distribution*, of those *Revenues*; (Amounting, to a *Third part*, of the *Land*, of the *Realm*;) And that, of the goodliest, and the richest sort, which heretofore, was unprofitably spent, in *Monasteries*; Into such Hands, as by whom, the *Realm*, receiveth, at this day, *Service*, and *Strength*; And many Great *Houses*, have been set up, and augmented. 3. The Third, the *Mannaging*, and *Enfranchising*, of the *Regall Dignity*, from the *Recognition*, of a *Forraign Superior*: All which *Points*, though begun by her *Father*, and continued by her *Brother*, were yet, nevertheless, after an Eclipse, or Intermission, Restored, and Reestablished, by her *Majesties Self*.

Finenesse of Money.

Secondly, the *Fineness* of *Money*: For as the Purging away, of the *Drosse* of *Religion*, the *Heavenly Treasure*, was common to her *Majesty*, with her *Father*, and her *Brother*: So the Purging, of the *Base Money*, the *Earthly Treasure*, hath been, altogether, proper, to her *Majesties* own Times; Whereby our *Moneys*, bearing the *Naturall Estimation*, of the *Stamp*, or Mark, both every Man resteth assured of his own vallew, and free from the losses, and Deceits, which fall out in other places, upon the Rising, and Falling, of *Moneys*.

The Might of the Navy.

Thirdly, the *Might* of the *Navy*, and *Augmentation*, of the *Shipping*, of the *Realm*: which, by politique *Constitutions*, for *Maintenance* of *Fishing*; And the *Encouragement*, and *Assistance*, given, to the *undertakers*, of *New Discoveries*, and *Trades* by *Sea*, is so advanced, as this *Island* is become, (as the Naturall *Seite* thereof deserveth,) the *Lady of the Sea*.

Now to passe, from the *Comparison*, of *Time*, to the *Comparison*, of *place*; We may find, in the States abroad; Cause of *Pitty*, and *Compassion* in some; But of *Envy*, or *Emulation*, in none; Our Condition being, by the good Favour of *God*, not *Inferiour* to any.

Comparison of the state of England with the states abroad.

Afflicted in France.

The *Kingdome* of *France*, which, by reason, of the *Seat* of the *Empire*, of the *West*, was wont, to have the precedence, of the *Kingdomes* of *Europe*, is now fallen, into those Calamities, that as the *Prophet* saith; *From the Crown of the Head, to the Soal of the Foot, there is no whole place.* The *Divisions*, are so many, and so intricate, of *Protestants*, and *Catholicks*; *Royalists, and Leaguers*; *Burbonists, and Lorainists*; *Patriots, and Spanish*; As it seemeth, *God* hath some great Work, to bring to passe, upon that *Nation*: yea, the *Nobility* divided, from the *Third Estate*; And the *Towns*, from the *Field*: All which *Miseries*, truly to speak, have been wrought by *Spain*, and the *Spanish Faction*.

Low-Countries.

The *Low-Countries*, which were, within the *Age* of a *young Man*, the Richest, the best Peopled, and the best Built, Plots of

Europe,

Europe, are in ſuch Eſtate, as a *Countrey* is like to be in, that hath been the Seat, of thirty years *War*; And although, the *Sea-Provinces*, be rather encreaſed, in *Wealth*, and *Shipping*, then otherwiſe; yet, they cannot but mourn, for their *Diſtraction*, from the reſt of their *Body*.

Portugall. The *Kingdome* of *Portugall*, which, of late times, through their Merchandizing, and places in the *Eaſt Indies*, was grown, to be an Opulent *Kingdome*, is, now at the laſt, after the unfortunate journey of *Affrick*, in that *State*, as a *Countrey* is like to be, that is reduced, under a *Forreiner*, by *Conqueſt*; And ſuch a *Forreiner*, as hath his *Competitour* in *Title*, being a *Naturall Portugall*, and no *Stranger*; And, having been once in poſſeſſion, yet in Life: wherby his *Jealouſie*, muſt neceſſarily be encreaſed, and through his Jealouſie, their Oppreſſion: which is apparent, by the Carrying, of many *Noble Families*, out of their *Naturall Countries*, to live in Exile: And by putting to Death, a great Number of *Noble-Men*, naturally born, to have been *principall Governers*, of their *Countries*. Theſe are three *Afflicted*, parts of *Chriſtendome*; The Reſt of the States, enjoy, either *Proſperity*, or tolerable *Condition*.

Proſperous as Scotland. The *Kingdome* of *Scotland*, though at this preſent, by the good *Regiment*, and wiſe proceeding, of the *King*, they enjoy good quiet; yet, ſince our Peace, it hath paſſed, through no ſmall *Troubles*; And remaineth, full of *Boyling*, and *Swelling*, Humours; But like, by the Maturity, of the ſaid *King*, every day encreaſing, to be repreſſed.

Poland. The *Kingdome* of *Poland*, is newly recovered, out of great *Wars*, about an *Ambiguous Election*. And beſides, is a *State*, of that Compoſition, that their *King* being *Elective*, they do, commonly, chuſe, rather, a *Stranger*, then one of their own *Countrey*. A great Exception, to the Flouriſhing Eſtate, of any *Kingdome*.

Sweden. The *Kingdome* of Swedeland, beſides their Forrain *Warrs*, upon their *Couſins*, the *Muſcovites*, and the *Danes*; Hath been, alſo, ſubject, to divers Inteſtine Tumults, and Mutations, as their *Stories* do record.

Denmark. The *Kingdome* of *Denmark*, hath had good Times, ſpecially, by the *good Government*, of the late *King*, who maintained, the profeſſion, of the *Goſpell*; But yet, greatly, giveth place, to the *Kingdome* of *England*, in *Climate*, *Wealth*, *Fertility*, and many other Points, both of Honour, and Strength.

Italy. The *Eſtates* of *Italy*, which are not, under the *Dominion* of *Spain*, have had peace, equall in continuance with ours; Except, in regard of that, which hath paſſed between them, and the *Turk*; Which hath ſorted, to their Honour, and Commendation: But yet, they are ſo brideled, and over-awed, by the *Spaniard*, that poſſeſſeth the two principall *Members* thereof; And that, in the two extream parts, as they be like *Quillets* of *Freehold*, being intermixed, in the midſt, of a great *Honour* or Lordſhip. So as their *Quiet*, is intermingled, not with *Jealouſie* alone, but with *Reſtraint*.

Germany, The *States* of *Germany*, have had, for the moſt part, peaceable Times; But yet they yeeld, to the *State* of *England*; Not only, in the great Honour, of a great *Kingdome*, (they being, of a mean *Stile*, and Dignity,) but alſo in many other Reſpects, both of *Wealth*, and *Pollicy*.

Savoy. The *State* of *Savoy*, having been, in the old *Dukes* Time, governed, in good Proſperity, hath ſince, notwithſtanding, their new great Alliance, with *Spain*, whereupon they waxed inſolent, to deſign, to ſnatch up, ſome piece of *France*; After the diſhonourable Repulſe, from the *Seige* of *Geneva*; deen often diſtreſſed, by a *particular Gentleman* of *Daulpheny*; And at this preſent day, the *Duke* feeleth, even in *Piedmont*, beyond the Mountaines, of the weight, of the ſame Enemy: Who hath lately ſhut up his *Gates*, and common *Entries*, between *Savoy*, and *Piedmont*.

So as hitherto, I do not ſee, but that we are, as much bound, to the *Mercies* of *God*, as any other *Nation*; Conſidering, that the Fires of Diſſention, and Oppreſſion, in ſome *Parts* of *Chriſtendom*, may ſerve us, for *Lights*; to ſhew us our *Happineſſe*: And the good *Eſtates*, of other *places*, which we do congratulate with them for, is ſuch, nevertheleſſe, as doth not ſtain, and exceed ours: But rather, doth ſtill leave ſomewhat, wherein we may acknowledge, an ordinary *Benediction*, of *God*.

Spain Laſtly, we do not much emulate, the *Greatneſſe*, and *Glory*, of the *Spaniards*; Who, having not only *Excluded*, the *Purity* of *Religion*, but alſo *Fortified* againſt it, by their *Deviſe*, of the *Inquiſition*; which is *a Bulwark*, againſt the *Entrance*, of the *Truth* of *God*: Having, in recompence, of their new *Purchaſe* of *Portugal*, loſt, a great part, of their ancient *Patrimonies*, of the *Low-Countries*; (Being of far greater *Commodity*, and *Valew*;) or, at the leaſt, holding part thereof, in ſuch ſort, as moſt of their other Revenewes, are ſpent there, upon their own: Having lately, with much Difficulty, rather ſmoothed, and skinned over, then Healed, and extinguiſhed, the *Commotions* of *Arragon*; Having rather ſowed *Troubles* in *France*, then reaped Aſſured *Fruit* thereof, unto themſelves: Having, from the *Attempt*, of *England*, received *Scorn*, and *Diſreputation*; Being, at this time, with the *States* of *Italy*, rather ſuſpected, then either Loved, or Feared: Having, in *Germany*, and elſe where, rather much *practiſe*, then any *Sound intelligence*, or *Amity*: Having no ſuch *clear ſucceſſion*, as they need object, and Reproach, the *Incertainty* thereof, unto another Nation: Have, in the end, won a Reputation, rather of *Ambition*, then *Juſtice*; And in the purſuit, of their *Ambition*, rather of *Much Enterpriſing*, then of *Fortunate Atchieving*; And, in their *Enterpriſing*, rather, of Doing Things, by *Treaſure*, and *Expence*, then by *Forces*, and *Valour*.

Now, that I have given the *Reader*, a Taſt of *England*, reſpectively, and in Compariſon, of the *Times paſt*, and of the *States abroad*;

abroad; I will deſcend, to examine, the *Libellers*, own *Diviſions*; Whereupon, let the *World* judge, how eaſily, and clean, this *Inke*, which he hath caſt in our faces, is waſhed off.

The Firſt *Branch*, of the *pretended Calamities*, of *England*, is the great, and wonderfull, *Confuſion*, which, he ſaith, is in the *State*, of the *Church*; which is ſubdivided, again, into two parts: The one, the *Proſecutions*, againg the *Catholicks*; The other, the *Diſcords*, and *Controverſies*, *amongſt our ſelves*: The former, of which 2. parts, I have made, an *Article* by it ſelf; Wherein, I have ſet down, a clear, and ſimple, *Narration*, of the *proceedings*, of *State*, againſt that ſort of *Subjects*; Adding this by the way: That there are 2. *Extremities*, in *State*, concerning the *Cauſes*, of *Faith*, and *Religion*: That is to ſay, the *Permiſſion*, of the *Exerciſes*, of more *Religions*, then one, which is a dangerous *Indulgence*, and *Toleration*; the other, is the *Entring*, and *Sifting*, into *Mens Conſciences*, when no *Overt Scandall* is given; which is *Rigorous*, and *Straineable*, *Inquiſition*: And I avouch, the proceedings, towards the intended *Catholicks*, to have been a *Mean*, between theſe two *Extremities*; Referring, the Demonſtration thereof, unto the aforeſaid *Narration*, in the Articles following.

Concerning the Controverſies in our Church.

Touching the *Diviſions*, in our *Church*, the *Libeller* affirmeth, that the *Proteſtanticall Caluiniſm*, (For ſo it pleaſeth him, with very good grace, to term the *Religion*, with us eſtabliſhed;) is grown, *Contemptible*, and *Detected*, of *Idolatry*, *Hereſie*, and many other *ſuperſtitious Abuſes*, by a *Puriſied ſort* of *Profeſſors*, of the *ſame Goſpell*. And this *Contention* is yet grown, to be more intricate, by reaſon of a Third Kind, of *Goſpellers*, called Browniſts. Who, being directed, by the great *Fervour*, of the *Unholy Ghoſt*, do expreſly affirm, that the *Proteſtanticall Church* of *England*, is not gathered, in the name of *Chriſt*, but of *Antichriſt*: And that, if the *Prince*, or *Magiſtrate*, under her, do refuſe, or defer, to reform the *Church*, the people may, without her Conſent, take the *Reformation*, into their own Hands: And hereto, he addeth, the *Fanaticall Pageant* of *Hacket*: And this is the Effect, of this *Accuſation*, in this point.

For *Anſwer* whereunto; Firſt, it muſt be remembred, that the *Church* of *God*, hath been, in all Ages, ſubject to *Contentions*, and *Schiſmes*. The *Tares* were not *ſown*, but where the *Wheat* was *ſown* before. Our *Saviour Chriſt*, delivereth it, for an *Ill Note*, to have *Outward Peace*, Saying; *When a ſtrong Man, is in poſſeſſion, of the Houſe*, (*meaning the* Devill,) *all Things are in Peace*. It is the *Condition*, of the *Church*, to be, ever, under *Trials*: And there are, but Two *Trials*: The one, of *Perſecution*; The other, of *Scandall*, and *Contention*: And when the One ceaſeth, the other ſucceedeth: Nay, there is ſcarce, any one *Epiſtle*, of S^t. *Pauls*, unto the *Churches*, but containeth, ſome *Reprehenſion*, of *unneceſſary*, & *Schiſmaticall*, *Controverſies*. So likewiſe, in the *Raign*, of *Conſtantine the Great*, after the time, that the *Church*, had obtained *Peace*, from *perſecuti-*

on,

on, ſtrait entred, ſundry *Queſtions*, and *Controverſies*, about no leſſe Matters, then the *Eſſentiall Parts*, of the *Faith*, and the High *Myſteries* of the *Trinity*. But Reaſon teacheth us, that in *Ignorance*, and *Implyed Belief*, it is eaſie, to agree, as Colours agree in the Dark: Or if any *Countrey* decline into *Atheiſm*, then *Controverſies*, wax dainty, becauſe Men do think *Religion*, ſcarce worth the *Falling* out for: So as, it is weak *Divinity*, to account *Controverſies*, an ill *Sign*, in the *Church*.

It is true, that certain Men, moved with an inconſiderate *Deteſtation*, of all *Ceremonies*, or *Orders*, which were in uſe, in the time of the *Roman Religion*; (As if they were, without difference, ſuperſtitious, or polluted;) And led, with an affectionate Imitation, of the *Government*, of ſome *Proteſtant Churches*, in *Forrain States*; Have ſought, by *Bookes*, and *Preaching*, indiſcreetly, and ſometimes undutifully, to bring in, an *Alteration*, in the *Extern Rites*, and *Pollicy*, of the *Church*; But neither, have the *Grounds*, of the *Controverſies*, extended unto any *Point* of *Faith*; Neither hath the *Preſſing*, and *Proſecution*, exceeded, in the generality, the *Nature* of ſome Inferiour *Contempts*; So as, they have been, farr from *Hereſie*, and *Sedition*; And therefore, rather *Offenſive*, then *Dangerous*, to the *Church*, or *State*.

And as for Thoſe, which we call *Browniſts*, being, when they were at the moſt, a very ſmall Number, of very ſilly, and baſe, people, here and there, in Corners, diſperſed; They are now, (thanks be to *God*,) by the good Remedies, that have been uſed, ſuppreſſed, and worn out; So as, there is ſcarce, any Newes of them. Neither, had they been, much known, at all, had not *Brown*, their *Leader*, *Written a Pamphlet*; Wherein, as it came into his Head, he inveighed more, againſt *Logick*, and *Rhetorick*, then againſt the *State*, of the *Church*; (which *Writing* was much read;) And had not, alſo, one *Barrow*, (being a Gentleman, of a good *Houſe*, but one that lived in *London*, at *Ordinaries*; And there learned, to argue, in *Table-Talk*; And ſo, was very much known, in the *Citty*, and *abroad*;) made a Leap, from a vain, and Libertine, youth, to a preciſeneſs, in the Higheſt Degree; The ſtrangeneſs, of which Alteration, made him very much ſpoken off; The Matter, might long before, have breathed out. And here I note, an *Honeſty*, and *Diſcretion*, in the *Libeller*, which I note, no where elſe; In that, he did forbear, to lay, to our charge, the Sect, of the *Family* of *Love*: For about 12. years ſince, there was creeping, in ſome ſecret places, of the *Realm*, indeed, a very great *Hereſie*, derived from the *Dutch*, and named, as before was ſaid: which ſince, by the good *Bleſſing* of *God*, & by the good ſtrength of our *Church*, is baniſhed, and Extinct. But ſo much we ſee, that the *Diſeaſes*, wherewith our *Church* hath been viſited, whatſoever theſe *Men* ſay, have, either, not been, *Maligne*, and *Dangerous*; Or elſe, they have been as *Bliſters*, in ſome ſmall Ignoble part of the *Body*, which have ſoon after fallen, and gone away.

For

For ſuch alſo, was the *Phrenetical*, and *Fanatical*, (For I mean not to determine it,) *Attempt* of *Hackett*; Who muſt needs have been thought, a very Dangerous *Heretick*, that could never get, but two *Diſciples*; And thoſe, as it ſhould ſeem, periſhed in their Brain; And a *Dangerous Commotioner*, that in ſo great, and populous, a *Citty*, as *London* is, could draw, but thoſe ſame two *Fellows*, whom the *People*, rather laughed at, as a *May game*, then took any heed, of what they did, or ſaid: So as it was very true, that an honeſt *Poor Woman* ſaid, when ſhe ſaw *Hackett*, out of a Window, paſſe to his *Execution*: Said ſhe to her Self; *It was foretold, that, in the latter dayes, there ſhould come thoſe, that have deceived many; but, in faith, thou haſt deceived, but a Few.*

But it is manifeſt *Untruth*, which the *Libeller*, ſetteth down, that there hath been no *Puniſhment*, done upon thoſe, which, in any, of the foreſaid kinds, have broken the *Lawes*, and diſturbed, the *Church*, and *State*; And that the *Edge* of the *Law*, hath been, onely, turned, upon the *pretended Catholicks*: For the *Examples* are very many, where, according to the *Nature*, and *Degree*, of the *Offence*, the *Correction* of ſuch *Offenders*, hath not been neglected.

Theſe be the great *Confuſions*, whereof he hath accuſed our *Church*; which I refer, to the Judgement, of an indifferent, and underſtanding, *perſon*, how true they be: My Meaning is not, to blanch, or excuſe, any *Fault* of our *Church*; Nor, on the other ſide, to enter into Commemoration, how flouriſhing it is, in *Great*, and *Learned Divines*; or painfull, and excellent *Preachers*: *Let Man, have the Reproof, of that, which is amiſſe, and God, the Glory, of that, which is good.* And ſo *much*, for the *Firſt Branch.*

Concerning the Forrain Enemies of this State.

In the *Second Branch*, He maketh great *Muſters*, and *Shewes*, of the *ſtrength*, and *Multitude*, of the *Enemies*, of this *State*; Declaring, in what evill Termes, and Correſpondence, we ſtand, with *Forraign States*; And how deſolate, and deſtitute, we are, of *Friends*, and *Confederates*; Doubting, belike, how he ſhould be able, to prove, and juſtifie his *Aſſertion*, touching the *preſent Miſeries*: And therefore, endeavouring, at the leaſt, to maintain; That the good Eſtate, which we enjoy, is yet, made ſomewhat bitter, by reaſon, of many *Terrours*, and *Feares*. Whereupon, entring into *Conſideration*, of the *Security*, wherein, not by our own *Pollicy*, but by the good *Providence*, and *Protection*, of *God*, we ſtand at this Time; I do find it, to be a *Security*, of that *Nature*, and *Kind*, which *Iphicrates*, the *Athenian*, did commend; who being, a *Commiſſioner*, to treat, with the *State* of *Sparta*, upon *Conditions* of *Peace*; And hearing, the other ſide, make many Propoſitions, touching *Security*; Interrupted them, and told them; *There was but one maner of Security, whereupon the Athenians could reſt; which was, if the Deputies of the Lacedemonians, could make it plain unto them, that after theſe and theſe things parted withall, the Lacedemonians ſhould not be able, to hurt them, though they would.* So it is with us; As we have

have not, juſtly provoked, the *Hatred*, or *Enmity*, of any other *State*; ſo, howſoever that be, I know not, at this time, the *Enemy*, that hath the *Power*, to offend us, though he had the *Will*.

And whether, we have given, juſt Cauſe of *Quarrell*, or *Offence*, it ſhall be afterwards touched, in the *fourth Article*; *Touching the true Cauſes of the Diſturbance of the Quiet, of Chriſtendome*; As far, as it is fit, to juſtifie the Actions, of ſo *High* a *Prince*, upon the Occaſion, of ſuch a *Libell*, as this. But now, concerning the *Power*, and *Forces*, of any *Enemy*, I do find, that *England*, hath ſometimes apprehended with Jealouſie, the Confederation, between *France* and *Scotland*: The one, being upon the ſame *Continent* that we are, and breeding, a *Souldier*, of *Puiſſance*, and *Courage*, not much differing from the *Engliſh*; The other, a *Kingdom* very *Opulent*, and thereby able, to ſuſtain Wars, though at very great Charge; And having a *brave Nobility*; And being a *Near Neighbour*. And yet, of this *Conjunction*, there never came, any *Offence*, of *Moment*. But *Scotland*, was ever, rather uſed by *France*, as a Diverſion, of an *Engliſh Invaſion*, upon *France*, then as a *Commodity*, of a *French Invaſion*, upon *England*. I confeſſe alſo, that ſince the *Unions*, of the *Kingdom* of *Spain*: and during the time, the *Kingdom* of *France*, was in his Entire; A *Conjunction*, of thoſe two *potent Kingdoms*, againſt us, might have been, of ſome *Terrour* to us. But now it is evident, that the State of *France* is ſuch, as both thoſe *Conjunctions*, are become *Impoſſible*: It reſteth, that either *Spain*, with *Scotland*, ſhould offend us, or *Spain* alone; For *Scotland*, (thanks be to God,) the *Amity*, and *Intelligence*, is ſo ſound, and ſecret, between the the two *Crowns*; Being ſtrengthened, by *Conſent* in *Religion*, *Nearneſſe* of *Blood*, and *Continuall good Offices*, reciprocally, on *either ſide*; as the *Spaniard* himſelf, in his own *Plot*, thinketh it eaſier, to alter, and overthrow, the preſent *State of Scotland*, then to remove, and divide it, from the *Amity* of *England*. So, as it muſt be, *Spain* alone, that we ſhould fear: which ſhould ſeem, by reaſon, of his *Spacious Dominions*, to be, a *great Overmatch*. The Conceit whereof, maketh me call to mind, the Reſemblance, of an *Ancient writer*, in *Phyſick*; who labouring, to perſwade, that a *Phyſician*, ſhould not doubt, ſometimes, to purge his *Patient*, though he ſee him very *weak*; Entreth into a Diſtinction, of *Weakneſs*, and ſaith; there is a *Weakneſs* of *Spirit*; and a *Weakneſs* of *Body*: The latter whereof, he compareth, unto a man, that were otherwiſe very ſtrong, but had a great pack on his Neck: So great, as made him double again; So as one, might thruſt him down, with his Finger: Which Similitude, and Diſtinction, both, may be fitly applyed, to matter of State: For ſome *States*, are Weak, through want of Means; and ſome *Weak*, through *Exceſſe* of *Burthen*: In which rank, I do place, the *State* of *Spain*, which having, outcompaſſed it ſelf in embracing too much; And being, it ſelf, but a *barren Seed-plot* of *Souldiers*; And much

much *Decayed*, and *Exhauſted*, of Men, by the *Indies*, and by *continuall wars*: and, as to the *State* of their *Treaſure*, being *endebted*, and *engaged*, before ſuch times, as they waged, ſo great *Forces* in *France*; (And therefore, much more ſince;) Is not, in brief, an *Enemy* to be feared, by a *Nation*, *Seated*, *Manned*, *Furniſhed*, and *Pollyced*, as is *England*.

Neither, is this ſpoken by gueſſe; For the *Experience*, was *Subſtantiall* enough, and of Freſh Memory, in the late *Enterpriſe* of *Spain*, upon *England*: What Time, all that *Goodly Shipping*, which, in that *Voyage*, was conſumed, was Compleat; what Time, his *Forces*, in the *Low Countries*, was alſo full, and Entire, which now, are waſted, to a fourth part: What time alſo, he was not entangled, with the *Matters* of *France*; But was, rather like to receive *Aſſiſtance*, then *Impediment*, from his *Friends* there; In reſpect, of the great Vigour, wherein the *League*, then was, (while the *Duke* of *Guiſe* then lived: and yet, nevertheleſſe, this great *preparation*, paſſed away like a *Dream*. The *Invincible Navy*, neither took, any one *Barque* of ours; Neither yet, once offered, to land; But after, they had been well *Beaten*, and *Chaſed*, made a *Perambulation*, about the *Northern Seas*; Ennobling, many *Coaſts*, with *VVracks*, of *Mighty ſhips*; and ſo, returned home, with greater *Deriſion*, then they ſet forth, with *Expectation*.

So as, we ſhall not need, much *Confederacies*, and *Succours*; (which, he ſaith, we want, for the breaking, of the *Spaniſh Invaſion*;) No, though the *Spaniard*, ſhould neſtle in *Brittain*, and ſupplant the *French*, and get ſome *Fort-Townes* into their hands there, (which is yet far off;) yet, ſhall he, never, be, ſo commodiouſly ſeated, to annoy us, as if he had kept, the *Low-Countries*; And we ſhall rather fear Him, as a *wrangling Neighbour*, that may Treſpaſs, now and then, upon ſome *Straglingſhips* of ours, then as an *Invader*. And as for our *Confederacies*, *God* hath given us, both *Meanes*, and *Minds*, to tender, and relieve, the States, of others. And therefore, our *Confederacies*, are rather of Honour, then ſuch as we depend upon. And yet, nevertheleſs, the *Apoſtata's*, and *Huguonets*, of *France*, on the one part; (For ſo he termeth, the whole *Nobility*, in a manner, of *France*; Among the which, a great part, is of his own *Religion*; which maintain the clear, and unblemiſhed *Title*, of their *Lawfull*, and *Naturall King*, againſt the ſeditious popular;) And the *Beere-Brewers*, and *Basket-Makers*, of *Holland*, and *Zealand*, (As he alſo termes them) on the other, have, almoſt, banded away, between them, all the *Duke of Parma's Forces*: And, I ſuppoſe, the very *Mines*, of the *Indies*, will go low, or ever the one be Ruined, or the other recovered. Neither, again, deſire we, better *Confederacies*, and *Leagues*, then *Spain* it ſelf, hath provided for us: *Non enim verbis fœdera confirmantur, ſed iiſdem vtilitatibus*: We know, to how many *States*, the *King* of *Spain*, is odious, and ſuſpected; And for our ſelves, we have incenſed none, by our *Injuries*; Nor made, any Jealous, of our *Ambiti-*

Ambition: Theſe are, in *Rules* of *Pollicy*, the Firmeſt *Contracts*.

Let thus much be ſaid, in *Anſwer*, of the *Second Branch*, concerning the Number, of *Exteriour Enemies:* Wherein, my *Meaning*, is nothing leſſe, then to attribute, our *Felicity*, to our *Pollicy*; Or to nouriſh our ſelves, in the *Humour* of *Security*. But, I hope, we ſhall depend upon *God*, and be vigilant; And then, it will be ſeen, to what end, theſe *Falſe Alarums* will come.

In the *Third Branch*, of the *Miſeries* of *England*, he taketh upon him, to play the Prophet, as he hath, in all the reſt, play'd the *Poet:* And will needes Divine, or *Prognoſticate*, the great Troubles, whreunto this *Realm* ſhall fall, after her *Majeſties* Times: As if he, that hath ſo *ſingulara Gift*, in *Lying*, of the *preſent Time*, and *Times paſt*, had, nevertheleſs, an extra-ordinary Grace, in telling Truth, of the *Time to come:* Or as if, the Effect, of the *Popes Curſes*, of *England*, were, upon better Ad-viſe, adjourned, to thoſe dayes. It is true, it will be *Miſery* enough, for this Realm, (whenſoever it ſhall be,) to leeſe, ſuch a *Soveraign:* But for the reſt, we muſt repoſe our ſelves, upon the good pleaſure, of *God:* So it is, an unjuſt *Charge*, in the *Libeller*, to impute, an *Accident* of *State*, to the *Fault*, of the *Government*.

It pleaeth *God*, ſometimes, to the end, to make Men depend, upon him, the more, to hide, from them, the clear ſight, of future *Events*; And to make them, think, that full of *Uncertainties*, which proveth, *Certain*, and *Clear*: And, ſometimes, on the other ſide, to croſſe Mens expectations, and to make them, full of Difficulty, and *Perplexity*, in that, which they thought, to be Eaſie, and Aſſured. Neither is it, any New Thing, for the *Titles*, of *Succeſſion*, in *Monarchies*, to be, at Times, leſſe, or more declared. *King Sebaſtian*, of *Portugall*, before his Journey into *Affrick*, declared no *Succeſſor*. The *Cardinall*, though he were of extream Age, and were much importuned, by the *King* of *Spain*, and knew, directly, of 6. or 7. *Competitours*, to that *Crown*; yet he rather eſtabliſhed, I know not, what *Interims*, then decided the *Titles*, or deſigned any certain *Succeſſor*. The *Dukedome* of *Ferrara*, is, at this Day, after the *Death*, of the *Prince*, that now liveth, uncertain, in the point of *Succeſſion:* The *Kingdom* of *Scotland*, hath declared no *Succeſſor*. Nay, it is very rare, in *Hereditary Monarchies*, by any *Act* of *State*, or any *Recognition*, or *Oath* of the *People*, in the *Collaterall Line*, to eſtabliſh a *Succeſſor*. The *Duke* of *Orleans*, ſucceeded, *Charles* the 8th. of *France*, but was never declared, *Succeſſor*, in his time. *Monſieur d' Angouleſme*, alſo ſucceeded him, but without any *Deſignation*. *Sonnes* of *Kings*, themſelves, oftentimes, through deſire to raign, and to prevent their Time, wax dangerous to their *Parents:* How much more, *Conſent*, in a more *Remote Degree?* It is lawfull, no doubt, and Honourable, if the Caſe require, for *Princes*, to make an eſtabliſhment. But, as it was ſaid, it is rarely practiſed, in the *Collaterall Line*. *Trajan*, the beſt *Emperor*

peror of *Rome*, of an *Heathen*, that ever was; At what time, the *Emperours*, did uſe, to deſign *Succeſſours*; Not ſo much, to avoid, the *Uncertainty* of *Succeſſion*, as to the end, to have *Participes Curarum*, for the preſent Time, becauſe their *Empire*, was ſo vaſt; At what Time alſo, *Adoptions* were in *uſe*, and himſelf had been *Adopted*, yet never deſigned a *Succeſſour*, but by his *Laſt Will*, and *Teſtament*; Which alſo, was thought, to be ſuborned by his *Wife Plotina*, in the Favour, of her *Lover*, *Adrian*.

You may be ſure; That nothing hath been done, to *prejudice* the *Right*; And there can be, but *one Right*. But one thing, I am perſwaded of, that no *King of Spain*; nor *Biſhop* of *Rome*, ſhall umpire, nor promote, any *Beneficiary*, or *Feodatory*, *King*, as as they deſigned to do; Even when the *Scottiſh Queen* lived, whom they pretended to cheriſh. I will not retort, the matter of *Succeſſion* upon *Spain*, but uſe that *Modeſty*, and *Reverence*, that belongeth, to the *Majeſty*, of ſo great a *King*; though an *Enemy*. And ſo much, for this *Third Branch*.

The *Fourth Branch*, he maketh to be, touching the *Overthrow*, of the *Nobility*; And the *Oppreſſion*, of the *People*: wherein, though he may, percaſe, abuſe, the *Simplicity*, of any *Forreiner*; yet to an *Engliſh Man*, or any, that heareth, of the preſent *Condition*, of *England*, he will appear, to be a Man, of ſingular *Audacity*, and worthy to be employed, in the defence of any *Paradox*. And ſurely, if he would needs, have defaced, the *generall State of England*, at this time, he ſhould, in wiſdome, rather have made, ſome *Friarly Declamation*, againſt the *Exceſſe* of *Superfluity*, and *Delicacy* of our Times; then to have inſiſted, upon the *Miſery*, and *Poverty*, and *Depopulation*, of the *Land*; as may ſufficiently appear, by that which hath been ſaid.

But nevertheleſſe, to follow this Man, in his own ſteps: Firſt, concerning the *Nobility*: It is true, that there have been, in Ages paſt, *Noblemen*, (as I take it,) both of greater *Poſſeſſions*, and of greater *Command*, and *Sway*, then any are, at this day. One *Reaſon*, why the poſſeſſions are leſſe, I conceive to be, becauſe certain *Sumptuous Veins*, and *Humours* of *Expence*; (As *Apparell*, *Gaming*, *Maintaining* of a kind of *Followers*, and the like;) Do raign, more, then they did, in times paſt. Another *Reaſon* is, becauſe *Noblemen*, now a dayes, do deal better, with their *younger Sons*, then they were accuſtomed to do, heretofore; whereby, the *principall Houſe*, receiveth many *Abatements*. Touching the *Command*, which is not, indeed, ſo great, as it hath been, I take it, rather, to be a *Commendation* of the *Time*, then otherwiſe: For Men, were wont, factiouſly, to Depend upon *Noblemen*; whereof enſued, many *Partialities*, and *Diviſions*, beſides much *Interruption* of *Juſtice*, while the great Ones, did ſeek to bear out Thoſe, that did depend upon them. So as the Kings of this *Realm*, finding, long ſince, that kind of *Commandement*, in *Noblemen*, *Unſafe* unto their *Crown*, and *Inconvenient* unto their *People*,

Concerning the State of the Nobility.

thought meet, to reſtrain the ſame, by Proviſion of *Lawes:* whereupon grew the *Statute* of *Reteiners:* So as men, now, depend upon the *Prince*, and the *Lawes*, and upon no other: A Matter, which hath alſo a *Congruity*, with the *Nature* of the *Time*; As may be ſeen in other *Countries*; Namely in *Spain*, where their *Grandees*, are nothing ſo Potent, and ſo Abſolute, as they have been, in Times paſt. But otherwiſe, it may be truly affirmed, that the *Rights*, and *prehemineuces*, of the *Nability*, were, never, more duly, and exactly, preſerved unto them, then they have been, in her *Majeſties Times*; The *Precedence* of *Knights*, given to the *younger Sons of Barons*; No *Subpena's*, awarded againſt the *Nobility*, out of the *Chancery*, but *Letters*; No *Anſwer* upon *Oath*, but upon *Honour*; Beſides, a *Number* of other *Priviledges*, in *Parliament*, *Court*, and *Countrey*. So likewiſe, for the *Countenance* of her *Majeſty*, and the *State*, in *Lieutenancies*, *Commiſſions*, *Offices*, and the like, there was never, a more Honourable, and Gracefull, Regard, *had* of the *Nobility*; Neither was there, ever, a more Faithfull *Remembrancer*, and exacter, of all theſe *particular preheminences*, unto them; Nor a more Diligent Searcher, and Regiſter, of their *Pedegrees*, *Alliances*, and all *Memorialls*, of *Honour*, then that MAN, whom he chargeth, to have overthrown the *Nobility*; Becauſe, a few of them, by immoderate *Expence*, are decayed, according to the Humor of the time, which he hath not been able, to reſiſt, no not, in his own *Houſe*. And as for *Attainders*, there have been, in 35 years, but Five, of any of the *Nobility*, whereof, but Two, came to *Execution*, and one of them, was accompanied, with *Reſtitution* of *Blood*, in the *Children*: Yea, all of them, except *Weſtmerland*, were ſuch, as whether it were, by *Favour* of *Law*, or *Government*, their *Heirs* have, or are like to have, a great Part of their *Poſſeſſion*. And ſo much, for the *Nobility*.

Concerning the State of the Common ſubject.

Touching the *Oppreſſion*, of the *People*, he mentioneth four points. 1. The *Conſumption*, of *People*, in the *Wars*. 2. The *Interruption*, of *Traffick*. 3. The *Corruption*, of *Juſtice*. 4. The *Multitude*, of Taxations: Unto all which points, there needeth no long Speech. For the firſt, (thanks be to God;) the *Benediction* of *Creſcite and Multiplicamini*, is not ſo weak, upon this *Realm* of *England*, but The *Population* thereof, may afford, ſuch *Loſſe* of Men, as were ſufficient, for the *Making* our late *Wars*; and were, in a perpetuity, without being ſeen, either in *City*, or *Countrey*. We read, that when the *Romans*, did take *Cenſe*, of their *People*, whereby the *Citizens*, were numbred, by the *Poll*, in the beginning of a great *War*, and afterwards, again, at the ending, there, ſometimes, wanted a *Third Part*, of the Number: But let our *Muſter Books* be peruſed, (thoſe, I ſay, that certifie, the *Number*, of all *Fighting* Men, in every *Shire*,) of *viceſimo* of the *Queen*; At what time, except a Handfull of *Souldiers*, in the *Low Countries*, we expended no Men in the *VVars*; And now again, at this

this preſent time, & there will appear, ſmall Diminution. There be many *Tokens*, in this *Realm*, rather of *Preſſe*, and *Surcharge*, of *People*, then of *Want*, and *Depopulation*, which were before recited. Beſides, it is a better *Condition*, of *Inward Peace*, to be accompanied, with ſome *Exerciſe*, of no *Dangerous Warr*, in *Forrain parts*, then to be, utterly, without *Apprentiſage*, of *Warr*; whereby, *People* grow *Effeminate*, and *unpractiſed*, when Occaſion ſhall be. And it is, no ſmall ſtrength, unto the *Realm*, that in theſe *Warrs* of *Exerciſe*, and not of *Perill*, ſo many of our *People*, are *trained*; And ſo many, of our *Nobility*, and *Gentlemen*, have been made, *Excellent Leaders*, both by *Sea*, and *Land*. As for that he objecteth, we have no *Proviſion*, for *Souldiers*, at their *Return*; Though that *Point*, hath not been, altogether neglected; yet I wiſh, with all my Heart, that it were more *Ample*, then it is; Though, I have read, and heard, that in all Eſtates, upon *Caſheering*, and *Diſbanding*, of *Souldiers*, many have endured *Neceſſity*.

For the *Stopping* of *Traffique*, as I referred my Self, to the *Muſter-Books*, for the Firſt; So I refer my Self, to the *Cuſtome-Books*, upon this; which will not lye; And do make *Demonſtration*, of no *Abatement*, at all, in theſe laſt years, but rather of *Riſing*, and *Encreaſe*. We know, of many in *London*, and other places, that are, within a ſmall time, greatly come up, and made Rich, by *Merchandizing*: And a Man, may ſpeak, within his Compaſſe, and affirm; That our *Prizes*, by *Sea*, have countervailed, any *Prizes*, upon us.

And as to the *Juſtice*, of this *Realm*, it is true, that *Cunning*, and *Wealth*, have bred, many *Sutes*, and *Debates*, in *Law*: But let thoſe *Points* be conſidered: The *Integrity*, and *Sufficiency*, of thoſe, which ſupply, the *Judiciall places*, in the *Queens Courts*; The good *Lawes*, that have been made, in her *Majeſties* time, againſt *Informers*, and *Promoters*; And for the bettering of *Trialls*; The Example, of Severity, which is uſed, in the *Star-chamber*, in oppreſſing *Forces*, and *Fraudes*; The *Diligence*, and *Stoutneſs*, that is uſed, by *Juſtices* of *Aſſiſes*, in Encountring, all *Countenancing*, and *Bearing* of *Cauſes*, in the *Countrey*, by their *Authorities*, and *Wiſedome*; The great *Favours*, that have been uſed, towards *Copy-holders*, and *Cuſtomary Tenants*, which were, in ancient times, meerly, at the *Diſcretion*, and *Mercy*, of the *Lord*; And are now, continually, relieved, from hard Dealing, in *Chancery*, and other *Courts* of *Equity*: I ſay, let theſe, and many other *Points*, be conſidered; and Men will, worthily, conceive, an Honourable Opinion, of the *Juſtice*, of *England*.

Now to the *Points*, of *Levies*, and *Diſtributions*, of Money, which he calleth *Exactions*. Firſt, very coldly, he is not abaſhed, to bring in, the Gathering, for *Paules Steeple*, and the *Lottery Triſles*: Whereof, the former, being but a *Voluntary Collection*, of that, Men were freely diſpoſed, to give, never grew, to ſo great a Sum, as was ſufficient, to finiſh the *Work*, for which it was appointed:

And

And ſo, I imagine, it was converted, into ſome other uſe; like to that Gathering, which was, for the *Fortifications* of *Paris*, ſave that, the Gathering, for *Paris*, came, to a much greater, though, (as I have heard,) no competent Sum. And for the *Lottery*, it was but a *Novelty*, *deviſed*, and *followed*, by ſome *particular perſons*, and onely allowed by the *State*, being as a *Gain* of *Hazzard:* Wherein, if any Gain was, it was, becauſe many Men, thought Scorn, after they had fallen, from their greater hopes, to fetch their *odd Money*. Then he mentioneth *Loanes*, and *Privy Seales*; Wherein, he ſheweth great Ignorance, and Indiſcretion, conſidering the *Payments*, back again, have been, very *Good*, and *Certain*; And *much*, for her *Majeſties Honour*. Indeed, in other *Princes Times*, it was not wont, to be ſo: And therefore, though the *Name*, be not ſo *pleaſant*, yet the *Uſe* of them, in our Times, have been, with ſmall Grievance. He reckoneth alſo, *new Cuſtomes* upon *Cloathes*, and *new Impoſt upon Wines*. In that of *Cloathes*, he is deceived; For the ancient Rate of *Cuſtome*, upon *Cloathes* was not raiſed, by her *Majeſty*, but by *Queen Mary*, a *Catholique Queen:* And hath been, commonly, continued by her *Majeſty*; Except, he mean, the Computation, of the odd yards, which, in ſtrict Duty, was ever anſwerable; Though the Error, were but lately, looked into, or rather, the *Tolleration*, taken away. And to that of *Wines*, being a *Forrain Merchandize*, and but a *Delicacy*, and of thoſe which might be forborn, there hath been, ſome *Encreaſe* of *Impoſition*, which can rather make, the *Price* of *Wine Higher*, then the *Merchant poorer*. Laſtly, touching the *Number* of *Subſidies*, it is true, that her *Majeſty*, in reſpect, of her great *Charges*, of her *Warrs*, both by *Sea*, and *Land*, againſt ſuch a *Lord* of *Treaſure*, as is the *King of Spain:* Having, for her part, no *Indies*, nor *Mines*; And the *Revenues*, of the *Crown*, of *England*, being ſuch, as they leſſe grate, upon the *People*, then the *Revenues*, of any *Crown*, or State in *Europe*; Hath, by the *Aſſent*, of *Parliament*, according to the ancient *Cuſtomes*, of this *Realm*, received, divers *Subſidies*, of her *People*; which, as they have been employed, upon the Defence, and preſervation, of the *Subject*; Not upon *Exceſſive Buildings*, nor upon *Immoderate Donatives*, Nor upon *Triumphs* and Pleaſures; Or any the like veines, of *Diſſipation*, of *Treaſure*; which have been Familiar, to many Kings: So have they been yielded, with great good will, and cheerfulneſs; As may appear, by other kinds of *Benevolence*, preſented to her, likewiſe, in *Parliament*; which her *Majeſty*, nevertheleſſe, hath not put in Ure. They have been Taxed alſo, and Aſſeiſſed, with a very *Light*, and Gentle Hand; And they have been ſpared, as much, as may be; As may appear, in that, her *Majeſty*, now twice, to ſpare the *Subject*, hath ſold, of her own *Lands*. But he, that ſhall look, into other *Countries*, and conſider the *Taxes*, and *Tallages*, and *Impoſitions*, and *Aſſiſes*, and the like, that are every where in uſe; Will find, that the *Engliſh Man*, is the moſt *Maſter*, of his own Valuation, and the leaſt bitten

ten

ten in his *Purſe*, of any *Nation*, of *Europe*. Nay, even at this Inſtant, in the *Kingdome* of *Spain*, notwithſtanding the *Pioners*, do ſtill work, in the *Indian Mines*, the *Jeſuites*, moſt, play the *Pioners*, and *Mine*, into the *Spaniards Purſes*; And under the Colour, of a *Ghoſtly* Exhortation, contrive the greateſt Exaction, that ever was, in any *Realm*.

Thus much, in *Anſwer*, of theſe *Calumniations*, I have thought good to note, touching the *preſent ſtate*, of *England*: which *ſtate* is ſuch, that whoſoever, hath been, an *Architect*, in the *Frame* thereof, under the *Bleſſing* of *God*, and the *Vertues* of our *Soveraign*, needed not, to be aſhamed, of his *Work*.

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3. *Of the* Proceedings, *againſt the* pretended Catholiques; *Whether they have been* Violent, *or* Moderate, *and* Neceſſary.

I Find, her *Majeſties Proceedings*, generally, to have been grounded, upon two *Principles*: The one;

That *Conſciences*, are not to be *Forced*, but to be *Wonn*, and *reduced*, by the *Force* of *Truth*, by the *Aide* of *Time*, and the *Uſe*, of all good *Meanes*, of *Inſtruction*, or *Perſwaſion*.

The other;

That *Cauſes* of *Conſcience*, when they exceed their *Bounds*, and prove to be *Matter* of *Faction*, leeſe their *Nature*; And that *Soveraign Princes*, ought, diſtinctly, to puniſh the *Practiſe*, or *Contempt*, though coloured, with the *Pretences*, of *Conſcience*, and *Religion*.

According to theſe two *Principles*, her *Majeſty*, at her *Comming*, to the *Crown*, utterly diſliking, of the *Tyranny*, of the *Church* of *Rome*, which had uſed, by *Terrour*, and *Rigour*, to ſeek *Commandement*, over *Mens Faiths*, and *Conſciences*; Although, as a *Prince*, of great *Wiſdome*, and *Magnanimity*, ſhe ſuffered, but the *Exerciſe* of one *Religion*, yet her *Proceedings*, towards the *Papiſts*, was with great *Lenity*; Expecting the good Effects, which Time might work in them.

And therefore, her *Majeſty*, revived not the *Lawes*, made in 28°, and 35°, of her *Fathers Raign*; Whereby, the *Oath* of *Supremacy*, mought have been, offered, at the *Kings Pleaſure*, to any *Subject*, though he kept his *Conſcience*, never ſo modeſtly to himſelf; And the *Refuſall*, to take the ſame *Oath*, without Further Circumſtance, was made *Treaſon*: But, contrariwiſe, her *Majeſty*, not liking, to make *Windowes*, into Mens *Hearts*, and *Secret Thoughts*, Except the *Abundance* of them, did overflow, into *Overt*, and *Expreſſe*, *Acts*, and *Affirmations*; Tempered her *Law* ſo, as it re-

reſtraineth, only manifeſt *Diſobedience*, in impugning, and impeaching, adviſedly, and ambitiouſly, her *Majeſties ſupream power*; And *Maintaining*, and *Extolling*, a *Forrain Juriſdiction*. And as for the *Oath*, it was altred, by her *Majeſty*, into a more gratefull Form; the *Harſhneſſe*, of the *Name*, and *Appellation*, of *Supream Head* was removed; And the *Penalty*, of the *Refuſall* thereof, turned, into a *Diſablement*, to take any *Promotion*, or to *exerciſe any charge*; And yet that, with a *Liberty*, of being *Reveſted*, therein, if any Man ſhall accept thereof, during his *Life*.

But after many years *Toleration*, of a *Multitude*, of *Factious Papiſts*; When *Pius Quintus*, had *Excommunicated* her *Majeſty*; And the *Bill*, of *Excommunication*, was publiſhed in *London*; Whereby, her *Majeſty*, was, in a ſort, proſcribed, and all her *Subjects*, drawn, upon pain of *Damnation*, from her *Obedience*; And that, thereupon, as upon a Principall *Motive*, or *Preparative*, followed, the *Rebellion*, in the *North*; yet, notwithſtanding, becauſe many, of thoſe Evill Humours, were, by that *Rebellion*, partly, *purged*; And that ſhe feared, at that time, no *Forrain Invaſion*; And much leſs, the *Attempts*, of any, within the *Realm*, not backed, by ſome *Forrain Succours*, from without; ſhe contented her ſelf, to make a *Law*, againſt that *ſpeciall Caſe*, of *Bringing* in, or *publiſhing*, of *Bulls*, or the like *Inſtruments*: Whereunto was added, a *Prohibition*, not upon *Pain* of *Treaſon*, but of an Inferiour *Degree* of *Puniſhment*, againſt bringing in, of *Agnus Dei's*, *Hallowed Beades*, and ſuch other *Merchandiſe*, of *Rome*; As are well known, not to be any *Eſſentiall* Part of the *Roman Religion*; but only to be uſed, in practiſe, as *Love-Tokens*, to enchant, and bewitch, the peoples Affections, from their *Allegeance*, to their *Naturall Soveraign*. In all other *Points*, her *Majeſty* continued, her former *Lenity*.

But, when about the 20th. year of her *Raign*, ſhe had diſcovered, in the *King* of *Spain*, an *Intention*, to *Invade* her *Dominions*; And that a principall *Point*, of the *Plot*, was, to prepare, a Party, within the *Realm*, that mought adhere to the *Forrainer*: And that the *Seminaries*, began to *bloſſome*, and to ſend forth, dayly, *Prieſts*, and *profeſſed Men*, who ſhould, by *vow*, taken at Shrift, reconcile her *Subjects*, from her *Obedience*; yea, and bind, many of them, to attempt, againſt her *Majeſties*, *Sacred Perſon*; And that, by the Poyſon they ſpred, the Humours, of moſt *Papiſts*, were altred; And that, they were no more *Papiſts* in *Cuſtome*, but *Papiſts*, in *Treaſonable Faction*: Then were there, New *Lawes* made, for the puniſhment of ſuch, as ſhould ſubmit themſelves, to *Reconcilements*, or *Renunciations*, of *Obedience*. For it is to be underſtood, that this *Manner* of *Reconcilement*, in *Confeſſion*, is of the ſame *Nature*, and *Operation*, that the *Bull*, it ſelf, was of, with this onely difference; That whereas, the *Bull*, aſſoyled the *Subjects*, from their *Obediente*, at once, the other doth it, one by one. And therefore it is, both more *Secret*, & more *Inſinuative*, into the *Conſcience*, being joyned with no leſſe Matter, then an *Abſolution*, from

from *Mortall Sin.* And becauſe, it was a *Treaſon, carried in the Cloudes*, and in *wonderfull Secreſie*, and came ſeldome to *Light*; And that there was no Preſumption, thereof ſo great, as the Recuſants, to come to *Divine Service*, becauſe it was ſet down, by their Decrees; *That to come to Church, before Reconcilement, was to live in Schiſm; but to come to Church, after Reconcilement, was, abſolutely, Hereticall, and Damnable.* Therefore there were added new *Lawes*, containing a *Puniſhment pecuniary*, againſt the *Recuſants*; Not to enforce *Conſciences*, but to *Enfeeble thoſe*, of whom it reſted Indifferent, and Ambiguous, whether they were reconciled, or no? For there is no doubt, but if the *Law*, of *Recuſancy*, (which is challenged, to be ſo *Extream*, and Rigorous,) were thus qualified; *That any Recuſant, that ſhall, voluntarily, come in, and take his Oath, that He, or She, were never reconciled, ſhould*, immediatly, be diſcharged, of the *Penalty*, and *Forfeiture*, of the *Law*; They would be ſo far, from liking well, of that Mitigation, as they would cry out, it was made to entrap them. And when, notwithſtanding, all this proviſion, this Poyſon was diſperſed ſo ſecretly, as that there was no Meanes to ſtay it, but to reſtrain the *Merchants*, that brought it in; Then was there laſtly added, a *Law*, whereby ſuch *Seditious Prieſts*, of the *New Erection*, were exiled; And thoſe, that were, at that time, within the *Land*, ſhipped over; And ſo commanded, to keep hence, upon *Pain*, of *Treaſon.*

This hath been the *Proceeding*, with that *Sort*, though intermingled, not onely, with ſundry *Examples*, of her *Majeſties* Grace, towards ſuch, as, in her wiſdome, ſhe knew to be *Papiſts*, in *Conſcience*, and not in *Faction*; But, alſo, with an extraordinary *Mitigation*, towards the *Offenders*, in the *Higheſt Degree*, convicted by *Law*, if they would proteſt: *That, in Caſe, this Realm, ſhould be invaded, with a Forrain Army, by the Popes Authority, for the* Catholick *Cauſe*, (*as they term it,*) *they would, take part, with her Majeſty, and not adhere, to her enemies.*

And whereas he ſaith, no *Prieſt* dealt in matter of State, (*Ballard* onely excepted,) it appeareth by the *Records*, of the *Confeſſion*, of the ſaid *Ballard*, and ſundry other *Prieſts*; That all *Prieſts*, at that time, generally, were made acquainted, with the *Invaſion* then intended, and afterwards put in Act; And had received Inſtructions, not onely, to move an Expectation, in the People, of a *Change*; But alſo, to take their *Vows*, and *Promiſes*, in *Shrift*, to adhere to the Forrainer. Inſomuch, that one, of their *Principall Heads*, vaunted himſelf, in a *Letter*, of the Deviſe, ſaying: That it was a *Point*, the *Counſell* of *England*, would never dream of; Who would imagine, that they ſhould practiſe, with ſome *Noble-Man*, to make him *Head*, of their *Faction*; whereas they took a Courſe, onely, to deal, with the People; And them, ſo ſeverally, as any One *apprehended*, ſhould be able to appeal, no more then Himſelf, except the

Prieſts; who, he knew, would reveal nothing, that was uttered in *Confeſſion*. So Innocent, was this *Princely*, *Prieſtly*, *Function*, which this Man taketh, to be, but a *matter* of *Conſcience*; and thinketh it Reaſon, it ſhould have free *Exerciſe*, throughout the *Land*.

4. *Of the* Diſturbance, *of the* Quiet, *of* Chriſtendom; *And, to what* Cauſes, *it may be juſtly aſſigned.*

IT is indeed a Queſtion, (which thoſe, that look into *Matters* of *State*, do well know, to fall out very often; though this *Libeller*, ſeemeth to be more ignorant thereof;) whether the *Ambition* of the more *Mighty State*, or the *Jealouſie*, of the *Leſſe Mighty State*, be to be charged, with *Breach* of *Amity*. Hereof, as there be many *Examples*, ſo there is one, ſo proper, unto the preſent *Matter*; As though it were, many years ſince, yet it ſeemeth, to be a *Parable*, of theſe Times; and namely, of the Proceedings, of *Spain*, and *England*.

The *States*, Then, which anſwered, to theſe two, Now, were *Macedon*, and *Athens*. Conſider therefore the Reſemblance, between the two *Philips*, of *Macedon*, and *Spain*. He of *Macedon*, aſpired, to the *Monarchy*, of *Greece*, as He of *Spain*, doth, of *Europe*: But more apparently then the Firſt; Becauſe, that Deſign, was diſcovered in his *Father*, *Charles* the *fifth*, and ſo left him by Deſcent: whereas *Philip* of *Macedon*, was the firſt, of the Kings, of that *Nation*, which fixed, ſo great Conceits, in his Breaſt. The Courſe, which this King, of *Macedon*, held, was not, ſo much, by great *Armies*, and *Invaſions*; (Though theſe wanted not, when the Caſe required;) But by *Practiſe*; By *ſowing*, of *Factions*, in *States*, and by *Obliging*, ſundry *particular perſons*, of *Greatneſſe*. The *State* of *Oppoſition*, againſt his Ambitious procedings, was onely the *State* of *Athens*, as now is, the *State* of *England*, againſt *Spain*. For *Lacedemon* and *Thebes*, were both low, as *France* is now; And the reſt, of the *States* of *Greece*, were, in Power, and Territories, far inferiour. The *People* of *Athens*, were exceedingly, affected to Peace; And weary of Expence. But the Point, which I chiefly make the Compariſon, was, that of the *Oratours*, which were, as *Counſellours*, to a *Popular State*; Such as were ſharpeſt ſighted, and looked deepeſt, into the *Projects*, and and *ſpreading*, of the *Macedonians*, (doubting ſtill, that the Fire, after it licked up, the *Neighbour States*, and made it ſelf Opportunity to paſſe, would at laſt, take hold, of the *Dominions*, of *Athens*, with ſo great *Advantages*, as they ſhould not be able to remedy it;) were ever charged, both by the *Declarations*, of the *King* of *Macedon*, and by the *Imputation*, of ſuch *Athenians*, as were

were corrupted, to be of his *Faction*, as the *Kindlers* of *Troubles*, and *Diſturbers*, of the *Peace*, and *Leagues*: But, as that Party, was, in *Athens*, too Mighty, ſo as it diſcountenanced, the true *Counſels*, of the *Oratours*; And ſo bred, the Ruine, of that *State*; And accompliſhed, the Ends, of that *Philip*: So, it is to be hoped, that in a *Monarchy*, where there are, commonly, better Intelligences, and Reſolutions, then in a *popular State*, thoſe Plots, as they are detected already, So they will be reſiſted, and made Fruſtrate.

But, to follow the *Libeller*, in his own *Courſe*, the *Sum*, of that, which he delivereth, concerning the *Imputation*; As well, of the *Interruption*, of the *Amity*, between the *Crowns*, of *England*, and of *Spain*; As the *Diſturbance*, of the generall Peace, of *Chriſtendome*; Unto the *Engliſh* Proceedings, and not, to the *Ambitious Appetites* of *Spain*, may be reduced, into Three Points.

1. Touching the Proceeding, of *Spain*, and *England*, towards their *Neighbour States*.
2. Touching the Proceeding, of *Spain*, and *England*, *between themſelves*.
3. Touching the *Articles*, and *Conditions*, which it pleaſeth him, as it were, in the behalf of *England*, to Pen, and propoſe, for the treating, and Concluding, of an *Univerſall* Peace.

In the Firſt, he diſcovereth, how the *King*, of *Spain*, never offered Moleſtation; Neither, unto the *States* of *Italy*, upon which he confineth, by *Naples*, and *Millaine*; Neither, unto the *States* of *Germany*, unto whom he confineth, by a part of *Burgundy*, and the *Low-Countries*; Nor unto *Portugall*, till it was devolved, to him, in *Title*, upon which he confineth, by *Spain*: But, contrariwiſe, as one, that had, in precious regard, the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, he deſigned, from the beginning, to turn his whole *Forces*, upon the *Turk*. Onely, he confeſſeth, that agreeable to his *Devotion*, which apprehended, as well the purging of *Chriſtendom*, from Hereſies, as the Enlarging thereof, upon the *Infidels*; He was ever ready, to give Succours, unto the *French Kings*, againſt the *Hugonotts*, eſpecially being their own Subjects; Whereas, on the other ſide, *England*, (as he affirmeth,) hath not only ſowed, *Troubles*, and Diſſentions, in *France*, and *Scotland*; (The one, their *Neighbour*, upon the *Continent*; The other, divided, onely, by the *Narrow Seas*;) But alſo, hath actually invaded both *Kingdomes*. For, as for the Matters, of the *Low-Countries*, they belong to the *Dealings*, which have paſſed by *Spain*.

In Anſwer whereof, it is worthy the Conſideration, how it pleaſed *God*, in that *King*, to croſs, one *Paſſion*, by another; And namely, that *Paſſion*, which mought have proved dangerous, unto all *Europe* (which was his Ambition,) by another, which was only hurtfull to himſelf, and his own; Which was, Wrath, and *Indignation*, towards his *Subjects*, the *Netherlands*. For after that, he was ſetled in his *Kingdom*, and freed from ſome Fear of

the *Turk*; Revolving his *Fathers deſign*, in aſpiring, to a *Monarchy of Europe*; caſting his Eye, principally, upon the two Potent *Kingdomes*, of *France*, and *England*; And remembring, how his *Father*, had once promiſed unto himſelf, the Conqueſt of the one; And how himſelf, by *Marriage*, had, lately, had ſome Poſſeſſion of the other; And ſeeing, that *Diverſity*, of *Religion*, was entered, into both theſe *Realmes*; And that *France*, was fallen unto *Princes* weak, and in *Minority*; And *England*, unto the *Government* of a *Lady*, In whom, he did not expect, that *Pollicy*, of *Government*, *Magnanimity*, & *Felicity*, which ſince he hath proved; Concluded, (as the *Spaniards* are great Waiters upon Time, & ground their Plots deep;) upon two *Points*: The one, to profeſs an extraordinary *Patronage*, & *Defence*, of the *Roman Religion*; making account thereby, to have *Factions*, in both *Kingdoms*; (In *England*, a *Faction*, directly againſt the State; In *France*, a *Faction*, that did conſent, indeed in *Religion*, with the *King*, and therefore, at firſt ſhew, ſhould ſeem unproper, to make a Party for a *Forreiner*. But he foreſaw well enough, that the *King* of *France*, ſhould be forced, (to the end, to retain *Peace*, and *Obedience*,) to yeeld, in ſome things, to thoſe of the *Religion*; which would, undoubtedly, alienate, the Fiery, and more violent, ſort of *Papiſts*: Which Preparation, in the *People*, added, to the *Ambition*, of the *Family*, of *Guiſe*, (which he nouriſhed for an Inſtrument,) would, in the end, make a Party for him againſt, the *State*, as ſince, it proved, and mought well have done, long before: As may well appear, by the *Mention*, of *League*, and *Aſſociations*, which is above 25. years old in *France*.

The other *Point*, he concluded upon, was; That his *Low-Countries*, was the apteſt place, both for *Ports* and *Shipping*; in reſpect of *England*; And for *Sciuation*, in reſpect of *Fraance*; having goodly *Frontier Townes*, upon that *Realm*; And joyning, alſo, upon *Germany*, whereby they might receive in, at Peaſure, any *Forces*, of *Almaines*; To annoy, and offend, either *Kingdom*. The *Impediment* was, the *Inclination* of the *People*; which receiving, a wonderfull *Commodity*, of *Trades*, out of both *Realmes*, eſpecially of *England*; And having been, in ancient *League*, and *Confederacy*, with our Nation; And having been, alſo, *Homagers* unto *France*; He knew, would be, in no wiſe, diſpoſed, to either *War*. Whereupon, he reſolved, to reduce them, to a Martiall *Government*; Like unto that, which he had eſtabliſhed in *Naples*, and *Millain*; upon which ſuppreſſion of their *Liberties*, enſued the *Defection*, of thoſe *Provinces*. And about the ſame time, the *Reformed Religion*, found entrance, in the ſame *Countries*; So as the *King*, enflamed, with the *Reſiſtance*, he found, in the firſt Part, of his *Plots*; And alſo, becauſe, he mought not diſpenſe, with his other *Principle*, in yielding, to any *Toleration*, of *Religion*; And withall, expecting, a ſhorter work of it, then he found; Became, paſſionatly bent, to *Reconquer* thoſe *Countries*; Wherein, he hath, conſumed, infinite *Treaſure*, and *Forces*. And this is the true

Cauſe,

Cauſe, if a Man will look into it, that hath made the *King* of *Spain* ſo good a *Neighbour*; Namely, that he was ſo entangled, with the *Wars*, of the *Low-Countries*, as he could not intend, any other *Enterpriſe*. Beſides, in Enterprizing upon *Italy*, he doubted, firſt, the Diſpleaſure, of the *See* of *Rome*; with whom, he meant, to run, a Courſe, of ſtrait Conjunction: Alſo, he doubted, it might invite, the *Turk*, to return. And for *Germany*, he had a freſh *Example*, of his *Father*; who, when he had annexed, unto the *Dominions*, which he now poſſeſſeth, the *Empire* of *Almaign*, nevertheleſſe, ſunck in that *Enterprize*: whereby, he perceived, that the *Nation*, was, of too ſtrong a Compoſition, for him, to deal with all: Though, not long ſince, by practiſe, he could have been contented, to ſnatch up, in the *Eaſt*, the *Countrey* of *Emden*. For *Portugal*, firſt, the *Kings* thereof, were good *Sons*, to the *See* of *Rome*; Next, he had no *Colour*, of *Quarrel*, or *pretence*; Thirdly, they were Officious unto him: yet, if you will believe, the *Genueſe*, (who, otherwiſe, writeth, much to the Honour, and Advantage, of the *Kings* of *Spain*;) It ſeemeth, he had a good mind, to make himſelf a way, into that *Kingdom*; ſeeing that, for that purpoſe, (as he reporteth,) he did, artificially, nouriſh, the *yong King Sebaſtian*, in the *Voyage* of *Affrick*, expecting that overthrow wch followed.

As for his *Intention*, to warr upon the *Infidels*, and *Turks*, it maketh me think, what *Francis Guicciardine*, a wiſe writer of *Hiſtory*, ſpeaketh, of his great *Grand-Father*; Making, a Judgement of him, as *Hiſtoriographers* uſe: That he did, alwayes, *maſk*, and *vail*, his *Appetites*, with a *Demonſtration*, of a *Devout*, and *Holy*, *Intention*, to the Advancement, of the *Church*, and the *Publick Good*. His *Father*, alſo, when he received Advertiſement, of the taking of the *French King*, prohibited, all Ringings, and Bonfires, and other Tokens of Joy, and ſaid; *Thoſe were to be reſerved, for Victories, upon Infidels*; On whom, he meant, never, to warre. Many a *Cruzada*, hath the *Biſhop of Rome*, granted to him, and his *Predeceſſours*, upon that Colour; Which all, have been ſpent, upon the Effuſion, of *Chriſtian Blood*: And now, this year, the *Levies* of *Germans*, which ſhould have been made, under hand, for *France*, were coloured, with the pretence, of *Warr*, upon the *Turk*; Which the *Princes* of *Germany*, *deſcrying*, not onely brake the *Levies*, but threatned the *Commiſſioners*, to hang the next, that ſhould offer, the like Abuſe: So that this Form, of *Diſſembling*, is Familiar, and, as it were, *Hereditary*, to the *King* of *Spain*.

And as for his *Succours*, given to the *French King*, againſt the *Proteſtants*, he could not chuſe, but accompany the *Pernicious Counſels*, which ſtill he gave to the *French Kings*, of breaking their *Edicts*, and admitting of no *Pacification*, but purſuing their *Subjects* with *Mortall Warre*, with ſome Offer of *Aides*; which having promiſed, he could not, but in ſome ſmall Degree, perform; whereby alſo, the *Subject* of *France*, (namely, the *violent Papiſt*,) was enured, to depend upon *Spain*. And ſo much, for the *King of Spaines*, *proceedings*, towards other *States*.

Now

Now for ours, And firſt, touching the *Point*, wherein, he chargeth us, to be the *Authours*, of *Troubles*, in *Scotland*, and *France*: It will appear to any, that have been well enformed, of the Memories, of theſe Affaires; That the *Troubles*, of thoſe *Kingdomes*, were, indeed, chiefly kindled, by one, and the ſame *Family*, of the *Guiſe*: A *Family*, (as was partly touched before,) as particularly devoted, now for many years together, to *Spain*, as the *Order*, of the *Jeſuites*, is. This *Houſe* of *Guiſe*, having, of late years, extraordinarily flouriſhed, in the eminent *Vertue*, of a few Perſons, whoſe *Ambition*, nevertheleſſe, was nothing inferiour to their *vertue*; But being of a *Houſe*, notwithſtanding, which the *Princes*, of the *Bloud*, of *France*, reckoned but as ſtrangers; Aſpired, to a Greatneſs, more then *Civill*, and proportionable to their *Cauſe*, whereſoever they had *Authority*: And accordingly, under *Colour* of *Conſanguinity*, and *Religion*, they brought into *Scotland*, in the year 1559, and in the Abſence, of the *King*, and *Queen*, *French Forces*, in great numbers: whereupon, the *Ancient Nobility*, of that *Realm*, ſeeing the imminent danger, of Reducing that *Kingdome*, under the Tyranny of Strangers, did pray, (according to the good Intelligence, between the two Crowns,) *her Majeſties Neighbourly Forces*. And ſo it is true, that the Action, being very Juſt, & Honourable, her *Majeſty* undertook it, expelled the *Strangers*, and reſtored the *Nobility*, to their *Degrees*, and the *State to Peace*.

After, when Certain *Noble-Men* of *Scotland*, of the ſame *Faction* of *Guiſe*; had, during the *Minority* of the *King*, poſſeſſed themſelves, of his Perſon, to the end, to abuſe his Authority, many wayes; And namely, to make a Breach, between *Scotland*, and *England*, her *Majeſties Forces*, were again, in the year, 1582. by the *Kings* beſt, and trueſt Servants, ſought, and required; And, with the Forces of her *Majeſty*, prevailed ſo far, as to be poſſeſſed, of the *Caſtle* of *Edenborough*, the principall part of that *Kingdome*; which, nevertheleſſe, her Majeſty, incontinently, with all Honour, and Sincerity, reſtored; After ſhe had put the *King*, into good, and faithfull, Hands; And ſo, ever ſince, in all the Occaſions, of *Inteſtine Troubles*, whereunto that *Nation* hath been ever ſubject, ſhe hath performed unto the *King*, all poſſible good Offices, and ſuch, as he doth, with all good Affection, acknowledge.

The ſame *Houſe* of *Guiſe*, under Colour of *Alliance*, during the *Raign*, of *Francis* the *ſecond*, and by the *Support*, and *practiſe*, of the *Queen Mother*; who deſiring, to retain the *Regency*, under her own Hands, during the Minority of *Charles the ninth*, uſed thoſe of *Guiſe* as a Counterpoiſe, to the *Princes*, of the *Bloud*; obtained alſo, great *Authority*, in the *Kingdome*, of *France*; whereupon, having raiſed, and moved, *Civill Warrs*, under pretence of *Religion*; But indeed, to enfeeble, and depreſſe, the *Ancient Nobility*, of that *Realm*; The contrary Part, being compounded, of the *Bloud Royall*, and the Greateſt *Officers*, of the *Crown*; oppoſed themſelves, onely,

onely, againſt their Inſolency; And, to their *Aides*, called in, her *Majeſties Forces*, giving them, for ſecurity, the Town of New-Haven: which nevertheleſſe, when as afterwards, having by the *Reputation*, of her *Majeſties Confederation*, made their Peace, in Effect, as they would themſelves; They would, without obſerving any Conditions, that had paſſed, have had it back again; Then, indeed, it was held by force, and ſo had been long, but for the great *Mortality*, which it pleaſed *God*, to ſend amongſt our Men. After which time, ſo far was her *Majeſty*, from ſeeking, to ſowe, or kindle, New *Troubles*; As continually, by the Sollicitation, of her *Embaſſadours*, ſhe ſtill perſwaded, with the *Kings*, both *Charles the* 9th, and *Hen. the* 3d, to keep, and obſerve, their *Edicts of Pacification*, and to preſerve their *Authority*, by the *Union*, of their *Subjects*: which Counſell, if it had been as happily followed, as it was prudently, and ſincerely, given, *France*, had been, at this day, a moſt *Flouriſhing Kingdome*, which is now, a *Theater* of *Miſery*. And now, in the end, after that the *Ambitious Practiſes*, of the ſame *Houſe*, of *Guiſe*, had grown to that Ripeneſs, that gathering further ſtrength, upon the weakneſs, and Miſgovernment, of the ſaid *King Hen.* 3d; He was fain, to execute, the *Duke of Guiſe*, without *Ceremony*, at *Bloys*: And yet, nevertheleſſe, ſo many Men were embarqued, and engaged, in that *Conſpiracy*, as the Flame thereof, was nothing aſſwaged; But, contrary wiſe, that *King Hen.* grew diſtreſſed, ſo as he was enforced, to implore, the Succours of *England*, from her *Majeſty*; Though no way, intereſſed, in that *Quarrell*; Nor, any way, obliged, for any good offices, ſhe had received of that *King*; yet ſhe accorded the ſame. Before the *Arrivall* of which *Forces*, the *King*, being, by a *ſacrilegious Jacobine*, murthered, in his *Camp*, near *Paris*, yet they went on, and came, in good time, for the *Aſſiſtance*, of the *King*, which now *raigneth*; The Juſtice of whoſe Quarrell, together with the long continued Amity, and good Intelligence, which her *Majeſty* had with him, hath moved her *Majeſty*, from time to time, to ſupply with great *Aides*; And yet, ſhe never, by any Demand, urged upon him, the putting into her Hands, of any *Town*, or *Place*. So as, upon this, that hath been ſaid, let the *Reader* judge, whether hath been, the more Juſt, and Honourable, Proceeding; And the more free, from *Ambition*, and *Paſſion*, towards other *States*; That of *Spain*, or that of *England*? Now, let us examine the proceedings, reciproque, between themſelves.

Her *Majeſty*, at her *Comming* to the *Crown*, found her *Realm*, entangled, with the *Wars* of *France*, and *Scotland*, her neareſt *Neighbours*: which *Wars* were grounded, onely, upon the *Spaniards Quarrell*; But, in the purſuit of them, had loſt *England*, the Town of *Calice*. Which, from the 21. year, of *King Edward* 3, had been poſſeſſed, by the *Kings of England*. There was a meeting near *Burdeaux*, towards the end, of *Queen Maries Raign*, between the *Commiſſioners*, of *France*, *Spain*, and *England*; and ſome Overture, of

of *Peace* was made; But broke off, upon the *Article*, of the *Reſtitution*, of *Callice*. After *Queen Maries* Death, the *King* of *Spain*, thinking himſelf, diſcharged, of that Difficulty, (though in honour, he was no leſſe bound to it, then before,) renewed the like *Treaty*, wherein her *Majeſty* concurred: ſo as the *Commiſſioners*, for the ſaid *Princes*, met at *Chaſteau Cambraiſſi*, near *Cambray*. In the proceedings, of which Treaty, it is true, that at the firſt, the *Commiſſioners*, of *Spain*, for form, and in Demonſtration onely, pretended to ſtand firm, upon the *Demand* of *Callice*; but it was diſcerned, indeed, that the *Kings* Meaning was, after ſome Ceremonies, and perfunctory Inſiſting thereupon, to grow, apart, to a *Peace*, with the *French*, excluding her *Majeſty*; And ſo to leave her, to make her own Peace, after her *People*, Had made his *Wars*. Which Covert Dealing, being politickly looked into, her *Majeſty* had reaſon, being newly inveſted in her *Kingdom*; And, of her own Inclination, being affected to *Peace*; To conclude the ſame, with ſuch Conditions as ſhe mought: And yet, the *King of Spain*, in his Diſſimulation, had ſo much Advantage, as ſhe was fain, to do it, in a *Treaty*, apart, with the *French*; whereby to one, that is not informed, of the *Counſels*, and *Treaties* of *State*, as they paſſed, it ſhould ſeem to be, a *voluntary Agreement*, of *her Majeſty*, whereto the *King of Spain*, would not be party, whereas, indeed, he left her no other choice. And this was the firſt *Aſſay*, or *Earneſt penny*, of that *Kings*, good affection, to her *Majeſty*.

About the ſame time, when the *King* was ſollicited, to renew, ſuch *Treaties*, and *Leagues*, as had paſſed, between the two *Crowns*, of *Spain*, and *England*, by the Lord *Cobham*, ſent unto him, to acquaint him, with the *Death of Queen* Mary; And afterwards, by Sir *Thomas* Challenor, and Sir *Thomas* Chamberlain, ſucceſſively, *Embaſſadours*, *Reſident* in his *Low Countries*; Who had order; divers times, during their Charge, to make Overtures thereof, both unto the *King*, and certain *principall perſons* about him, And laſtly, thoſe former Motions, taking no effect; By *Viſcount Montacute*, and Sir *Thomas Chamberlain*, ſent unto *Spain*, in the year 1560; no other *Anſwer*, could be had, or obtained, of the *King*, but that, the *Treaties* did ſtand, in as good Force, to all Intents, as new *Ratification*, could make them. An *Anſwer* ſtrange at that time, but very conformable, to his *Proceedings* ſince; which belike, even then, were cloſely ſmothered, in his own Breaſt. For had he not, at that time, ſome hidden Alienation, of Mind, and Deſign, of an Enemy, towards her *Majeſty*; So wiſe *a King*, could not be ignorant; That the *Renewing*, and *Ratifying*, of *Treaties*, between *Princes*, and *States*, do adde great *Life*, and *Force*, both of *Aſſurance*, to the *parties* themſelves, and *Countenance*, and *Reputation* to the *World* beſides; And have, for that cauſe, been commonly, and neceſſarily, uſed, and practiſed.

In

In the Meſſage, of *Viſcount Montacute*, it was alſo contained, that he ſhould crave, the *Kings* Counſell, and Aſſiſtance, according to Amity, and good *Intelligence*, upon a Diſcovery, of certain *pernicious Plots*, of the *Houſe* of *Guiſe*, to annoy this *Realm*, by the way of *Scotland*: whereunto the *Kings Anſwer*, was ſo Dark, and ſo cold, as Nothing could be made of it; Till he had made, an Expoſition of it, himſelf, by effects, in the expreſſe *Reſtraint*, of *Munition*, to be carried, out of the *Low-Countries*, unto the *Siege* of *Leith*; Becauſe our *Nation*, was to have ſupply, thereof, from thence. So as, in all the *Negotiations*, that paſſed, with that *King*, ſtill, *her Majeſty*, received no ſatisfaction, but more and more ſuſpitious, and Bad Tokens, of evill affection.

Soon after, when upon that *Project*, which was diſcloſed, before the *King* had reſolved, to diſannull the *Liberties*, and *Priviledges*, unto his *Subjects*, the *Netherlands*, anciently belonging; And to eſtabliſh amongſt them, a *Marſhall Government*; which the *People*, being very *Wealthy*; And inhabiting *Townes*, very *ſtrong*, and *Defenſible*, by *Fortifications*, both of *Nature*, and the Hand, could not endure; there followed the *Defection*, and *revolt*, of thoſe *Countries*. In which *Action*, being the greateſt, of all thoſe, which have paſſed, between *Spain*, and *England*, the *Proceeding*, of her *Majeſty*, hath been ſo Juſt, and mingled, with ſo many *Honourable* Regards, as Nothing, doth ſo much clear, and acquite, her *Majeſty*, not only from *Paſſion*, bnt alſo, from all *Diſhonourable Pollicy*. For firſt, at the beginning of the *Troubles*, ſhe did impart, unto Him, faithfull, and ſincere, Adviſe, of the Courſe, that was to be taken, for the quietting, and appeaſing them; And, expreſly, forewarned, both himſelf, and ſuch as were, in principall Charge, in thoſe *Countries*, during the *Wars*, of the danger like to enſue, if he held, ſo heavy a Hand, over that *People*; leſt, they ſhould caſt themſelves, into the *Arms*, of a *Stranger*. But finding, the *Kings* Mind, ſo exulcerate, as he rejected all Counſell, that tended, to Mild, and Gracious, proceeding, her *Majeſty*, nevertheleſſe, gave not over her *Honourable Reſolution*; (which was, if it were poſſible, to reduce, and reconcile, thoſe *Countries*, unto the obedience, of their *Naturall Soveraign*, the *King* of *Spain*: And if that, mought not be, yet to preſerve them, from alienating themſelves, to a *Ferrain Lord*; As namely, unto the *French*, with whom they much treated; And amongſt whom the *Enterpriſe* of *Flanders*, was ever propounded, as a Mene to unite, their own Civill Diſſenſions;) Bnt, patiently, temporizing, expected the good effect, which Time mought breed: And whenſoever, the *States* grew, into Extremities, of Deſpair, and thereby ready, to embrace the Offer, of any *Forrainer*; Then would her *Majeſty*, yield them, ſome *Relief* of *Money*, or permit, ſome *Supply* of *Forces*, to go over unto them; To the end, to interrupt, ſuch *violent Reſolution*: And ſtill continued, to mediate, unto the *King*, ſome Juſt, and Ho-

nourable, Capitulations, of *Grace*, and *Accord*; Such, as whereby, alwayes, ſhould have been preſerved, unto him, ſuch *Intereſt*, and *Authority*, as He, in *Juſtice*, ſould claim; Or a *Prince*, moderately minded, would ſeek to have. And this *Courſe* ſhe held, interchangeably, ſeeking to mitigate, the *Wrath* of the *King*, and the *Deſpair* of the *Countries*; Till ſuch Time, as, after the Death, of the Duke of *Anjou*; (Into whoſe Hands, according to her *Majeſties* prediction, but againſt her good liking, they had put themſelves;) The *Enemy* preſſing them, the *united Provinces*, were received, into her *Majeſties* Protection: which was, after ſuch Time, as the *King of Spain*, had diſcovered himſelf, not onely an *Implacable Lord* to them, but alſo, a *profeſſed Enemy*, unto her *Majeſty*; having, actually, invaded *Ireland*, and deſigned the *Invaſion* of *England*. For it is to be noted, that the like Offers, which were then made unto her *Majeſty*; had been made to her, long before; but as long, as her *Majeſty* conceived, any Hope, either of Making, their Peace; Or entertaining her own, with *Spain*, ſhe would never hearken thereunto. And yet now, even at laſt, her *Majeſty* retained, a ſingular, and evident Proof, to the *World*, of her Juſtice, and Moderation; In that, ſhe refuſed, the *Inheritance*, and *Soveraignty*, of thoſe *Goodly Provinces*; which by the States, with much Inſtance, was preſſed upon her; and being accepted, would have wrought, greater *Contentment*, and *Satisfaction*, both to her *People*, and theirs; Being *Countries*, for the *Scite*; *Wealth*; *Commodity* of *Traffick*; Affection to our Nation; *Obedience* of the *Subjects*, (well uſed,) moſt convenient, to have been annexed, to the *Crown* of *England*; And withall, one Charge, Danger, and Offence of *Spain*; onely, took upon her, the *Defence*, and *Protection*, of their Liberties: Which *Liberties*, and *Priviledges*, are of that Nature, as they may juſtly, eſteem themſelves, but *Conditionall Subjects*, to the *King* of *Spain*; More juſtly then *Aragon*: And may make her *Majeſty*, as juſtly eſteem, the ancient *Confederacies*, and *Treaties*, with *Burgundy*, to be, of Force, rather, with the *People*, and *Nation*, then, with the *Line*, of the *Duke*; becauſe it was, never, an *Abſolute Monarchy*. So as, to ſumme up, her *Majeſties Proceedings*, in this great *Action*, they have but this; That, they have ſought, firſt, to reſtore them to *Spain*; Then, to keep them from *Strangers*; And never, to purchaſe them, to *Her Self*.

But during all that time, the *King* of *Spain*, kept one tenour, in his Proceedings, towards her *Majeſty*; Breaking forth, more and more, into *Injuries*, and *Contempts*: Her *Subjects*, trading into *Spain*, have been, many of them, Burned; Some caſt into the *Gallies*; Others have died in *Priſon*, without any other Crimes committed, but upon Quarrells, pickt upon them, for ther *Religion*, here at home. Her *Merchants*, at the Sack of *Antwerpe*, were, diverſe of them, ſpoyled, and put to their *Ranſomes*, though

though they could not be charged, with any Part-taking: Neither, upon the Complaint, of *Doctor Wilſon*, and *Sir Edward Horſey*, could any *Redreſſe* be had. A generall *Arreſt*, was made, by the *Duke*, of *Alva*, of *Engliſh mens*, both *Goods*, and *Perſons*, upon pretence, that certain Ships, ſtayed in this *Realm*, laden with *Goods*, and *Money*, of certain *Merchants*, of *Genoa*, belonged to that *King*: which *Money*, and *Goods*, was, afterwards, to the uttermoſt value, reſtored, and payed back: Whereas our Men, were far, from receiving, the like *Juſtice*, on their ſide. *Doctor Man*, her *Majeſties Embaſſadour*, received, during his *Legation*, ſundry Indignities, himſelf, being *Removed*, out of *Madrid*, and *Lodged*, in a *Village*; As they are accuſtomed, to uſe, the *Embaſſadours* of *Moores*: His *Sonn*, and *Steward*, forced, to aſſiſt, at a *Maſs*, with *Tapers* in their Hands; Beſides ſundry other *Contumelies*, and *Reproaches*. But the *Spoyling*, or *Damnifying*, of a *Merchant*; Vexation, of a *Common Subject*; *Diſhonour* of an *Embaſſadour*; Were rather, but Demonſtrations of ill Diſpoſition, then Effects; If they be compared, with Actions of *State*; Wherein He, and his *Miniſters*, have ſought the *Overthrow*, of this *Government*: As in the year 1569. when the Rebellion, in the North part of *England*, brake forth; Who but the *Duke* of *Alva*, (then the *Kings Lievetenant*, in the *Low-Countries*,) and *Don Guerres*, of *Eſpes*, then his *Embaſſador Lieger* here, were diſcovered, to be chief *Inſtruments*, and *Practiſers*; Having complotted, with the *Duke* of *Norfolk*, at the ſame time; As was proved, at the ſame *Dukes Condemnation*, that an *Army*, of 20000. Men, ſhould have landed at *Harwich*, in aid of that Part, which the ſaid *Duke* had made, within the *Realm*; And the ſaid *Duke*, having ſpent, and imployed, 150000. *Crownes*, in that *Preparation*.

Not contented thus, to have conſorted, and aſſiſted, her *Majeſties Rebells*, in *England*; He procured, a *Rebellion*, in *Ireland*: Arming, and Sending thither, in the year 1579, an *Arch-Rebell*, of that *Country*, *James Fitz Morrice*, which before was fled: And truly to ſpeak, the whole courſe of Moleſtation, which her *Majeſty* hath received, in that *Realm*, by the *Riſing*, and Keeping on, of the *Iriſh*, hath been nouriſhed, and fomented, from *Spain*. but afterwards, moſt apparently, in the year, 1580, he invaded, the ſame *Ireland*, with *Spaniſh* Forces, under an *Italian Colonell*, By Name *San[illegible]pho*, being but the Fore-runners, of a greater Power; Which, by Treaty, between *Him*, and the *Pope*, ſhould have followed: But that, by the ſpeedy Defeat, of thoſe former, they were diſcouraged, to purſue the *Action*: Which *Invaſion*, was proved, to be done, by the *Kings*, own *Orders*; both by the *Letters*, of *Secretary Eſcouedo*, and of *Guerres*, to the *King*: And alſo, by divers other *Letters*, wherein, the particular Conferences, were ſet down, concerning this *Enterpriſe*, between *Cardinall Riario*, the *Popes Legate*, and the *Kings Deputy* in *Spain*; Touching the *Generall*, the *Number of Men*, the *Contribution* of *Money*,

ey, and the *Manner*, of the *Proſecuting*, of the *Action*; And, by the *Confeſſion*, of ſome of the *Chiefeſt*, of thoſe, that were taken *Priſoners*, at the *Fort:* Which *Act*, being an *Act*, of *Apparent Hoſtility*, added, unto all the Injuries, aforeſaid; And accompanied, with a continuall *Receit*, *Comfort*, and *Countenance*, by *Audiences*, *Penſions*, and *Employments*, which he gave to *Traytours*, and *Fugitives*, both *Engliſh*, and *Iriſh*; As *Weſtmerland*, *Paget*, *Engleſield*, *Baltinglaſſe*, and Numbers of others; Did, ſufficiently, juſtifie, and warrant, that purſuit of Revenge, which, (either in the *Spoyl* of *Carthagena*, and *San Domingo*, in the *Indies*, by *Mr Drake*; Or, in the undertaking, the protection, of the *Low-Countreys*, when the *Earl* of *Leiceſter* was ſent over;) afterwards followed. For before that time, her *Majeſty*, though ſhe ſtood upon her Guard, in reſpect, of the juſt Cauſe of Jealouſie, which, the Sundry Injuries of that *King*, gave her, yet had entred, into no *Offenſive Action*, againſt Him. For both, the *Voluntary Forces*, which *Don Antonio*, had collected, in this *Realm*, were, by expreſs commandement, reſtrained; And Offer was made, of Reſtitution, to the *Spaniſh Embaſſadour*, of ſuch *Treaſure*, as had been brought, into this *Realm*; upon Proof, that it had been taken by wrong; And the *Duke* of *Anjou*, was, (as much as could ſtand, with the near *Treaty*, of a *Marriage*, which then, was very forward, between her *Majeſty*, and the ſaid *Duke*;) Diverted, from the *Enterpriſe*, of *Flanders*.

But to conclude this *Point*; when that, ſome yeares after; the *Invaſion*, and *Conqueſt*, of this *Land*; *Intended* long before, but through many Croſſes, and Impediments, which the *King of Spain*, found in his Plots, *deferred*; Was, in the year 1588, attempted; Her *Majeſty*, not forgetting her own Nature, was content, at the ſame Inſtant, to *Treat* of a *Peace*; Not ignorantly, as a *Prince*, that knew not, in what forwardneſs, his preparations were; (For ſhe had diſcovered them long before;) Nor fearfully, as may appear, by the *Articles*, whereupon her *Majeſty*, in that *Treaty*, ſtood; which were not, the Demands, of a *Prince* afraid; But onely, to ſpare the *ſhedding*, of *Chriſtian Blood*; And to ſhew, her conſtant Deſire, to make her *Raign Renowned*, rather by *Peace* then *victories:* which *Peace*, was, on her part, treated ſincerely; But, on his part, (as it ſhould ſeem,) was but an *Abuſe*; Thinking thereby, to have taken us more unprovided: [illegible]hat the *Duke* of *Parma*, not liking, to be uſed as an *Inſtrument*, in ſuch a Caſe, in regard of his particular Honour, would, ſometimes, in *Treating*, interlace; *That the King, his Maſter, ment to make his Peace, With his Sword in his Hand*; Let it then be tried, upon an indifferent view, of the *proceedings*, of *England*, and *Spain*; Who it is, that *Fiſhbeth, in Troubled Waters*; And hath diſturbed, the *Peace*, of *Chriſtendome*; And hath written, and deſcribed, all his *Plots*, in *Bloud*.

There follow the *Articles*, of an *Univerſall Peace*, which the *Libeller*,

beller, as a *Commiſſioner*, for the *Eſtate* of *England*, hath propounded, and are theſe:

Firſt, that the *King* of *Spain*; ſhould recall ſuch Forces, as of great compaſſion, to the Naturall People of *France*, he hath ſent thither, to defend them, againſt a *Relapſed Huguonott*.

Secondly, that he ſuffer, his *Rebells*, *of Holland* and *Zeland*, quietly, to poſſeſſe the places, they hold; And to take unto them, all the Reſt, of the *Low-Countries alſo*; Conditionally, that the *Engliſh*, may ſtill keep, the poſſeſſion, of ſuch *Port-Towns*, as they have, and have ſome half a dozen more, annexed unto them.

Thirdly, that the *Engliſh Rovers*, *nought*, peaceably, go, to his *Indies*; And there, take away his *Treaſure*, and his *Indies* alſo.

And theſe *Articles*, being *accorded*, (he ſaith,) might follow that *Peace*, which *paſſeth all underſtanding*; As he calleth it, in a ſcurrile, and prophane Mockery, of the *Peace*, which *Chriſtians*, enjoy with *God*, by the Attonement, which is made, by the *Bloud of Chriſt*; whereof the *Apoſtle* ſaith; *That it paſſeth all underſtanding:* But theſe his *Articles*, are, ſure, miſtaken; And indeed corrected, are briefly theſe:

1. That the *King of France*, be not impeached, in *Reducing* his *Rebels*, to obedience.
2. That the *Netherlands*, be ſuffered, to enjoy their Ancient *Liberties*, and *Priviledges*; And ſo *Forces* of *Strangers*, to be with-drawn, both *Engliſh*, and *Spaniſh*.
3. That all *Nations*, may trade, into the *Eaſt*, and *Weſt*, *Indies*; yea diſcover, and occupy, ſuch parts, as the *Spaniard*, doth not actually poſſeſſe; And are not, under *Civill Government*, notwithſtanding any *Donation*, of the *Pope*.

5. *Of the* Cunning, *of the* Libeller, *in* Palliation, *of his* malicious Invectives, *againſt her* Majeſty, *and the* State, *with pretence, of* Taxing, *onely the Actions, of the* Lord Burghley.

I Cannot, rightly, call this *Point*, *Cunning*, in the *Libeller*, but rather, good will to be *Cunning*, without skill, indeed, or Judgement: For finding, that it had been, the Uſuall, and Ready, practiſe, of *Seditious Subjects*, to plant, and bend their Invectives, and Clamours; Not againſt the *Sovraigns* themſelves, but againſt ſome ſuch, as had *Grace* with them, and *Authorities* under *them*; He put, in ure, his Learning, in a wrong, and unproper, *Caſe*. For this hath ſome Appearance, to cover undutifull *Invectives*, when it is uſed, againſt *Favourites*, or *New Upſtarts*, and ſuddain-riſen *Counſellours*: But, when it ſhall be practiſed, againſt One, that

that hath been *Counſellour*, before her *Majeſties* Time; And hath continued longer *Counſellour*, then any other *Counſellour* in *Europe*; One, that muſt needs have, been Great, if it were but by Surviving alone, though he had no other *Excellency*; One, that hath paſſed the *Degrees* of *Honour*, with great *Travell*, and *long Time*, which quencheth alwayes *Envy*, except it be joyned, with extreme Malice; Then, it appeareth, manifeſtly, to be but a *Brick wall*, at *Tennis*, to make the *Defamation*, and *Hatred rebound*, from the *Counſellour*, upon the *Prince*. And aſſuredly, they be very ſimple, to think, to abuſe the *VVorld*, with thoſe Shifts; Since, every *Child*, can tell the *Fable*; *That the VVolfs Malice, was not to the Shepherd, but to his Dog.* It is true, that theſe Men, have altred their *Tune*, twice, or thrice: when the *Match*, was in *Treating*, with the Duke, of *Anjou*, they ſpake *Honey*, as to her *Majeſty*: All the *Gall* was uttered, againſt the *Earl of Leiceſter*. But, when they had gotten *Heart*, upon the Expectation, of the *Invaſion*, they changed ſtile, and diſcloſed, all the *Venome* in the *World*, immediately, againſt her *Majeſty*: what New Hope, hath made them return, their *Sinons Note*, in teaching *Troy*, *how* to ſave it ſelf; I cannot tell. But, in the mean time, they do his *Lordſhip*, much *Honour*: For, the more deſpitefully, they inveigh, againſt his *Lordſhip*, the more Reaſon, hath her *Majeſty*, to truſt him, and the *Realm* to honour him. It was wont, to be a Token, of ſcarce a good *Liedgeman*, when the *Enemy*, ſpoiled the *Countrey*, and left, any particular Mens *Houſes*, or *Fields*, unwaſted.

6. *Certain true generall Notes upon the Actions of the Lord Burleigh.*

BUT above all the reſt, it is a ſtrange Fancy, in the *Libeller*, that he maketh his *Lordſhip*, to be, the *Primum Mobile*, in every Action, without Diſtinction. That to him, her *Majeſty* is *Accomptant*, of her *Reſolutions*. That to him, the *Earl of Leiceſter*, and Mr. *Secretary Walſingham*, both Men, of great Power, and of great wit, and underſtanding, were but as *Inſtruments*; whereas, it is well knownn, that as to her *Majeſty*, there was never a *Counſeller*, of his *Lordſhips* long Continuance, that was ſo applyable, to her *Majeſties*, *Princely Reſolutions*; Endeavouring, alwayes, after *Faithfull Propoſitions*, and *Remonſtrances*, and theſe in the *beſt words*, and the moſt *Grateſull Manner*; to reſt upon ſuch *Concluſions*, as her *Majeſty*, in her own wiſdome, determineth, and them to execute to the beſt: So far, hath he been, from *Conteſtation*, or drawing her *Majeſty*, into any his own *Courſes*. And as, for the Forenamed *Counſellours*, and others, with whom his *Lordſhip*, hath conſorted, in her *Majeſties ſervice*; It is rather true, that his *Lordſhip*, out of the Greatneſſe, of his *Experience*, and

and *Wiſdome*; And, out of the *Coldneſſe*, of his *Nature*, hath qualified, generally, all *Hard*, and *Extreame*, *Courſes*, as far, as the *Service* of her *Majeſty*, and the *Safety*, of the *State*, & the *Making* himſelf, *compatible*, with thoſe, with whom he ſerved, would permit. So far, hath his *Lordſhip* been, from inciting others, or running a full Courſe with them, in that kind. But yet, it is more ſtrange, that this Man, ſhould be ſo abſurdly *Malitious*, as he ſhould charge his *Lordſhip*, not onely, with all *Actions* of *State*, but alſo, with all the *Faults*, and *Vices*, of the Times; As if *Curioſity*, and *Emulation*, have bred ſome *Controverſies*, in the *Church*; Though, (thanks be to God,) they extend, but to outward Things; As if *Wealth*, and the *Cunning* of *Wits*, have brought forth, *Multitudes of Suits*, in *Law*; As If, *Exceſſe* in *Pleaſures*, and in *Magnificence*, joyned with the *unfaithfulneſſe* of *Servants*, and the *Greedineſſe* of *Monied Men*, have decayed, the *Patrimony*, of many Noble Men, and others; That all theſe, and ſuch like, *Conditions* of the Time, ſhould be put, on his *Lordſhips* accompt; who hath been, as far, as to his *Place*, appertaineth, a moſt *Religious*, and Wiſe, *Moderator* in *Church Matters*, to have *Unity* kept; who with great *Juſtice*, hath diſpatched, infinite *Cauſes* in *Law*, that have *orderly*, been brought before him; And, for his own *Example*, may ſay that, which few Men can ſay, but was ſometime ſaid, by *Cephalus*, the Athenian, ſo much Renowned, in *Plato's Works*; who having lived, near to the age, of an 100 years; And in continuall, Affairs, and Buſineſſe, was wont to ſay of Himſelf; *That he never ſued any, neither had been ſued by any*: Who by reaſon, of his *Office*, hath preſerved, many *Great Houſes*, from *Overthrow*, by relieving ſundry *Extremities*, towards ſuch, as in their *Minority*, have been *circumvented*; And towards all ſuch, as his *Lordſhip*, might adviſe, did ever perſwade, *Sober*, and *Limited*, *Expence*. Nay, to make Proof, further, of his *Contented Manner* of *Life*, free from *Suits*, and *Covetouſneſſe*; as he never *ſued*, any *Man*, ſo did he never *raiſe*, any *Rent*, or put out, any *Tenant*, of his own; Nor ever gave conſent, to have the like done, to any of the *Queens Tenants*; Matters, ſingularly, to be noted, in this *Age*.

But however, by this *Fellow*, as in a Falſe, *Artificiall*, *Glaſſe*, which is able, to make the beſt Face Deformed, his *Lordſhips Doings* be ſet forth; yet, let his Proceedings, (which be indeed his own,) be indifferently weighed, and conſidered; And let Men call to Mind, that his *Lordſhip* was never a *violent*, and *Tranſported Man*, in Matters of *State*, but ever Reſpective, and Moderate; That he was never Man, in his particular, a *Breaker* of *Necks*, no heavy *Enemy*, but ever Placable, and Mild; That he was never a *Brewer*, of *Holy water* in *Court*, no *Dallier*, no *Abuſer*, but ever *Reall*, and Certain; That he was never, a *Bearing* Man, nor *Carrier* of *Cauſes*, But ever gave way, to *Juſtice*, and *Courſe* of *Law*; That he was never, a *Glorious*, *Wilfull*, *Proud* Man, but ever

ever *Civill*, and *Familiar*, and good to deal withall; That in the *Courſe*, of his *Service*, he hath, rather, ſuſtained the *Burthen*, then ſought the *Fruition*, of *Honour*, or *Profit*; Scarcely ſparing any time, from his *Cares*, and *Travailes*, to the *Suſtentation* of his *Health*; That he never had, nor ſought to have, for Himſelf, and his *Children*, any Penny-worth of *Lands*, or *Goods*, that appertained to any, attainted, of any *Treaſon*, *Felony*, or otherwiſe; That he never had, or ſought, any kind of *Benefit*, by any *Forfeiture*, to her *Majeſty*; That he was never, a *Factious Commender*, of Men, as he, that intended, any waies, to beſiege Her, by bringing in, Men at his Devotion; But was ever, a true Reporter, unto her *Majeſty*, of every Mans *Deſerts*, and *Abilities*; That he never took the Courſe, to unquiet, or offend, no nor exaſperate her *Majeſty*, but to content her mind, and mitigate her Diſpleaſure; That he ever bare Himſelf *reverently*, and without *Scandall*, in Matters of *Religion*, and without blemiſh in his *Private Courſe*, of *Life*; Let Men, I ſay, without Paſſionate Mallice, call to mind, theſe Things; And they will think it Reaſon, that, though he be not *canonized* for a *Saint*, in *Rome*, yet he is, worthily, celebrated, as *Pater Patriæ*, in *England*; And though he be *Libelled* againſt, by *Fugitives*, yet he is prayed for, by a Multitude, of good *Subjects*: Aud laſtly, though he be envied, whileſt he liveth, yet he ſhall be deeply wanted, when he is gone. And aſſuredly, many Princes, have had, many Servants of *Truſt*, *Name*, and *ſufficiency*; But where there have been great parts, there hath often wanted, *Temper* of *Affection*; Where there have beeu, both *Ability*, and *Moderation*, there have wanted, *Diligence*, and *Love* of *Travaile*; Where all Three have been, there have, ſometimes, wanted, *Faith*, and *Sincerity*; Where ſome few, have had, all theſe Four, yet they have wanted *Time*, and *Experience*: But where there is a *Concurrence*, of all theſe, there is no marvaile, though a *Prince* of *Judgement*, be conſtant, in the *Employment*, and *Truſt*, of ſuch a *Servant*.

7. *Of divers particular* Untruths, *and* Abuſes, diſperſed *thrugh the* Libel.

THE *Order* which this Man keepeth, in his *Libell* is ſuch, as it may appear, that he meant but to empty ſome *Note Booke*, of the *Matters* of *England*; To bring in, (whatſoever came of it,) a Number of Idle Jeſts: which he thought might fly abroad; And intended, nothing leſſe, then to clear the Matters, be handled, by the *Linht* of *Order*, and *Diſtinct Writing*

ting. Having therefore, in the *Principall Points*, namely the Second, Third, and Fourth, Articles, ranged his Scattering, and wandering, Diſcourſe, into ſome *Order*, ſuch as may help, the Judgement of the *Reader*, I am now content, to gather up, ſome of his By-Matters, and Stragling Untruths, and very briefly, to cenſure them.

Page 9. he ſaith; *That his Lordſhips could, neither by the Greatneſs, of his Beades; creeping to the* Croſſe; *Nor exteriour ſhew of Devotion, before the High Altar; find his entrance, into high Dignity, in Queen* Maries *Time.* All which, is a meer *Fiction*, at Pleaſure: For *Queen Mary*, bare that Reſpect unto him, in regard, of his conſtant ſtanding, for her *Title*; As ſhe deſired to continue his *Servi ce*; The *Refuſall* thereof, growing from his own Part: He enjoyed, nevertheleſs, all other *Liberties*, & *Favours*, of the time; Save only, that it was put, into the *Queens* Head, that it was dangerous, to permit him, to go beyond the Sea, becauſe he had a great Wit of *Action*, and had ſerved, in ſo Principall a Place; Which nevertheleſſe, after, with *Cardinall Poole*, he was ſuffered to do

Pag. *Eadem*, he ſaith; *Sir Nich. Bacon*, that was *Lord Keeper*, was a *Man* of *exceeding crafty wit*; Which ſheweth, that this *Fellow*, in his *Slanders*, is no good Marks-Man; But throweth out his Words, of *Defaming*, without all *Levell.* For all the *World*, noted, *Sir Nich. Bacon*, to be a Man, Plain, Direct, and Conſtant, without all Fineneſſe, and Doubleneſſe; And one that was, of the mind, that a Man, in his private Proceedings, and Eſtate, and in the Proceedings, of State, ſhould reſt, upon the *Soundneſſe*, and *Strength*, of his own *Courſes*, and not upon Practiſe, to *Circumvent* others; According, to the *Sentence* of *Salomon*; *Vir Prudens aduertit ad Greſſus ſuos, ſtultus autem divertit ad Dolos*: Inſomuch, that the *Biſhop* of *Roſſe*, a Subtile, and Obſerving, Man, ſaid of him; *That he could faſten, no words upon him*, and that *it was impoſſible to come within him, becauſe he offered no play.* And *Queen Mother* of *France*, a very *politick Princeſſe*, ſaid of him; *That he ſhould have been, of the Councell of* Spain, *becauſe he deſpiſed the Occurrents, and reſted upon the Firſt Plot*; So that, if He were *Crafty*, it is hard to ſay, who is wiſe.

Pag. 10. he ſaith; That the *Lord Burleigh*, in the *Eſtabliſhment*, of *Religion*, in the *Beginning* of the *Queens Time*, preſcribed a *Compoſition*, of his own *Invention*; Whereas the ſame *Form*, not fully ſix years before, had been received, in this *Realm*, in *King Edwards Time:* So as his *Lordſhip*, being a *Chriſtian*, *Politick*, *Counſeller*, thought it better, to follow a *Preſident*, then to innovate; And choſe the Preſident, rather at *Home*, then *Abroad.*

Pag. 41. he ſaith; That *Catholicks*, never attempted, to murther, any principall perſon, of her *Majeſties Court*, as did *Burchew*, (whom he calleth a *Puritan*) In wounding, of a Gentleman, inſtead, of *Sir Chriſtopher Hatten*; But by their great *Vertue*, *Modeſty*, and *Patience*, do manifeſt, in themſelves, a far different *Spirit*,

from the other Sort. For *Burchew*, it is certain he was Mad; As appeareth, not only by his Mad Miſtaking, but by the violence, that he offred after, to his *Keeper*; And moſt evidently, by his Behaviour, at his *Execution*: But of *Catholicks*, (I mean, the *Traiterus ſort*, of them, a Man may ſay, as *Cato*, ſaid, ſometimes, of *Cæſar*; *Eum ad evertendam Remp. ſobrium acceſſiſſe*: *They came ſober, and well adviſed, to their Treaſons and Conſpiracies*; And commonly, they look not ſo low, as the *Counſellers*, but have bent, their murderour Attempts, immediatly, againſt her *Majeſties ſacred Perſon*; (Which *God* have in his precious Cuſtody;) As may appear, by the *Conſpiracy*, of *Sommervile*, *Parry*, *Savadge*, the *Six*, and others. Nay, they have defended it, in *Theſi*, to be a *Lawfull Act*.

Pag. 43. he ſaith; That his *Lordſhip*, whom he calleth the *Arch-Politick*, hath fraudulently provided, that when any *Prieſt*, is arraigned, the *Indictment*, is enforced, with many odious Matters: Wherein he ſheweth great *Ignorance*, if it be not *Mallice*: For the *Law*, permitteth not, the *Ancient Formes of Indictments*, to be altered; Like as in an *Action of Treſpaſs*, although a Man, take away anothers Goods, in the peaceableſt manner, in the *World*, yet the *Writ* hath; *Quare vi, & Armis*; And if a Man enter, upon anothers Ground, and do no more, the *Plantiſe* mentioneth; *Quod Herbam ſuam, ibidem creſcentem, cum Equis, Bobus, porcis, & Bidentibus, depaſtus ſit, conculcavit, & conſumpſit.* Neither is this any Abſurdity; For, in the Practiſe, of all *Law*, the *Formularies*, have been *Few*, and *Certain*; And not varied, according to every *Particular Caſe*. And in *Indictmeuts*, alſo, of *Treaſon*, it is not ſo far fetched, as in that of *Treſpaſs*; For the *Law*, ever preſumeth in *Treaſon*, an Intention, of *ſubverting* the *State*, and Impeaching, the *Majeſty Royall*.

Pag. 45. and in other places, ſpeaking of the *perſecuting*, of *Catholicks*, he ſtill mentioneth, *Bowellings*, and *Conſuming* Mens *Entrailes*, by *Fire*; As if this, were a *Torture*, newly deviſed; Wherein he doth *Cautelouſly*, and *Maliciouſly*, ſuppreſſe, that the *Law*, and *Cuſtom*, of this *Land*, from all *Antiquity*, hath ordained that Puniſhment, in *Caſe* of *Treaſon*, and permitteth no other. And a *Puniſhment*, ſurely, it is, though of great Terrour, yet by reaſon, of the quick *Diſpatching*, of leſſe, Torment far, then either the *Wheele*, or *Forcipation*, yea, then *Simple Burning*.

Pag. 48. he ſaith; *England*, is confederate, with the *Great Turk*. Wherein, if he mean it, becauſe the *Merchants*, have an *Agent*, in *Conſtantinople*; How will he anſwer, for all the *Kings*, of *France*, ſince *Francis* the Firſt, which were good *Catholicks*? For the *Emperour*? for the *King* of *Spain*, Himſelf? for the *Senate* of *Venice*, and other *States*, that have had, long time, *Embaſſadours Ledgers*, in that *Court*? If he mean it, becauſe the *Turk*, hath done, ſome ſpeciall Honour, to our *Embaſſadour*, (if he be ſo to be termed,) we are beholding, to the *King* of *Spain for that*; For that, the Honour, we have won upon Him, by Oppoſition, hath given us,

Re-

Reputation, through the *World*: If he mean it, becauſe the *Turk*, ſeemeth to affect us, for the Aboliſhing of *Images*; Let him conſider then, what a Scandall, the Matter of *Images*, hath been, in the *Church*: As having been, one of the principall Branches, whereby *Mahumetiſme* entred.

Page 65. he ſaith; *Cardinall Allen*, was, of late, very near, to have been elected *Pope*. Whereby, he would put, the *Catholicks* here, in ſome hope, that once, within Five or Six years, (For a *Pope*, commonly, ſitteth no longer,) he may obtain that, which he miſſed narrowly. This is a direct *Abuſe*; For it is certain, in all the *Conclaves*, ſince *Sixtus Quintus*, who gave him his *Hat*, he was never in poſſibility: Nay, the *King* of *Spain*, that hath patronized, the *Church* of *Rome*, ſo long, as he is become a right Patron of it; In that, he ſeeketh to preſent, to that *See*, whom he liketh; yet never durſt, ſtrain, his Credit, to ſo deſperate a Point, as once, to make a Canvaſs, for him: No, he never nominated him, in his *Incluſive Narration*. And thoſe that know any Thing, of the *Reſpects*, of *Conclaves*, know, that he is not *Papable*; Firſt, becauſe he is, an *Ultramontane*, of which ſort, there hath been none, theſe Fifty years: Next, becauſe he is a *Cardinall*, of *Almes*, of *Spain*, and wholly, at the *Devotion*, of that *King*: Third ly, becauſe he is like to employ, the *Treaſure*, and *Favours*, of the *Popedom*, upon the *Enterpriſes* of *England*; And the *Relief*, and *Advancement*, of *Engliſh Fugitives*, his *Neceſſitous Country men*; So as, he preſumed much, upon the *Simplicity*, of the *Reader*, in this point, as in many more.

Page 55. and again Page 70. he ſaith; His *Lordſhip*, (Meaning the *Lord Burleigh*,) Intendeth to match, his *Grandchild*, *Mr. William Cecill*, with the *Lady Arbella*. Which being a meer *Imagination*, without any *Circumſtance* at all, to enduce it; More then that, they are both *unmarried*; And that their years, agree well; Needeth no *Anſwer*. It is true, that his *Lordſhip*, being no *Stoicall*, *Unnaturall* Man, but loving towards his *Children*; For *Charitas Reip. incipit à Familiâ*;) Hath been glad, to match them, into *Honourable*, and *Good Bloud*; And yet not ſo, but, that, a private *Gentleman*, of *Northampton ſhire*, that lived altogether, in the Country, was able to beſtow his *Daughters*, higher, then his *Lord*. hath done. But yet, it is not ſeen by any Thing paſt, that his *Lordſhip*, ever thought, or affected, to match his *Children*, in the *Bloud Royall*: His *Lordſhips Wiſedom*, which hath been ſo long of Gathering, teacheth him, to leave to his *Poſterity*, rather *Surety*, then *Danger*. And, I marvaile, where be the Combinations, which have been, with Great Men; And the Popular, and Plauſible, *Courſes*, which ever accompany ſuch deſignes, as the *Libeller* ſpeaketh of: And therefore, this *Match*, is but like unto that, which the ſame *Fellow*, concluded, between the ſame *Lady Arbella*, and the *Earl of Leiceſter*, when he was, but a Twelve-Moneth old.

Pag. 70. he ſaith; He laboureth, inceſſantly, with the *Queen*,

to make, his *Eldeſt Son*, *Deputy* of *Ireland*. As if, that were ſuch a Catch; Conſidering, all the *Deputies*, ſince her *Majeſties* time, (except the *Earl* of *Suſſex*, and the *Lord Grey*,) have been perſons, of meaner Degree, then Sir *Thomas Cecill is*: And the moſt, that is gotten, by that place, is but the Saving, and putting up, of a Mans own Revenue's, during thoſe years, that he ſerveth their; And this perhaps, to be ſaved, with ſome *Diſpleaſure*, at his *Return*.

Pag. *eadem*, he ſaith; He hath brought in, his *Second Son*, Sir *Robert Cecill*, to be of the *Counſell*, who hath, neither *Wit*, nor *Experience*. Which Speech, is as notorious an untruth, as is, in all the *Libell*: For it is confeſſed, by all Men, that know the *Gentleman*, that he hath one, of the Rareſt, and moſt *Excellent*, *Wits*, of *England*; with a ſingular Delivery, and Application, of the ſame; whether it be, to uſe a Continued Speech, Or to Negotiate, Or to touch in Writing, or to make Report, Or diſcreetly to conſider, of the Circumſtances, And aptly, to draw Things, to a Point; And all this, joyned, with a very good Nature, and a great Reſpect to all Men, as is daily, more and more, revealed. And for his *Experience*, it is eaſie to think, that his *Trayning*, and *Helps*, hath made it already ſuch, as many, that have ſerved, *long prentiſhood* for it, have not attained the like: So as, if that be true; *Qui Beneficium Digno dat, omnes obligat*; Not his *Father* onely, but the *State*, is bound unto her *Majeſty*, for the choice, and Employment, of ſo *ſufficient*, and *worthy*, a *Gentleman*.

There be many other *Follies*, and Abſurdities, in the *Book*; which, if an *Eloquent Scholler*, had it in Hand, he would take Advantage thereof, and juſtly make the *Authour*, not onely Odious, but Ridiculous, and Contemptible, to the *World*. But I paſſe them over, and even this, which hath been ſaid, hath been vouchſafed, to the vallue, and *Worth* of the Matter, and not the *worth*, of the *Writer*; who hath handled a *Theam*, above his *Compaſſe*.

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8. *Of the* Heigth, *of* Impudency, *that theſe* Men, *are grown unto, in publiſhing, and Avouching*, untruths; *with a* particular Recitall *of ſome of them, for an* Aſſay.

THeſe *Men*, are grown, to a ſingular Spirit, and Faculty, in Lying, and Abuſing the world; ſuch, as it ſeemeth, although they care, to purchaſe a particular *Diſpenſation*, for all other *Sins*; yet they have a *Diſpenſation Dormant*, to *lie*, for the *Catholique Cauſe*; which moveth me, to give the *Reader*, a Taſt, of their

their *Untruths*, ſuch as are written, and are not meerly groſſe, and palpable; Deſiring him, out of their own *Writings*, when any ſhall fall, into his *Hands*, to encreaſe the *Rowle*, at leaſt, in his own *Memory*.

We retain, in our *Calenders*, no other *Holy-dayes*, but ſuch, as have their *Memorials*, in the *Scriptures*: And therefore, in the *Honour* of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, we onely receive, the *Feaſts*, of the *Annunciation*, and the *Purification*; Omitting the other, of the *Conception*, and the *Nativity*; Which *Nativity*, was uſed to be celebrated, upon the 8th. of *Septemb*; the *Vigill* whereof, hapned to be, the *Nativity* of our *Queen*: which though we keep not *Holy*, yet we uſe therein, certain *Civill Cuſtomes*, of *Joy*, and *Gratulation*; As *Ringing of Bells*, *Bonfires*, and ſuch like; And likewiſe, make a *Memoriall*, of the ſame *Day*, in our *Calender*: whereupon they have publiſhed; *That we have expunged, the Nativity of the Bleſſed Virgin, and put in ſtead thereof, the Nativity of our Queen.* And further, that we ſing, certain *Hymnes*, unto her, uſed to be ſung, unto our *Lady*:

It hapned, that upon ſome *Blond-ſhed*, in the *Church* of *Paules*, according to the *Canon Law*, yet with us in force, the ſaid *Church* was *interdicted*, and ſo, the *Gates* ſhut up, for ſome few Dayes; whereupon, they publiſhed, that, becauſe the ſame *Church*, is a place, where *People* uſe to meet, to walk and confer, the *Queens Majeſtie*, after the manner, of the Ancient *Tyrants*, had forbidden, all Aſſemblies, and Meetings, of People, together; And for that Reaſon, upon extreme Jealouſie, did cauſe, *Paules Gates*, to be ſhut up.

The *Gate* of *London*, called *Lud-Gate*, being in decay, was pulled down; And built anew: And on the one ſide, was ſet up, the Image, of *King Lud*, and his two *Sons*; who, according to the Name, was thought, to be the Firſt *Founder*, of that *Gate*: And, on the other ſide, the *Image* of her *Majeſty*, in whoſe time, it was reedified: whereupon, they publiſhed, that her *Majeſty*, after all the *Images*, of the *Saints*, were long beaten down, had now, at laſt, ſet up her own *Image*, upon the Principall *Gate*, of *London*, to be adored; And that all Men, were forced, to do reverence to it, as they paſſed by; And a watch, there placed, for that purpoſe.

Mr. *Jewell*, the *Biſhop of Salisbury*, who, according to his Life, died moſt godly, and patiently; At the Point of *Death*, uſed, the Verſicle, of *the Hymne, Te Deum*; *Oh Lord, in thee have I truſted, let me never be confounded*; Whereupon, ſuppreſſing the reſt, they publiſhed, that the principall *Champion*, of the *Hereticks*, in his very laſt words, cryed, he was confounded.

In the *Act*, of *Recognition*, of *primo*, whereby, the *Right*, of the *Crown*, is acknowledged, by *Parliament*, to be in her *Majeſty*; (The like whereof, was uſed, in *Queen Maries* time;) The words, of *Limitation*, are; In the *Queens Majeſty, and the Naturall Heires, of*

her

her Body, and her lawfull Succeſſours. Upon which word, (*Naturall,*) they do, malicioufly, and indeed villanoufly, gloſſe; That it was, the Intention, of the *Parliament*, in a Cloud, to convey the *Crown*, to any Iſſue, of her *Majeſties*, that were *Illegitimate*; Whereas the word, (Heire,) doth, with us, ſo neceſſarily, and pregnantly, import *Lawfulneſs*; As it had been, *Indecorum* and *uncivill ſpeaking*, of the *Iſſues*, of a *Prince*, to have expreſſed it.

They ſet forth, in the year a *Book*, with *Tables*, and *Pictures*, of the *Perſecutions*, againſt *Catholiques*; Wherein, they have, not onely ſtories, of 50. years old, to ſupply their *Pages*; But alſo, taken all the *perſecutions*, of the *Primitive Church*, under the Heathen, and tranſlated them, to the practiſe of *England*. As that, of *Worrowing Prieſts*, under the *Skins*, of *Bears*, by *Doggs*, and the like.

I conclude then, that I know not, what to make, of this Exceſſe, in *Avouching untruths*, ſave this; That they may truly *Chaunt*, in their *Quires*; *Linguam noſtram magnificabimus, Labia noſtra nobis ſunt:* And that they, that have long ago, forſaken, the *Truth* of *God*, which is the *Touch-ſtone*, muſt now hold by the *Whet-ſtone*; And that their *Ancient Pillar*, of *Lying wonders*, being decayed, they muſt now hold, by *Lying ſlaunders*; And make, *their Libells*, Succeſſours to their *Legend*.

A TRUE

REPORT,

Of the deteſtable

TREASON,

INTENDED,

By Doctor *RODERIGO LOPEZ*,
A Phyſician, attending upon the Perſon
of the *QVEENES MAJESTY*,

Whom He, for a Sum of Money, promiſed, to be paid him, by the *King of Spain*, did undertake, to have deſtroyed, by *Poyſon*; with certain *Circumſtances*, both of the *Plotting*, and *Detecting*, of the ſame *TREASON*.
Penned, during the Queens Life.

THe *King* of *Spain*, having found, by the *Enterpriſe* of 88. the Difficulty, of an *Invaſion*, of *England*; And having alſo, ſince that time, embraced the Matters of *France*; (Being a Deſſigne, of a more eaſie nature, and better prepared, to his Hand;) Hath, of neceſſity, for a time, layed aſide, the Proſecution of his Attempts, againſt this *Realm*, by open Forces; As knowing, his Meanes unable, to wield both Actions, at once; As well, that of *England*, as that of *France*. And therefore, caſting at the Faireſt, hath, (in a manner,) bent his whole ſtrength, upon *France*, making, in the mean time, onely a *Defenſive War*, upon the *Low-Countries*. But finding again, that the Supports, and Aides, which her *Majeſty* hath continued, to the *French King*, are

a principall Impediment, & Retardation, to his prevailing there, according to his Ends; He hath now, of late, by all means, projected, to *trouble the Waters*, here, & to cut us out, ſome work at home; That by practiſe, without *Diverting*, and *Employing*, any great *Forces*, he mought, nevertheleſſe, divert, our *Succours* from *France*.

According to which purpoſe, he firſt proved, to move ſome *Innovation* in *Scotland*; Not ſo much, in hope, to alienate *the King*, from the Amity, of her *Majeſty*, as practizing, to make a Party, there, againſt the *King* himſelf; Whereby, he ſhould be compelled, to uſe her *Majeſties Forces*, for his Aſſiſtance. Then, he ſollicited a Subject, within this *Realm*, (being a *Perſon* of great *Nobility*,) to riſe in Arms, and levy War, againſt her *Majeſty*; which practiſe was, by the ſame *Nobleman*, loyally, and prudently, revealed. And laſtly, (rather (as it is to be thought) by the Inſtigation, of our Traiterous *Fugitives*, in Forrain parts; And the corrupter Sort, of his Counſellours, and Miniſters; then of his own nature, and Inclination;) either of himſelf, or his ſaid Counſellours, and Miniſters, uſing his name, have deſcened to to a courſe, againſt all Honour; All Society, and Humanity; Odious to *God*, and Man; Deteſted by the *Heathen* themſelves; which is, to take away the Life, of her *Majeſty*, (which *God* have in his precious Cuſtody,) by violence, or poyſon. A Matter, which mought be proved to be, not onely againſt all *Chriſtianity*, and *Religion*, but againſt *Nature*, the *Law of Nations*, the *Honour of Arms*, The *Civil Law*, The *Rules* of *Morality*, and *Pollicy*: Finally, to be the moſt Condemned, Barbarous, and Ferine, Act, that can be imagined: yea, (ſuppoſing the Quarrells, and Hoſtility, between the *Princes*, to be never ſo Declared, and ſo Mortal,) yet, were it not, that it would be a very Reproach, unto the Age, that the Matter ſhould be once diſputed, or called in queſtion; it could never be defended. And therefore, I leave it to the Cenſure, which *Titus Livius* giveth, in the like caſe, upon *Perſeus*, the laſt *King* of the *Macedons*, afterwards overthrown, taken with his *Children*, & led in Triumph by the *Romans*; *Quem, non juſtũ Bellum gerere, Regio Animo, ſed per omnia clandeſtina graſſari ſcelera, Latrociniorũ, ac veneficiorum, cerneb ant.*

But to proceed, certain it is, that even about this preſent time, there have been ſuborned, and ſent, into this *Realm*, divers *perſons*, ſome *Engliſh*, ſome *Iriſh*, corrupted by Money, and Promiſes; And reſolved, and Conjured, by *Prieſts*, in *Confeſſion*, to haae executed, that moſt wretched, and horrible Fact: Of which Number certain have been Taken, and ſome have ſuffered, and ſome are ſpared, becauſe they have, with great ſorrow, confeſſed theſe Attempts, and deteſted their Suborners. And, if I ſhould conjecture, what the reaſon is, why this curſed enterpriſe, was at this time ſo hotly, and with ſuch diligence, purſued; I take it to be, chiefly becauſe the *Matters of France*, waxe ripe; And the *King* of *Spain*, made himſelf ready, to unmask

maſk himſelf, and to reap that in *France*, which he had been long in ſowing; In regard, that there being like to be, a Divulſion, in the *League*, by the *Reconciliation*, of ſome of the *Heads*, to the *King*; the more paſſionate Sort, being deſtituted by their Aſſociates, were like, to caſt themſelves, wholly, into the *King of Spains* Arms; And to diſmember, ſome important Piece, of that *Crown*; Though now, upon this freſh Accident, of Receiving the *King* into *Paris*, it is to be thought, that both the worſt affected, of the *League*, will ſubmit themſelves, upon any tolerable Conditions, to their *Naturall King*, thus advanced, in ſtrength, and Reputation; And the *King* of *Spain*, will take take a ſecond Adviſe, ere he embarque himſelf too far, in any new Attempt, againſt *France*. But taking the Affairs, as they then ſtood, before this Accident unexpected; Eſpecially, of the *Councell* of *Spain*, during this his ſuppoſed *Harveſt* in *France*; His Counſell had reaſon, to wiſh, that there were no Diſturbance from hence; Where they make account, that if her *Majeſty*, were removed, (upon whoſe perſon, *God* continue, his extraordinary Watch, and Providence;) here would be nothing but *Confuſion*; Which they do not doubt, but with ſome, no great Treaſure, and Forces, from without may be nouriſhed, till they can more fully, intend the *Ruine*, of this *State*, according to their ancient malice.

But howſoever that be, amongſt the Number of theſe execrable Undertakers, there was none, ſo much built, and relied upon, by the Great Ones, of the other ſide, as was this *Phyſician Lopez*; Nor, (indeed,) None ſo dangerous: whether you conſider the Aptneſſe of the Inſtrument; Or the ſubtilty, and ſecrecy, of thoſe, that practiſed with him; Or the Shift, and Evaſion, which he had provided, for a Colour of his Doings, if they ſhould happen, to come into Queſtion. For firſt, whereas others were to find, and encounter, infinite Difficulties, in the very obtaining, of an Opportunity, to execute this Horrible Act; And beſides, cannot but ſee, preſent, and moſt aſſured Death, before their eyes; And therefore muſt be, (as it were,) *damnable Votaries*, if they undertake it; This Man, in regard of his Faculty, and of his private Acceſſe, to her *Majeſty*, had both *Means*, to perpetrate, and *Means* to conceal; whereby, he mought reap the fruit, of his wicked *Treaſon*, without evident *perill*. And for his *Complices*, that practiſed with him, being *Portugeſes*, and of the Retinue of *King Antonio*, the *King of Spains* Mortall Enemy, they were Men, thereby freed, and diſcharged from Suſpicion; And mought ſend Letters, and receive Letters, out of *Spain*, without Jealouſie; As thoſe, which were thought, to entertain, Intelligences there, for the good of their *Maſter*: And for the Evaſion, and *Maſque*, that *Lopez* had prepared, for this *Treaſon*, if it had not been ſearched, and ſifted to the bottome, It was, that he did intend, but to couſin the King of *Spain*, without ill Meaning: ſomewhat in the nature, of that Strata-

gem, which *Parry*, a moſt Cunning, and Artificiall *Traytour*, had provided for Himſelf.

Nevertheleſſe, this Matter, by the great Goodneſſe of *God*, falling into good Hands, of thoſe Honourable, and ſufficient, perſons, which dealt therein; Was, by their great, and worthy, Induſtry, ſo handled, and followed; As this *Proteus* of a diſguiſed, and Tranſformed, *Treaſon*, did at laſt, appear, in his own Likeneſſe, and Colours; which were as Foul, and Monſtrous, as have been known, in the world. For ſome of her *Majeſties Councell*, long ſince, entred into conſideration; That the Retinew of *King Antonio*, (I mean ſome of them,) were not unlike, to hatch, theſe kinds of Treaſons; In regard, they were Needy Strangers, entred into deſpair of their *Maſters* Fortune, and like enough, to aſpire, to make their Peace at home, by ſome ſuch wicked Services, as theſe. And therefore grew, to have, an extraordinary vigilant Eye upon them. Which Prudent, and Diſcreet, Preſumption, or Conjecture; Joyned with ſome Advertiſements, of Eſpialls abroad, and ſome other Induſtry; Was, the firſt Cauſe, (next under the great Benediction of *God*, which giveth unto *Princes*, zealous Counſellours; And giveth to Counſellours, Policy, and Diſcerning Thoughts;) of the Revealing, and Diſcovering, of theſe *Treaſons*, which were contrived, in Order, and Form, as hereafter is ſet down.

This *Lopez*, of *Nation*, a *Portugeze*, and ſuſpected, to be in ſect, ſecretly, a *Jew*; (Though here he conformed Himſelf, to the Rites of *Chriſtian Religion*;) For a long time, profeſſed phyſick in this *Land*; By occaſion whereof, (being withall a Man very Obſervant, and Officious, and of a pleaſing, and applyable, behaviour; In that regard, rather then for any great Learning, in his Faculty;) He grew known, & favoured in *Court*; And was, ſome years ſince, ſworn Phyſician, of her *Majeſties Houſhold*; And by her *Majeſties* Bounty, of whom he had received, divers *Gifts*, of good commodity, was grown, to good Eſtate of Wealth.

This Man, had inſinuated himſelf, greatly, (in regard he was of the ſame *Nation*,) with the *King Antonio*; Whoſe Cauſes, he pretended, to ſollicit at the *Court*; Eſpecially while he ſuppoſed, there was any Appearance, of his Fortune: of whom alſo, he had obtained, (as one that reſerved all his doings to Gain,) an Aſſignation of 50000 *Crowns*, to be levied, in *Portugall*. But being a Perſon, wholly, of a Corrupt, and Mercenary, Nature; And finding his Hopes cold, from that part; He caſt his Eyes, upon a more able Paymaſter; And ſecretly, made offer, long ſince, of his ſervice, to the *King of Spain*: And accordingly, gave ſundry Intelligences, of that which paſſed here, and imported moſt, for the *King of Spain* to know; Having no ſmall Means, in regard of his continuall Attendance at *Court*, Nearneſſe, and Acceſſe, to learn, many particulars, of great weight. Which *Intelligences*, he maintained, with *Bernardine Mendoza*, *Antonio Vega*, *Roderigo Marquez*, and divers others.

In

In the Conveyance, of which his *Intelligences*, and in the making known of his Diſpoſition, to do the *King of Spain* ſervice, he had, (amongſt others,) one *Manuel Andrada*, a *Portugeze*, revolted from *Don Antonio*, to the *King of Spain*: One, that was diſcovered, to have practiſed the Death, of the ſaid *Don Antonio*, and to have betrayed him, to *Bernardine Mendoza*. This Man coming hither, was, for the ſame his practiſe, appearing by Letters, intercepted, apprehended, and committed to Priſon. Before which time alſo, there had been, by good diligence, intercepted, other Letters; whereby, the ſaid *Andrada*, advertiſed *Mendoza*, that he had won, Dr. *Lopez*, to the *Kings* ſervice: But *Lopez*, having underſtanding thereof; And finding means, to have ſecret conference, with *Andrada*, before his examination; Perſwaded with him, to take the Matter upon himſelf, as if he had invented, that Advertiſement, touching *Lopez*, onely to procure himſelf credit, with *Mendoza*; And to make him conceive well, of his Induſtry, and Service. And to move him hereunto, *Lopez* ſet before *Andrada*, that if he did excuſe him, he ſhould have credit, to work his Deliverie; Whereas, if he did impeach him, he was not like, to find any other Means, of Favour. By which ſubtil perſwaſion, *Andrada*, when he came to be examined, anſwered, according to the Direction, and Leſſoning, which *Lopez* had given him. And having thus acquitted himſelf of this ſuſpicion, became Suitour, for *Andrada's* Delivery, craftily ſuggeſting, that he was to do, ſome notable Service, to *Don Antonio*. In which his ſuit, he accordingly prevailed. When *Lopez* had thus got *Andrada*, out of priſon, he was ſuffered, to go out of the *Realm*, into *Spain*: In pretence, (as was ſaid,) to do ſome ſervice to *Don Antonio*; But, in truth, to continue *Lopez Negotiation*, and *Intelligences*, with the *King of Spain*: which he handled ſo well, as at his Return hither, for the comforting of the ſaid *Lopez*, he brought to him, from the *King*, beſides thanks, and words of encouragement, and an *Abrazo*, (which is the Complement of Favour,) a very good Jewell, garniſhed, with ſundry ſtones, of good value. This Jewell, when *Lopez* had accepted, he cunningly caſt with himſelf; That if he ſhould offer it, to her *Majeſty*, firſt, He was aſſured, ſhe would not take it; Next, that thereby, he ſhould lay her aſleep, and make her Secure of him, for greater Matters; According to the ſaying; *Fraus ſibi fidem in parvis præſtruit, ut in magnis opprimat*; which accordingly he did, with Proteſtations of his Fidelity: And her *Majeſty*, as a *Princeſſe* of Magnanimity, not apt to fear, or ſuſpicion, returned it to him, with Gracious words.

After *Lopez*, had thus abuſed her *Majeſty*, and had theſe Trialls of the Fidelity of *Andrada*; they fell in conference, (the matter being firſt moved by *Andrada*, as he that came freſhly out of *Spain*,) touching the *empoyſoning* of the *Queen*. Which *Lopez*; (who ſaw that Matter of Intelligence, without ſome ſuch par-

ticular ſervice, would draw no great Reward, from the *King of Spain*: ſuch as a Man, that was not Needy, but wealthy, as he was, could find any Taſt in;) aſſented unto. And to that purpoſe, procured again this *Andrada*, to be ſent over; As well, to advertiſe, and aſſure, this Matter, to *the King of Spain*, and his Miniſters; (Namely, to the *Count de Fuentes*, *Aſſiſtant* to the *Generall*, of the *King of Spains Forces*, in the *Low Countries*; as alſo, to capitulate, and contract, with him, about the Certainty of his Reward. *Andrada*, (having received thoſe Inſtructions, and being furniſhed with money, by *Lopez* procurement, from *Don Antonio*, about whoſe ſervice, his Employment, was believed to be; Went over to *Calais*; Where he remained, to be near unto *England*, and *Flanders*; Having a *Boy*, that ordinarily paſſed to and fro, between him and *Lopez*; By whom he did alſo, (the better to colour his Employment,) write to *Lopez*, Intelligence, as it was agreed he ſhould, between him, and *Lopez*; Who bad him, ſend ſuch News, as he ſhould take up, in the Streets. From *Calais*, he writeth, to *Count de Fuentes*, of *Lopez* Promiſe, and Demands. Upon the Receipt of which *Letters*, after ſome Time taken, to advertiſe this Propoſition, into *Spain*; And to receive direction thereupon; The *Count de Fuentes*, aſſociated with *Stephano Ibarra*, *Secretary* of the *Councell* of the *Wars*, in the *Low Countries*, calleth to him, one, *Manuel Louys Tinoco*, a *Portugeſe*, who had alſo followed *King Antonio*; and, of whoſe good Devotion, he had had Experience, in that he had conveyed unto him, two ſeverall Packets, wherewith he was truſted, by the *King Antonio*, for *France*. Of this *Louys*, they firſt received a *Corporall Oath*, with ſolemn *Ceremony*, taking his Hands between their Hands, that he ſhould keep ſecret, that which ſhould be imparted to him; And never reveal the ſame, though he ſhould be apprehended, and queſtioned, here. This done, they acquaint him, with the *Letters*, of *Andrada*, with whom, they charge him, to conferre at *Calais*, in his way, and to paſſe to *Lopez*, into *England*; Addreſſing, him further, to *Stephano Ferrera de Gama*; And ſignifying unto the ſaid *Lopez*, withall, (as from the *King*,) that he gave no great credence to *Andrada*, as a perſon, too fleight, to be uſed, in a Cauſe, of ſo great weight: And therefore marvelled much, that he heard nothing, from *Ferrera*, of this Matter; From whom, he had, in former time, been advertiſed, in generality, of *Lopez* good affection, to do him ſervice. This *Ferrera*, had been, ſometimes a Man, of great Livelyhood, and wealth in *Portugall*, which he did forego, in adhering to *Don Antonio*; And appeareth, to be a Man, of a Capacity, and practiſe; But hath, ſome, years ſince, been ſecretly won, to the ſervice, of the *King of Spain*; not travelling, nevertheleſſe, too and fro, but reſiding, as his Leiger, in *England*.

Manuel Louys, diſpatched with theſe Inſtructions, and with all affectionate commendations, from the *Count* to *Lopez*; And

with

with Letters to *Ferrera*; Took his Journey, firſt to *Calais*, where he conferred with *Andrada*; Of whom, receiving more ample Information, together with a ſhort Ticket of Credence, to *Lopez*, that he was a Perſon, whom he mought truſt, without ſcruple, came over into *England*; And, firſt, repaired to *Ferrera*, and acquainted him, with the State of the *Buſineſſe*, who had, before that time, given ſome Light, unto *Lopez*, that he was not a ſtranger, unto the *Practiſe*, between him, and *Andrada*; wherewith, (indeed,) *Andrada*, had (in a ſort,) acquainted him. And now, upon this new Diſpatch, and Knowledge, given to *Lopez*, of the choiſe of *Ferrera*, to continue that, which *Andrada*, had begun; He, to conform himſelf the better, to the ſatisfaction, of the *King* of *Spain*: and his *Miniſters* abroad, was content more fully, to communicate, with *Ferrera*, with whom, from that time forward, he meant, ſingly, and apertly to deal; And therefore, cunningly forbare, to ſpeak with *Manuel Louys* himſelf, but concluded, that *Ferrera* ſhould be his only *Trunk*, and all his Dealings, ſhould paſs through his Hands, thinking thereby to have gone *Inviſible*.

Whereupon he caſt with Himſelf, that it was not ſafe, to uſe, the Mediation, of *Manuel Louys*, who had been made privy to the matter, as ſome baſe carrier, of Letters; which Letters, alſo, ſhould be written, in a *Cyphar*; Not of *Alphabet*, but of *Words*; Such as mought, if they were opened, import no vehement ſuſpicion. And therefore, *Manuel Louys*, was ſent back, with a ſhort Anſwer. And *Lopez* purveied himſelf, of a baſe Fellow, a *Portugeze*, called *Gomes d' Avila*, dwelling hard by *Lopez* Houſe, to convey his Letters. After this Meſſenger provided, it was agreed, between *Lopez*, and *Ferrera*, that Letters ſhould be ſent to the *Count de Fuentes*, and *Secretary Juarra*, written, and ſigned, by *Ferrera* (for *Lopez*, cautelouſly, did forbear, to write himſelf,) but directed, and (indeed,) dictated word by word, by *Lopez* himſelf. The *Contents* thereof were; That *Lopez* was ready, to execute that Service, to the *King*, which before had been treated, but required, for his Recompence, the ſum of 50000. *Crowns*, and aſſurance for the ſame.

Theſe *Letters* were written obſcurely, (as was touched,) in Termes of *Merchandiſe*; To which Obſcurity, when *Ferrera* excepted, *Lopez* anſwered; They knew his meaning, by that, which had paſſed before. *Ferrera* wrote alſo, to *Manuel Louys*, but charged this *Gomez*, to deliver the ſame Letters, unto him, in the preſence of *Juarra*; As alſo, the Letter to *Juarra*, in the preſence of *Manuel Louys*. And theſe Letters, were delivered to *Gomez d' Avila*, to be carried to *Bruxells*; And a Paſport procured, and his charges defrayed, by *Lopez*. And *Ferrera*, the more to approve his Induſtry, writ *Letters* two ſeverall times; The one conveyed by *Emanuel Palacios*, with the privity of *Lopez*, to *Chriſtophero*

Christofero Moro, a principall *Counseller*, of the *King* of *Spain*, in *Spain*: Signifying, that *Lopez*, was won, to the *King* of *Spain*: And that, he was ready to receive his Commandement; And received a *Letter*, from the same *Christophero Moro*, in answer to one of these, which he shewed unto *Lopez*. In the mean time, *Lopez*, though a Man (in semblance,) of a heavy wit, yet, indeed, subtile of himself, as one trained in Practise; And besides, as wily, as Fear, and Covetousnesse, could make him; Thought to provide for himself, (as was partly touched before,) as many starting Holes, and Evasions, as he could devise; If any of these Matters, should come to Light. And first, he took his time, to cast forth, some generall words, a far off, to her *Majesty*, as asking her the Question; *Whether a Deceiver might not be deceived?* Whereof her *Majesty*, (not imagining these words, tended to such end, as to warrant him, colourably, in this wretched *Conspiracy*; But, otherwise, of her own naturall Disposition, bent to integrity, and Sincerity,) uttered Dislike, and Disallowance. Next he thought, he had wrought a great Mystery, in demanding the precise sum of 50000. *Crowns*, agreeing just, with the sum, of Assignation, or Donation, from *Don Antonio*; Idly, and in that, grossely, imagining; That if afterwards, he should accept the same sum, he mought excuse it, as made good by the *King* of *Spain*, in regard, he desisted, to follow, and favour, *Don Antonio*: Whereupon, the *King* of *Spain*, was, in honour, tied, not to see him a Looser. Thirdly, in his Conferrences, with *Ferrera*, when he was apposed, upon the particular manner, how he would poyson her *Majesty*, he purposely, named unto him, a *Syrop*; Knowing, that her *Majesty*, never useth *Syrop*; And therefore, thinking, that would prove an high point, for his Justification, if Things should come in any Question.

But, all this while, desirous after his prey, which he had in hope devoured, He did instantly importune *Ferrera*, for the answering, of his last *Dispatch*; Finding the Delay strange, and reiterating, the Protestations, of his Readinesse, to do the Service, if he were assured of his *Money*.

Now before the Return, of *Gomez d' Avila*, into *England*, this *Steven Ferrera*, was discovered, to have Intelligence, with the Enemy; But so, as the particular, of his Traffique, and Overtures, appeared not. Onely it seemed, there was great account made, of that he managed; And thereupon, he was committed to Prison. Soon after, arrived *Gomez d' Avila*, and brought *Letters*, onely, from *Manuel Louys*, by the Name, of *Francesco de Thores*; Because, (as it seemeth,) the great persons, on the other side, had a contrary disposition, to *Lopez*; And liked not, to write, by so base a Messenger, but continued their Course, to trust, and employ *Manuel Louys* himself, who, in likelyhood, was retained, till they mought receive, a full Conclusion, from *Spain*; Which was not, till about two moneths, after. This *Gomez*, was apprehended, at

at his Landing; And about him, were found the *Letters* aforesaid, written in *Jargon*, or *Verball Cyphar*, but yet somewhat suspicious, in these words; *This Bearer will tell you, the price, in which your Pearles are esteemed, and in what resolution, we rest, about a little Musk, and Amber, which I am determined to buy.* Which Words, the said *Manuel Louys*, afterwards, voluntarily confessed, to be desciphered, in this sort; That by the *Allowance* of the *Pearles*, he meant, that the *Count de Fuentes*, and the *Secretary*, did gladly accept, the Offer of *Lopez*, to *poyson the Queen*, signified by *Ferrera's* Letter; And for the Provision, of *Amber*, and *Musk*, it was meant, that the *Count*, looked shortly, for a Resolution from the *King of Spain*: concerning a Matter of importance; Which was, For *Burning* of the *Queens Ships*, and another Point, tending to the satisfaction, of their Vindicative Humour.

But while the sense, of this former *Letter*, rested ambiguous; And that, no direct particular, was confessed, by *Ferrera*; Nor sufficient Light given, to ground, any rigorous examination, of him; Cometh over *Manuel Louys*, with the Resolution from *Spain*: Who first understanding, of *Ferrera's* Restraint; and therefore doubting, how far things were discovered, to shadow the matter, like a cunning Companion, gave advertisement, of an Intent he had, to do service, and hereupon obtained a Pasport. But after his comming in, he made no hast, to reveal any thing, but thought to dally, and abuse, in some other sort. And while the Light was thus in the Clouds, there was also intercepted, a little *Ticket*, which *Ferrera*, in Prison, had found meanes, to write, in care to conceale *Lopez*, and to keep him out of danger, to give a Caveat of staying all further Answers, and Advertisements, in these Causes. Whereupon, *Lopez* was first called in Question.

But in Conclusion, this matter being with all Assiduity, and Pollicy, more and more, pierced, and mined into; First, there was won, from *Manuel Louys*, his *Letters*, from the *Count de Fuentes*, and *Secretary Juara*, to *Ferrera*; In both which, mention is made, of the *Queens Death*. In that of the *Counts*, under the Term, of a *Commission*; And in that of the *Secretaries*, under the Term, of the *Great Service*, whereof should arise, an universall *Benefit*, to the *whole World*. Also the *Letters* of *Credit*, written by *Gonzalo Gomez*; One to *Pedro de Carrera*; And the other, to *Juan Pallacio*, to take up, a sum of Money, by *Emanuel Louys*, by the foresaid false Name, of *Fr. de Thores*; *Letters* so large, and in a manner, without Limitation, as any sum, by vertue thereof, mought be taken up. Which *Letters*, were delivered, to *Louys*, by the *Count de Fuentes* own hands, with directions, to shew them to *Lopez*, for his assurance. A matter, of Gods secret working, in staying the same; For thereupon, rested only, the Execution, of the Fact of *Lopez*. Upon so narrow a point, consisted the safety, of her *Majesties* Life; already, sold by Avarice, to Mallice,

Mallice and Ambition; But extraordinarily, preſerved, by that *Watchman, which never ſlumbreth.* This ſame *Emanuel Lonys,* and *Steven Ferrera* alſo; Whereof the one, mannaged the Matter abroad; And the other, reſided here, to give correſpondence, never meeting, after *Emanuel* had returned, ſeverally examined, without Torture, or Threatning, did, in the end, voluntarily, and clearly, confeſſe the Matters, above mentioned: And in their Confeſſions, fully conſent, and concur; Not only in ſubſtance, but in all points, particularities, and Circumſtances: Which Confeſſions, appear expreſſed, in their own Naturall Language, teſtified, and ſubſcribed, with their own Hands; And in open Aſſembly, at the *Arraignment* of *Lopez*, in the *Guild hall*, were, by them confirmed; and avouched, to *Lopez* his face; And therewithall are extant, undefaced, the Originall *Letters*, from *Count de Fuente*, *Secretary Juara*, and the Reſt.

And *Lopez* himſelf, at his firſt Apprehenſion, and Examination, did indeed deny; And deny, with deep, and terrible Oathes, and Execrations, the very Conferences, and Treaties, with *Ferrera*, or *Andrada*, about the *Empoyſonment.* And being demanded, if they were proved againſt him, what he would ſay? He anſwered; *That he would yield himſelf guilty, of the Fact intended.* Nevertheleſſe, being afterwards confronted by *Ferrera*, who conſtantly maintained to him, all that he ſaid; Reducing him, to the Times, and places, of the ſaid *Conferences*, he confeſſed the Matter; As by his *Confeſſion*, in writing, ſigned with his own Hand, appeareth. But then he fell, to that ſlender Evaſion, as his laſt Refuge; That he meant, onely, to couſen the *King of Spain*, of the Money; And in that he continued, at his *Arraignment*; when, notwithſtanding, at the firſt, he did retract his own *Confeſſion*; And yet, being asked, whither he was drawn, either by Mean of Torture, or promiſe of Life, to make the ſame *Confeſſion*, he did openly teſtifie, that no ſuch Means, was uſed towards him.

But the Falſhood of this Excuſe, being an Allegation, that any *Traytour* may uſe, and provide for himſelf, is convicted, by three notable *Proofes.* The firſt, That he never opened this Matter, neither unto her *Majeſty*, unto whom he had ordinary Acceſſe; Nor to any *Counſeller* of *State*, to have permiſſion, to toll on, and inveagle theſe Parties, with whom he did treat, if it had been thought ſo convenient. Wherein, percaſe, he had opportunity, to have done, ſome good ſervice, for the further Diſcovery, of their ſecret Machinations, againſt her *Majeſties Life.* The ſecond, that he came, too late, to this ſhift; Having firſt bewrayed, his guilty Conſcience, in denying thoſe Treaties, and Conferences, till they were, evidently, and manifeſtly, proved to his Face. The third, that in conferring, with *Ferrera*, about the manner, of his aſſurance, he thought it better, to have the Money, in the Hands, of ſuch *Merchants*, as he ſhould name in *Antwerp*;

werp; then to have brought it into *England*: Declaring his purpoſe to be, after the Fact done, ſpeedily to fly to *Antwerp*; And there, to tarry ſome time, and ſo to convey himſelf, to *Conſtantinople*; where it is affirmed, that *Don Salomon*, a Jew, in good credit, is *Lopez* his near *Kinſman*; And that, he is greatly favoured, by the ſaid *Don Salomon*; whereby, it is evident, that *Lopez*, had caſt his Reckonings, upon the ſuppoſition, of the Fact done.

Thus may appear, both, how juſtly, this *Lopez* is condemned, for the Higheſt *Treaſon*; that can be imagined; And how, by *Gods* marvellous Goodneſs, her *Majeſty*, hath been preſerved. And ſurely, if a Man do truly conſider, it is hard to ſay; Whither *God*, hath done greater things, *By* her *Majeſty*, or *For* Her: If you obſerve on the one ſide, how *God* hath ordained her Government, to break, and croſſe, the unjuſt Ambition, of the Two *Mighty Potentates*, the *King of Spain*; and the *Biſhop of Rome*, never ſo ſtraitly, between themſelves, combined; And, on the other ſide, how mightily *God* hath protected her, both againſt forrain *Invaſion*, and *Inward Troubles*; And ſingularly, againſt the many ſecret Conſpiracies, that have been made againſt her Life: Therby declaring, to the world, that he will indeed *preſerve* that *Inſtrument*, which *he* hath *magnified*. But the Corruptions, of theſe Times, are wonderfull, when that Warrs, which are the higheſt Trialls of Right, between *Princes*, (that acknowledge no ſuperiour Juriſdiction;) And ought to be proſecuted, with all Honour, ſhall be ſtained, and infamed, with ſuch Foul, and Inhumane Practiſes. Wherein, if ſo great a *King* hath been named, the *Rule* of the *Civill Law*, (which is a *Rule* of *Common Reaſon*;) Muſt be remembred; *Fruſtra Legis auxilium implorat, qui in Legem Committit.* He that hath ſought, to violate, the *Majeſty Royall*, in the Higheſt Degree, cannot claim, the preheminence thereof, to be exempted, from juſt Imputation.

AN ADVERTISEMENT, TOUCHING THE CONTROVERSIES, OF THE CHURCH, OF ENGLAND.

IT is but Ignorance, if any Man find it ſtrange, that the *State* of *Religion*, (eſpecially, in the Dayes of *Peace*,) ſhould be exerciſed, and troubled, with *Controverſies:* For as it is, the Condition, of the *Church Militant*, to be ever under *Trials*; So it commeth to paſſe, that when the *Fiery Triall*, of *Perſecution*, ceaſeth, there ſucceedeth another *Triall*, which, (as it were,) by contrary Blaſts of *Doctrine*, doth ſift, and winnowe, Mens *Faith*; And proveth, whether they *Know God* aright; Even as that other, of Afflictions, diſcovereth, whether they *Love* him, better, then the *World*. Accordingly, was it foretold, by *Chriſt*, ſaying; *That in the latter times, it ſhould be ſaid; Lo here, loe there is Chriſt:* Which is to be underſtood, not as if the very *Perſon* of *Chriſt*, ſhould be aſſumed, and counterfeitted; But his Authority, and preheminence, (which is to be Truth it ſelf,) ſhould be challenged, and pretended. Thus have we read, and ſeen, to be fulfilled, that which followeth, *Ecce in Deſerto; Ecce in Penetralibus:* While ſome have ſought the Truth, in the *Conventicles*, and *Conciliables*, of *Hereticks*, and Sectaries; others, in the *Externe Face*, and *Repreſentation*, of the *Church*; And both Sorts have been ſeduced. Were it then, that the *Controverſies*,

verſies, of the *Church*, of *England*, were ſuch, as they did Divide, the *Unity* of the *Spirit*; And not onely ſuch, as do *unſwath* her, of her *Bands*, (the *Bands* of *Peace*;) yet could it be no Occaſion, for any *pretended Catholick*, to judge us; or for any *Irreligious Perſon*, to deſpiſe us: Or if it be, it ſhall but happen to us all, as it hath uſed to do; To them to be *Hardned*, and to us to *Endure*, the good pleaſure of *God*. But now, that our *Contentions*, are ſuch, as we need not, ſo much, that generall *Canon*, and *Sentence*, of *Chriſt*, propounded againſt *Hereticks*; *Erratis, neſcientes Scripturas, & poteſtatem Dei. You do Err, not Knowing the Scripture, & the Power of God*; As we need, the *Admonition*, of *S. James*; *Let every Man be ſwift to hear, ſlow to ſpeak, ſlow to wrath*; And that the Wound, is no way, dangerous, except we poyſon it, with our Remedies: As the Former Sort of Men, have leſſe Reaſon, to make themſelves *Muſick*, in our *Diſcord*; So I have good hope, that Nothing ſhall diſpleaſe our Selves; wch ſhall be ſincerely, & modeſtly propounded, for the appeaſing of theſe *Diſſentions*. For if any ſhall be offended, at this voyce; *Vos eſtis fratres*; *ye are brethren, why ſtrive Ye?* He ſhall give, a great preſumption, againſt himſelf, that he is the Party, that doth his Brethren wrong.

The *Controverſies* themſelves, I will not enter into; As judging, that the Diſeaſe, requireth rather *Reſt*, then any other *Cure*. Thus much we all know, and confeſs, that they be not of the Higheſt Nature: For they are not, touching the high *Myſteries* of *Faith*, ſuch as detained the *Churches*, for many yeares, after their firſt Peace: what time the *Hereticks* moved curious *Queſtions*, and made ſtrange *Anatomies*, of the *Natures*, and *perſon*, of *Chriſt*: And the *Catholick Fathers*, were compelled to follow them, with all Subtilty of Deciſions, and Determinations, to exclude them, from their *Evaſions*, and to take them in their *Labyrinths*: So as it is rightly ſaid; *Illis temporibus, ingenioſa Res fuit, eſſe Chriſtianum: In thoſe dayes, it was an ingenious, and ſubtill thing, to be a Chriſtian.* Neither are they, concerning the great parts, of the *Worſhip of God*; Of which it is true; that, *Non ſervatur unitas in Credendo, niſi eadem ſit in Colendo: There will be kept, no unity in Believing, except it be entertained, in worſhipping*: Such as were the *Controverſies*, of the *Eaſt*, and *Weſt*, *Churches*, touching *Images*: And ſuch, as are many of thoſe, between the *Church* of *Rome*, and *Us*; As about the *Adoration* of the *Sacrament*, and the like: But we contend, about *Ceremonies*, and *Things Indifferent*; About the *Extern Pollicy*, and *Government* of the *Church*. In which kind, if we would but remember, that the Ancient, and True Bounds, of Unity, are, *One Faith, One Baptiſm*; And not, *One Ceremony, One Pollicy*; If we would obſerve the *League*, amongſt *Chriſtians*, that is penned by our *Saviour*; *He that is not againſt us, is with us*: If we could but comprehend, that Saying; *Differentiæ Rituum commendant unitatem Doctrinæ*; *The Diverſities of Ceremonies, doſet forth, the unity of Doctrine*; And that, *Habet Religio quæ ſunt Æternitatis, habet quæ ſunt*

Temporis; *Religion hath parts, which belong to Eternity, and parts which pertain to Time*: And if we did but know, the vertue of ſilence, and ſlowneſs to ſpeak, commended by Saint *James*; Our *Controverſies*, of themſelves, would cloſe up, and grow together. But moſt eſpecially, if we would leave, the Overweening, and Turbulent Humours, of theſe times; And revive, the bleſſed proceeding, of the *Apoſtles*, and *Fathers*, of the *Primitive Church*; which was, in the like, and greater Caſes, not to enter into *Aſſertions*, and *Poſitions*, but to deliver *Counſels*, and *Adviſes*; we ſhould need no other *Remedy* at all; *Si eadem Conſulis*, (*frater*,) *quæ affirmas, conſulenti debetur Reverentia, cum non debeatur Fides affirmanti*: *Brother, if that which you ſet down, as an Aſſertion, you would deliver, by way of Adviſe*; *There were Reverence due to your Counſell, whereas Faith is not due to your Affirmation.* Saint *Paul*, was *content*, to ſpeak thus, *Ego, non Dominus*; *I, and not the Lord*: Et, *ſecundum Conſilium meum*; *According to my Counſell*: But now, Men do, *too lightly, ſay*; *Non ego, ſed Dominus*; *Not I, but the Lord*: yea, and bind it, with an Heavy Denunciation of his Judgements, to terrifie the ſimple, which have not ſufficiently underſtood, out of *Salomon*; *That the Cauſeleſſe Curſe ſhall not come.*

Therefore, ſeeing the Accidents are they, which breed the peril, and not the Things themſelves, in their own Nature; It is meet, the *Remedies*, be applyed unto them, by Opening, what it is, on either part, that keepeth the Wound Green; And formalizeth, both ſides, to a further Oppoſition; and worketh, an Indiſpoſition, in Mens minds, to be reunited; wherein no Accuſation is pretended. But I find in *Reaſon*, that *Peace*, is beſt built, upon a Repetition, of wrongs; And in *Example*, that the ſpeeches, which have been made, by the wiſeſt Men, *De Concordia Ordinum*, have not abſtained, from reducing to Memory, the Extremities, uſed on both parts: So as it is true, which is ſaid; *Qui pacem tractat non is repetit Conditionibus Diſſidii, is magis Animos Hominum, dulcedine pacis fallit, quam æquitate componit.*

And Firſt of all, it is more then Time, that there were an End, and ſurſeance, made, of this Immodeſt, and *Deformed*, manner of Writing, lately entertained; whereby, *Matter* of *Religion*, is handled, in the ſtile of the *Stage*. Indeed, bitter, and earneſt, Writing, muſt not haſtily, be condemned; For Men cannot contend Coldly, and without affection, about Things, which they hold Dear, and Precious. A Pollitick Man, may write, from his *Brain*, without Touch, and Senſe, of his Heart; As in a Speculation, that appertaineth not unto him: But, a *Feeling Chriſtian*, will expreſſe, in his words, a *Character*, of Zeal, or Love. The latter of which, as I could wiſh rather embraced, being more proper for theſe Times, yet is the Former warranted alſo, by great *Examples*.

But to leave, all Reverent, and Religious, Compaſſion, towards Evils, or Indignation towards Faults; and to turn, *Religion* in-

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to a Comedy, or Satyre; To ſearch, and rip up wounds, with a *Laughing Countenance*; To intermix, *Scripture*, and *ſcurrility*, ſometime, in one Sentence; Is a thing, far from the devout Reverence, of a *Chriſtian*, and ſcant beſeeming, the honeſt Regard, of a ſober Man. *Non eſt major Confuſio, quam Serii, & Joci. There is no greater Confuſion, then the confounding, of Jeſt and Earneſt.* The *Majeſty* of *Religion*, and the *Contempt*, and *Deformity*, of things ridiculous, are things as diſtant, as things may be. Two principall *Cauſes*, have I ever known, of *Atheiſme*; *Curious Controverſies, and prophane Scoffing*: Now, that theſe two, are joyned in one, no doubt, that Sect, will make no ſmall Progreſſion. And here, I do much eſteem, the Wiſdome, and Religion, of that *Biſhop*, which replied, to the firſt *Pamphlet*, of this kind, who remembred, that a *Fool*, was to be anſwered, but not, by becomming like unto him; And conſidered, the *Matter*, which he handled, and not the *Perſon*, with whom he dealt.

Job, ſpeaking of the *Majeſty*, and *Gravity* of a *Judge*, in himſelf ſaith; *If I did ſmile, they believed it not*: As if he ſhould have ſaid; If I diverted, or glanced, upon Conceit of Mirth, yet Mens Minds, were ſo poſſeſſed, with a Reverence, of the Action in hand, as they could not receive it. Much more, ought not this to be, amongſt *Biſhops*, and *Divines*, diſputing about *Holy Things*. And therefore, as much, do I miſlike, the Invention of him, who, (as it ſeemeth,) pleaſed himſelf in it, as in no mean Pollicy; That theſe *Men*, are to be dealt withall at their own *Weapons*, and, *pledged* in their own *Cup*. This ſeemed to him, as profound a Deviſe, as when the *Cardinall Sanſovino*, counſelled *Julius the ſecond*, to encounter the *Councell* of *Piſa*, with the *Councell* of *Lateran*; Or as Lawfull a Challenge, as Mr. *Jewell* made, to confute, the *pretended Catholiques*, by the *Fathers*: But thoſe Things, will not excuſe, the Imitation, of Evill in another. It ſhould be, contrariwiſe, with us, as *Cæſar* ſaid; *Nil malo, quam eos ſimiles eſſe ſui, Et me mei*. But now; *Dum de bonis contendimus, de Malis conſentimus*: *While we Differ about good things, we Reſemble in evill.*

Surely, if I were asked, of theſe Men, who were the more to be blamed, I ſhould, per caſe, remember the *Proverb*; *That the ſecond Blow maketh the Fray*; And the ſaying of an *Obſcure Fellow*; *Qui replicat, multiplicat: He that replieth, multiplieth.* But, I would determine, the *Queſtion*, with this *Sentence*; *Alter principium Malo dedit, alter Modum abſtulit: By the ones Means, we have a Beginning, and by the other, we ſhall have none End.*

And truly, as I do marvell, that ſome of thoſe *Preachers* which call for *Reformation*; (whom I am far from wronging; ſo far, as to joyn them, with theſe Scoffers;) Do not, publiſh ſome *Declaration*, whereby they may ſatisfie the world, that they diſlike their Cauſe, ſhould be thus ſollicited; So I hope, aſſuredly, that my *Lords of the Clergy*, have none Intelligence, with this interlibelling;

ling; But do altogether diſallow, that their Credit ſhould be thus defended. For though, I obſerve, in one of them, many Gloſſes, whereby the Man, would inſinuate himſelf, into their Favours; yet I find it to be ordinary, that many Preſſing, and Fawning Perſons do miſconjecture, of the Humours, of *Men* in *Authority*; And many times, *Veneri immolant ſuem*; they ſeek to gratifie them, with that, which they moſt diſlike. For I have great Reaſon, to ſatisfie my ſelf, touching the Judgement of my *Lords, the Biſhops*, in this Matter, by that which was written by one of them, which I mentioned before, with honour. Nevertheleſſe I note, there is not an indifferent hand carried, towards theſe *Pamphlets*, as they deſerve; For the one ſort, *flyeth* in the *Dark*, and the other, is *uttered openly*. Wherein, I might adviſe, that ſide, out of a Wiſe writer, who hath ſet it down, *That, punitis Ingeniis gliſcit Authoritas.*

And, indeed, we ſee, it ever falleth out, that the *Forbidden Writing*, is alwaies thought, to be certain ſparks of a Truth, that fly up into the faces of thoſe, that ſeek to choak it, and tread it out; Whereas, a *Booke Authorized* is thought to be, but *Temporis Voces*; The *Language of the Time*. But in plain Truth, I do find, (to mine underſtanding,) theſe *Pamphlets*, as meet to be ſuppreſſed, as the other. Firſt, becauſe, as the former ſort, doth deface, the *Government*, of the *Church*, in the perſons of the *Biſhops*, and *Prelates*; So the other, doth lead into Contempt, the Exerciſes of *Religion*, in the Perſons of ſundry *Preachers:* So as it diſgraceth an higher matter, though in the meaner Perſon.

Next, I find, certain indiſcreet, and dangerous Amplifications, as if the *Civill Government*, it ſelf, of this *State*, had near loſt the Force of her Sinews; And were ready, to enter, into ſome Convulſion, all things being full of Faction, and Diſorder; which is as unjuſtly acknowledged, as untruly affirmed. I kow, his Meaning is, to enforce, this unreverent, and violent Impugning, of the *Government* of *Biſhops*, to be, a ſuſpected *Forerunner*, of a more *generall Contempt*. And I grant, there is *Sympathy*, between the *Eſtates*; But no ſuch matter, in the Civill Pollicy, as deſerveth ſo diſhonourable a Taxation.

To conclude this Point; As it were to be wiſhed, that theſe *Writings*, had been abortive, and never ſeen the Sun; So the next is, ſince they be commen abroad, that they be cenſured, (by all that have Underſtanding, and Conſcience,) as the untemperate Extravagancies, of ſome Light perſons. Yea, further, that Men beware, (except they mean to adventure, to deprive themſelves, of all ſenſe of *Religion*, and to pave their own Hearts, and make them as the High Way,) how they be converſant in them; And much more, how they delight in that Vein; But rather to turn their *Laughing*, into *Bluſhing*; And to be aſhamed, as of a *ſhort Madneſſe*; That they have, in matters

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of *Religion*, taken their Diſport, and Solace. But this, perchance, is of theſe Faults, which will be ſooneſt acknowledged; Though I perceive, nevertheleſſe, that there want not ſome, who ſeek to blaunch, and excuſe it.

But to deſcend, to a ſincere View, and Conſideration, of the Accidents, and Circumſtances, of theſe *Controverſies*, wherein, either part, deſerveth Blame, or Imputation; I find, generally, in *Cauſes* of *Church-matters*, that Men do offend, in ſome, or all, of theſe five Points.

The Firſt is, the *Giving Occaſion*, unto the *Controverſies*; And alſo, the *Unconſiderate*, and *Ungrounded*, *Taking* of *Occaſion*.

The Next is, the *Extending*, and *Multiplying*, the *Controverſies*, to a more generall *Oppoſition*, or *Contradiction*, then appeareth, at the firſt propounding of them, when Mens Judgements are leaſt partiall.

The Third is, the *Paſſionate*, and *Unbrotherly Practiſes*, and *Proceedings*, of both *Parts*, towards the *Perſons*, each of others, for their *Diſcredit*, and *Suppreſſion*.

The Fourth is, the *Courſes*, *holden*, *and entertained*, on *either ſide*, for the *drawing* of their Partizans, to a more ſtraight, *Union* within themſelves; Which ever importeth, a further Diſtraction, of the Entire Body.

The laſt is, the Undue, and Inconvenient, *Propounding*, *publiſhing*, and *Debating*, of the *Controverſies*. In which Point, the moſt palpable Error, hath been already ſpoken of; As that, which through the ſtrangeneſſe, and Freſhneſſe of the Abuſe, firſt offereth it ſelf, to the Conceits, of all Men.

Now concerning the *Occaſion*, of the *Controverſies*; It cannot be denyed, but that the Imperfections, in the *Converſation*, and *Government* of thoſe, which have chief place in the *Church*, have ever been principall *Cauſes*, and *Motives*, of *Schiſmes*, and *Diviſions*. For whiles the *Biſhops*, and *Governers*, of the *Church*, continue full of Knowledge, and good Works; Whiles they *Feed* the *Flock* indeed; Whiles they deal, with the *Secular States*, in all Liberty, and Reſolution, according to the *Majeſty* of their *Calling*, and the precious care of *Souls*, impoſed upon them; So long, the *Church* is *ſituated*, as it were *upon an Hill*; No Man maketh queſtion of it, or ſeeketh to depart from it: But when theſe vertues, in the *Fathers*, and *Leaders*, of the *Church*, have loſt their Light; And that they wax worldly, *Lovers* of themſelves, and *Pleaſers* of Men; Then Men begin, to groap for the *Church*, as in the Dark; They are in doubt, whether they be the *Succeſſours* of the *Apoſtles*, or of the *Phariſes*: yea, howſoever they *ſit in* Moſes *Chair*, yet they can never ſpeak, *Tanquam Authoritatem habentes*, *as having Authority*, becauſe they have loſt their Reputation, in the Conſciences of Men, by declining their ſteps, from the way, which they trace out to others. So as Men, had need

need, continually, have ſounding in their Eares, this ſame; *Nolite Exire: Go not out:* So ready are they, to depart from the *Church*, upon every voice. And therefore, it is truly noted by one, that writeth as a Naturall Man; That the Humility of the *Friars*, did, for a great time, maintain, and bear out, the Irreligion, of *Biſhops*, and *Prelates*.

For this is the Double Pollicy, of the ſpirituall Enemy; either by counterfeit *Holineſſe* of *Life*, to Eſtabliſh, and Authorize Errours; Or by Corruption of Manners, to diſcredit, and draw in queſtion, Truth, and Things Lawfull. This concerneth, my *Lords the Biſhops*, unto whom, I am witneſſe to my ſelf, that I ſtand affected, as I ought: No Contradiction hath ſupplanted, in me, the *Reverence*, that I owe to their *Calling*: Neither hath any Detraction, or Calumny, imbaſed mine Opinion, of their Perſons. I know ſome of them, whoſe Names are moſt pierced, with theſe Accuſations, to be Men of great vertues; Although the Indiſpoſition of the times, and the want of Correſpondence, many wayes, is enough to fruſtrate, the beſt Endeavours, in the *Edifying* of the *Church*. And for the reſt, generally, I can condemn none. I am no Judge of them, that belong, to ſo *High* a *Maſter*; Neither have I *two Witneſſes*. And I know, it is truly ſaid, of *Fame*, that

——*Pariter Facta, atq; Infecta Canebat.*

Their Taxations, ariſe not, all, from one Coaſt; They have many, and different, Enemies; Ready to invent Slaunder, more ready to amplifie it, and moſt ready to beleeve it. And *Magnes Mendacii Credulitas*; *Credulity is the Adamant of Lies*. But if any be, againſt whom, the *ſupream Biſhop*, hath not a few Things, but many Things; If any have *loſt his firſt Love*; If any be *neither Hot, nor Cold*; If any have ſtumbled, too fondly, at the Threſhold, in ſuch ſort, that he cannot ſit well, that entred ill; It is time they return, whence they are fallen, and confirm the Things, that remain.

Great is the Weight of this *Fault*; *Et eorum cauſâ abhorrebant à Sacrificio Domini: And For their Cauſe, did Men abhor, the Adoration of God.* But howſoever it be, Thoſe, which have ſought to deface them, and caſt Contempt upon them, are not to be excuſed.

It is the precept of *Salomon*, that the *Rulers* be not *Reproached*; No, not in our *Thought*. But that, we draw, our very Conceit, into a Modeſt Interpretation, of their Doings. The *Holy Angel*, would give no *Sentence* of *Blaſphemy*, againſt the *Common Slaunderer*, but ſaid; *Increpet te Dominus: The Lord Rebuke thee.* The *Apoſtle. Saint Paul*, though againſt him, that did pollute Sacred Juſtice, with Tyrannous Violence, he did juſtly denounce the Judgement of God, ſaying; *Percutiet te Dominus: The Lord will*

will ſtrike thee: yet in ſaying, *Paries dealbate*, he thought he had gone too far, and retracted it. Whereupon a *Learned Father* ſaid; *Ipſum, quamvis inane nomen, & umbrani Sacerdotis, expavit.*

The ancient *Councels*, and *Synodes*, (as is noted by the *Eccleſiaſticall Story*,) when they deprived any *Biſhop*, never recorded the Offence, but buried it in perpetuall Silence: Only *Cham*, purchaſed, his Curſe, by revealing his *Fathers Diſgrace*. And yet a much greater Fault is it, to aſcend, from their *Perſon*, to their *Calling*, and draw that in queſtion. Many good *Fathers*, ſpake rigourouſly, and ſeverely, of the unworthineſſe of *Biſhops*; As if, preſently, it did forfeit, and ceaſe their Office. One ſaith; *Sacerdotes nominamur, & non ſumus: We are called Prieſts, but Prieſts we are not.* Another ſaith; *Niſi bonum Opus amplectaris, Epiſcopus eſſe non potes: Except thou undertake the good work, thou canſt not be a Biſhop*: Yet they meant nothing leſs, then to move doubt, of their *Calling*, or *Ordination*.

The Second *Occaſion*, of *Controverſies*, is the Nature, and Humour, of ſome Men. The *Church* never wanteth, a kind of *Perſons*, which love the Salutation, of *Rabbi*, *Maſter*; Not in Ceremony, or Complement, but in an Inward Authority, which they ſeek, over Mens Minds, in drawing them, to depend, upon their Opinions, and to ſeek *Knowledge*, at *their Lips*. Theſe Men, are the true *Succeſſours*, of *Diotrephes, the Lover of Preheminence*; And not, *Lord Biſhops*. Such Spirits do light upon another ſort of Natures, which do adhere to theſe Men; *Quorum gloria in Obſequio*; Stiffe Followers, and ſuch, as zeal mervailouſly, for thoſe, whom they have choſen, for their *Maſters*. This latter ſort, for the moſt part, are Men, of young years, and ſuperficiall Underſtanding; Carried away, with partiall reſpects of Perſons; Or with the Enticing Appearance, of Godly Names, and *Pretences*: *Pauci res ipſas ſequuntur, plures nomina Rerum, plurimi nomina Magiſtrorum. Few follow the things themſelves, more the names of the Things, and moſt the Names of their Maſters.* 2.

About theſe generall Affections, are wreathed, and interlaced, accidentall, and private Emulations, and Diſcontentments; All which, together, break forth into contentions; Such as either violate Truth, Sobriety, or Peace. Theſe generalities apply themſelves. The *Univerſities*, are the Seat, or the Continent, of this Diſeaſe; Whence it hath been, and is derived, into the Reſt of the *Realm*. There Men, will no longer be, *é numero*, of the *Numeber*. There, do others ſide themſelves, before they know, their *Right Hand*, from their *Left*. So it is true, which is ſaid; *Tranſeunt ab Ignorantiâ, ad præjudicium. They skip from Ignorance to a prejudicate Opinion*; And never take, a ſound Judgement, in their way. But, as it is well noted; *Inter Juvenile Judicium, & ſenile præjudicium, omnis veritas corumpitur*: Through want of years, when Men are not indifferent, But partiall, then their Judgement, is weak, and unripe.

And when it groweth, to Strength, and Ripeneſſe, by that time, it is foreſtalled, with ſuch a Number of prejudicate Opinions, as it is made unprofitable: So as, between theſe two, all Truth is corrupted. In the mean while, the Honourable Names, of Sincerity, Reformation, and Diſcipline, are put in the fore Ward; So as, *Contentions*, and *Evill Zeals*, cannot, be touched, except theſe *Holy Things*, be thought firſt to be violated. But howſoever, they ſhall infer, the Sollicitation, for the *Peace*, of the *Church*, to proceed, from *Carnall Senſe*; yet, I will conclude, ever, with the *Apoſtle Paul*; *Cum ſit inter vos, Zelus, & Contentio, nonne carnales eſtis? While there is amongſt you, Zeal, and Contention, are ye not carnall?* And howſoever, they eſteem, the *Compounding* of *Controverſies*, to ſavour of *Mans Wiſedom*, and *Humane Pollicy*; And think themſelves led, by the *Wiſedom, which is from above*; yet I ſay with *Saint* James; *Non eſt iſta ſapientia deſurſum deſcendens; ſed Terrena, Animalis, Diabolica. Ubi enim Zelus, & Contentio, Ibi Inconſtantia, & omne opus pravum.* Of this *Inconſtancy*, it is ſaid by a *Learned Father*; *Procedere volunt, non ad perfectionem, ſed ad permutationem: They ſeek to go forward ſtill, not to perfection, but to change.*

The Third *Occaſion* of *Controverſies*, I obſerve to be, an Extream and unlimitted, Deteſtation, of ſome former *Hereſie*, or Corruption, of the Church, already acknowledged, and convicted. This was the Cauſe, that produced, the Hereſie of *Arrius*, grounded, eſpecially, upon Deteſtation of *Gentiliſme*; leaſt the Chriſtians, ſhould ſeem, by the Aſſertion, of the equall *Divinity*, of our *Saviour Chriſt*, to approach, unto the Acknowledgement, of more *Gods*, then One. The Deteſtation, of the *Hereſie*, of *Arrius*, produced that of *Sabellius*; who holding for Execrable, the Diſſimilitude, which *Arrius* pretended in the *Trinity*, fled ſo far from him, as he fell upon that other extremity, to deny the *Diſtinction* of Perſons: And to ſay, they were, but onely Names, of ſeverall Offices, and Diſpenſations. Yea, moſt of the *Hereſies*, and *chiſmes*, of the Church, have ſprung up, of this Root; While Men, have made it, as it were, their Scale, by which, to meaſure the Bounds, of the moſt perfect Religion; Taking it, by the furtheſt diſtance, from the Errour, laſt condemned. Theſe be *Poſthumi Hæreſium Filii*; *Hereſies*, that ariſe, out of the Aſhes, of other *Hereſies*, that are extinct, and amortized.

This Manner of Apprehenſion, doth, in ſome degree, poſſeſſe many in our Times. They think it the true Touchſtone, to try what is good and evill, by meaſuring, what is more, or leſſe, oppoſite, to the *Inſtitutions*, of the *Church*, of *Rome*; Be it *Ceremony*; Be it *Pollicy*, or Government; yea, be it other *Inſtitutions* of greater Weight; That is ever moſt perfect, which is removed, moſt degrees, from that *Church*: And that, is ever polluted, and blemiſhed, which participateth, in any Appearance, with it. This is a ſubtile, and dangerous, Conceit, for Men to entertain; Apt to delude

delude themſelves, more apt to delude the People, and moſt apt of all, to calumniate their Adverſaries. This ſurely, (but that a Notorious Condemnation, of that Poſition, was before our Eyes,) had, long ſince, brought us, to the *Rebaptization* of *Children*, baptized according to the *Pretended Catholick Religion*. For I ſee that, which is a Matter, of much like reaſon; Which is the *re-ordaining* of *Prieſts*, is a Matter, already, reſolutely maintained. It is very meet, that Men beware, how they be abuſed by this Opinion; And that they know, that it is a Conſideration, of much greater Wiſedom, and Sobriety, to be well adviſed; whether, in generall Demolition, of the *Inſtitutions*, of the *Church*, of *Rome*, there were not, (as Mens Actions are imperfect,) ſome Good purged with the Bad; Rather, then to purge the Church, as they pretend, every day anew: Which is the way, to make a wound in the Bowels, as is already begun.

The Fourth, and Laſt, *Occaſion*, of theſe *Controverſies*, (a Matter, which did, alſo, trouble the *Church*, in former times,) is the partiall, Affectation, and Imitation, of *Forraign Churches*. For many of our Men, (during the time of perſecution, and ſince,) having been Converſant, in *Churches* abroad; And received, a great Impreſſion, of the form of Government, there ordained, have violently ſought, to intrude the ſame, upon our *Church*. But I anſwer; *Conſentiamus in eo quod convenit, non in eo quod receptum eſt: Let us agree in this, that every* Church *do that, which is convenient, for the State, of it ſelf, and not in particular Cuſtomes*: Although their *Churches*, had received, the better Form, yet, many times, it is to be ſought; *Non quod Optimum, ſed é bonis quid Proximum: Not that which is Beſt*, but of good Things, which is the Beſt, and Readieſt, to be had. Our *Church* is not now to plant; It is ſetled, and eſtabliſhed. It may be in *Civill States*, a *Republicke*, is a better Pollicy, then a *Kingdom*; Yet *God* forbid, that lawfull *Kingdomes*, ſhould be tyed to innovate, and make Alterations. *Qui mala introducit, voluntatem Dei oppugnat, revelatam in verbo; Qui Nova introducit, voluntatem Dei oppugnat, revelatam in Rebus. He that bringeth in Evill Cuſtomes, reſiſteth the will of God, revealed in his Word; He that bringeth in new Things, reſiſteth the Will of God, revealed in the Things themſelves. Conſule providentiam Dei cum verbo Dei*; Take Counſell, of the Providence of God, as well as of his Word. Neither yet do I admit, that their Form, although it were poſſible, and convenient, is better then ours, if ſome Abuſes were taken away. The *Parity*, and *Equality*, of *Miniſters*, is a Thing, of wonderfull great Confuſion: And ſo is An *Ordinary Government by Synods*; which doth, neceſſarily, enſue upon the other.

It is hard, in all Cauſes, but eſpecially in *Religion*, when *Voyces*, ſhall be *Numbred*, and not *Weighed*: *Equidem*, (ſaith a Wiſe Father,) *ut verè quod res eſt ſcribam, prorſus decrevi fugere omnem Conventum Epiſcoporum; Nullius enim Concilii bonum exitum unquam vidi; Concilia*

cilia enim non minuunt Mala, ſed augent potiùs. To ſay the truth, I am utterly determined, never to come, to any Councell of Biſhops. For I never yet ſaw, good end, of any Councell; For Councels abate not ill things, but rather encreaſe them. which is to be underſtood, not ſo much of *Generall Councels*, as of Synods, gathered, for the ordinary Government of the *Church*. As for the *Deprivation* of *Biſhops*, and ſuch like cauſes; This miſchief hath taught the uſe of *Arch Biſhops*, *Patriarchs*, and Primates; as the abuſe of them ſince, hath taught Men to miſlike them.

But it will be ſaid; Look to the Fruits, of the *Churches* abroad, and Ours. To which I ſay, that I beſeech the *Lord*, to multiply his *Bleſſings*, and *Graces*, upon thoſe *Churches*, an hundred fold. But yet, it is not good, that we fall, on the numbring of them. It may be, our peace, hath made us more wanton. It may be alſo, (though I would be loath, to derogate, from the Honour, of thoſe Churches, were it not to remove Scandalls,) that their Fruits, are, as *Torches*, in the Dark, which appear greateſt, afar off. I know, they may have ſome ſtrict Orders, for the repreſſing of ſundry Exceſſes: But when I conſider, of the Cenſures of ſome perſons, as well upon particular Men, as upon Churches; I think on the ſaying of a *Platoniſt*, who ſaith; *Certe vitia Iraſcibilis partis Animæ ſunt gradu praviora, quam concupiſcibilis, tametſi occultiora:* A matter, that appeared much, by the Ancient Contentions, of *Biſhops*. God grant, that we may contend, with other *Churches*, as the *Vine* with the *Olive*, which of us ſhall *bear* the *beſt Fruit*; And not, as the *Briar* with the *Thiſtle*, which of us is moſt unprofitable. And thus much, touching the occaſions of theſe Controverſies.

Now, briefly, to ſet down, the *Growth* and *Progreſſion*, of the *Controverſies*: whereby will be verified, the ſaying of *Salomon*; *That the Courſe of Contention, is to be ſtopped, at the firſt; Being elſe as the waters, which if they gain a Breach, it will hardly ever be recovered.*

It may be remembred, that on that part, which call for Reformation, was, firſt, propounded, ſome Diſlike, of certain *Ceremonies*, ſuppoſed to be *Superſtitious*; ſome complaint of *Dumb Miniſters*, who poſſeſſe *Rich Benefices*; And ſome *Invectives*, againſt the Idle, and *Monaſticall*, Continuance, within the *Univerſities*, by thoſe, who had Livings, to be reſident upon, and ſuch like Abuſes. Thence, they went on, to condemn, the *Government*, of *Biſhops*, as an *Hierarchy*, Remaining to us, of the Corruptions, of the *Romane Church*; And to except, to ſundry *Inſtitutions*, in the *Church*; As not ſufficiently, delivered, from the pollutions, of former Times.

And laſtly, they are advanced, to define, of an onely, and perpetuall *Form*, of *Pollicy*, in the *Church*; which, without Conſideration, of poſſibility, and foreſight of Perill, and perturbation of the Church, and State, muſt be erected, and planted, by the Magiſtrate. Here they ſtay. Others, not able, to keep footing

ing in ſo ſteep Ground, deſcend further; That the ſame muſt be entred into, and accepted of the people, at their perill, without the *Attending*, of the *Eſtabliſhment*, of *Authority*. And, ſo in the mean time, they refuſe to communicate with us, reputing us to have no *Church*. This hath been, the progreſſion, of that ſide. I mean of the Generality. For I know, ſome perſons, (being of the Nature, not only to love Extremities, but alſo, to fall to them, without degrees,) were at the higheſt ſtrain, at the firſt.

The other Part, which maintaineth, the *preſent Government*, of *the Church*, hath not kept, one Tenour, neither. Firſt thoſe *Ceremonies*, which were pretended, to be corrupt, they maintained, to be things indifferent; and oppoſed, the examples, of the good Times, of the *Church*, to that challenge, which was made unto them, becauſe they were uſed, in the *latter ſuperſtitious Times*. Then were they alſo content, mildly, to acknowledge, many Imperfections, in the *Church*; As *Tares, commen up, amongſt the Corn*; which yet, (according to the wiſdome, taught by our *Saviour*,) were not, with ſtrife, to be pull'd up, leſt it might ſpoil, and ſupplant, the good Corn; But to grow on together till the Harveſt. After, they grew, to a more abſolute Defence, and Maintenance, of all the *Orders*, of the *Church*; And ſtiffely, to hold, that nothing was to be innovated; partly becauſe it needed not, partly becauſe it would make a Breach, upon the Reſt. Hence, (exaſpected through *Contentions*,) they are fallen, to a direct Condemnation of the Contrary part, as of a *Sect*. Yea, and ſome indiſcreet perſons, have been bold, in open Preaching, to uſe diſhonourable, and Derogatory, Speech, and cenſure, of the *Churches abroad*: And that ſo far, as ſome of our Men, (as I have heard,) ordained in Forrain parts, have been pronounced, to be no *lawfull Miniſters*. Thus we ſee, the Beginnings were modeſt, but the Extremes, are violent. So as there is, almoſt, as great a Diſtance, now, of either ſide, from it ſelf, as was, at the firſt, of one, from the other. And ſurely, though my Meaning, and Scope, be not, (as I ſaid before,) to enter into the *Controverſies* themſelves, yet I do admoniſh, the *Maintainers*, of the alone *Diſcipline*, to weigh, and conſider, ſeriouſly, and attentively, how near they are unto them, with whom, I know, they will not joyn. It is very hard to affirm, that the Diſcipline, which, they ſay, we want, is one of the eſſentiall parts, of the *worſhip of God*; And not, to affirm withall, that the *People* themſelves, upon perill of *Salvation*, without ſtaying for the *Magiſtrate*, are to gather themſelves into it. I demand, if a *Civill State*, ſhould receive the *Preaching*, of the *Word*, and *Baptiſme*; And interdict, and exclude the *Sacrament* of the Lords *Supper*: were not Men bound, upon danger of their ſouls, to draw themſelves, to Congregations, wherein they might celebrate this *Myſtery*? And not to content themſelves, with that part of *Gods worſhip*, which the *Magiſtrate*, had authoriſed? This I ſpeak, not to draw them, into the miſ-

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like of others, but into a more deep Conſideration, of themſelves: *Fortaſſe non redeunt, quia ſuum progreſſum, non intelligunt.*

Again, to my *Lords*, the *Biſhops*, I ſay; That it is hard, for them, to avoyd Blame, (in the Opinion of an indifferent perſon,) in ſtanding, ſo preciſely, upon Altering nothing. *Leges, novis Legibus, non recreatæ, aceſcunt. Lawes, not refreſhed, with new Lawes; wax ſoure. Qui mala non permutat, in bonis non perſeverat: Without change of Ill, a Man cannot continue the Good.* To take away many Abuſes, Supplanteth not good orders, but eſtabliſheth them. *Moroſa Moris Retentio, Res turbulenta eſt, æque ac Novitas: A contentious Retaining of Cuſtom is a Turbulent Thing, as well as Innovation.* A good Husband, is ever proining in his *Vineyard*, or his *Field*; Not unſeaſonably, indeed, not unskilfully, but lightly he findeth, ever ſomewhat to do. We have heard, of no Offers of the *Biſhops*, of *Bills in Parliament*; which, no doubt, proceeding from them, to whom it properly belongeth, would have every where received Acceptation. Their own *Conſtitutions*, and *Orders*, have reformed them little. Is nothing amiſs? Can any Man defend, the uſe of *Excommunication*, as a Baſe Proceſſe, to lackay up, and down, for Duties, and Fees; It being, a precurſory Judgement, of the latter day?

Is there no Mean, to train, and nurſe up, Miniſters? (For the yield, of the *Univerſities*, will not ſerve, though they were never ſo well governed:) To train them, I ſay, not to Preach, (For that, every Man, confidently, adventureth, to do;) But to preach ſoundly, and to handle the *Scriptures*, with Wiſedom, and Judgment? I know, *Prophecying*, was ſubject to great Abuſe; And would be more abuſed now, becauſe Heat of Contentions, is encreaſed: But I ſay, the only Reaſon, of the Abuſe, was, becauſe, there was admitted to it, a *Popular Auditory*; And it was not contained, within a private *Conference*, of *Miniſters*: Other things, might be ſpoken of. I pray *God*, to inſpire the *Biſhops*, with a fervent Love, and Care, of the People; And that they may not, ſo much, urge Things in Controverſie, as Things out of Controverſie; Which all Men, confeſſe to be Gracious, and Good. And thus much, for the Second Point.

Now as to the Third Point, of *Unbrotherly Proceeding*, on either Part; It is, directly, contrary to my Purpoſe, to amplifie wrongs. It is enough, to note, and number them; Which I do alſo, to move Compaſſion, and Remorſe, on the Offending Side; And not, to animate Challengers, and Complaints, on the other. And this Point, (as Reaſon is,) doth chiefly touch that ſide, which can do moſt: *Injuriæ potentiorum ſunt: Injuries, come from them, that have the upper hand.*

The *Wrongs* of them, which are poſſeſſed, of the *Government*, of the *Church*, towards the other, may, hardly, be diſſembled, or Excuſed. They have charged them, as though, they *denied Tri-*

but

bute to Cæſar; And with-drew, from the *Civill Magiſtrate*, the Obedience, which they have ever performed, and taught. They have ſorted, and coupled them, with the *Family of Love*, whoſe *Hereſies*, they have laboured, to deſtroy, and Confute. They have been ſwift of Credit, to receive Accuſations againſt them, from thoſe, that have quarrelled with them, but for ſpeaking, againſt Sin, and Vice. Their Accuſations, and Inquiſitions, have been ſtrict, Swearing Men to *Blanks*, and *Generalities*; Not included within compaſs of Matter certain; Which the Party, which is to take the *Oath*, may comprehend, to be, a Thing Captious, and Strainable. Their urging of *Subſcription*, to their own *Articles*, is but *Laceſſere, & irritare, Morbos Eccleſiæ*; Which otherwiſe, would ſpend, and exerciſe, themſelves. *Non conceſſum quærit, ſed diſſidium, qui, quod factis præſtatur, in verbis exigit. He ſeeketh not unity, but Diviſion, which exacteth that in words, which Men are content to yield in Action.* And it is true, there are ſome, which, (as I am perſwaded,) will not, eaſily, offend, by Inconformity, who, notwithſtanding, make ſome conſcience, to ſubſcribe. For they know, this Note, of *Inconſtancy*, and *Defection*, from that, which they have long held, ſhall diſable them, to do that good, wch otherwiſe they mought do: For ſuch is the weakneſs of Many, that their *Miniſtery*, ſhould be thereby diſcredited. As for their eaſie *Silencing* of them, in ſuch great ſcarcety of Preachers, it is to puniſh the People, and not them. Ought they not, (I mean the *Biſhop*,) to keep one Eye open, To looke upon the Good, that the Men do; but to fix them both, upon the Hurt, that they ſuppoſe commeth by them? Indeed, ſuch as are intemperate, and Incorrigible, *God* forbid they ſhould be permitted to Preach: But ſhall every inconſiderate Word, ſometimes, captiouſly watched, and for the moſt part, hardly enforced, be as a Forfeiture, of their voice, & Gift, in preaching? As for ſundry particular Moleſtations, I take no pleaſure to recite them. If a Miniſter, ſhall be troubled, for ſaying in *Baptiſme*, *Do you believe*, for, *Doſt thou believe?* If another, ſhall be called in queſtion, for praying for her *Majeſty*, without the *Additions*, of her *Stile*; whereas, the very form of Prayer, in the *Book of Common Prayer*, hath, *Thy Servant Elizabeth*, & no more: If a Third, ſhall be accuſed, upon theſe words, uttered touching the Controverſies, *Tollatur Lex, & fiat Certamen*: (Whereby was meant, that the prejudice, of the Law, removed, either Reaſons ſhould be equally compared;) Of calling the People, to Sedition, and Mutiny; As if he had ſaid; *Away with the Law, and try it out with force*: If theſe, and other like particulars, be true, which I have, but by Rumour, and cannot affirm; It is to be lamented, that they ſhould labour, amongſt us, with ſo little comfort. I know, *Reſtrained Governments*, are better, then *Remiſſe*; And I am, of his mind, that ſaid; *Better is to live where nothing is lawfull, then where all Things are lawfull.* I diſlike, that *Lawes* ſhould not be continued

nued, or *Disturbers* be unpunished: But *Lawes*, are likened to the *Grape*, that being too much presſed, yields, an hard, and unwholsome, *Wine*. Of theſe Things, I muſt ſay; *Ira Viri non operatur Juſticiam Dei. The Wrath of Man worketh not the Righteouſneſſe of God.*

As for the *Injuries*, of the other Part, they be *Tela inermia*; As it were, *Headleſſe Arrowes*: They be Fiery, and Eager, *Invectives*; And, (in ſome fond Men,) uncivill, and unreverent, Behaviour, towards their Superiours. This laſt invention alſo, which expoſeth them, to Deriſion, and Obloquy, by *Libels*, chargeth not (as I am perſwaded,) the whole ſide: Neither doth that other, which is yet more odious, practiſed by the worſt ſort of them; which is, to call in, (as it were, to their Aides,) certain *Mercenary Bands*, which impugn *Biſhops*, and other *Eccleſiaſticall Dignities*, to have the ſpoyle, of their *Endowments*, and *Livings*; Of thoſe I cannot ſpeak too hardly. It is an Intelligence, between *Incendiaries*, and *Robbers*; The one to *Fire* the *Houſe*, the other to *Rifle* it.

The Fourth Point, wholly pertaineth to them, which impugn, the preſent *Eccleſiaſticall Government*; who, although they have not cut Themſelves off, from the *Body*, and *Communion*, of the *Church*; yet do they affect, certain *Cognizances* and *Differences*, wherein they ſeek to correſpond amongſt themſelves, and to be ſeperate from others. And it is truly ſaid; *Tam ſunt Mores quidam Schiſmatici, quam Dogmata Schiſmatica*: *There be as well Schiſmaticall Faſhions, as Opinions.* Firſt, they have impropriated, unto themſelves, the *Names* of *Zealous*, *Sincere*, and *Reformed*; As if, all others, were *Cold*, *Minglers* of *Holy Things*, *and Prophane*, and *Friends of Abuſes*: Yea, be a man indued, with great Vertues, and fruitfull in good workes; yet if he concur not with them, they term him, (in Derogation,) a *Civill*, and *Morall*, *Man*; And compare him, to *Socrates*, or ſome *Heathen Philoſopher*: Whereas the *Wiſedom* of the *Scriptures*, teacheth us otherwiſe: Namely, to judge, and denominate Men *Religious*, according to their *Works*, of the *Second Table*: Becauſe they of the *Firſt*, are often *Counterfeit*, and practiſed in *Hypocriſie*. So Saint *John* ſaith; *That a Man, doth vainly boaſt, of Loving God, whom he never ſaw, if he love not his Brother, whom he hath ſeen.* And Saint *James* ſaith; *This is true Religion, to viſite the Fatherleſſe, and the Widow.* So as that, which is, with them, but *Philoſophicall*, and *Morall*, is, in the *Apoſtles* Phraſe, *True Religion*, and *Chriſtianity*. As in Affection, they challenge, the ſaid *Vertues* of *Zeal*, and the reſt; So in Knowledge, they attribute unto themſelves, *Light*, and *Perfection*: They ſay, the *Church* of *England*, in *King Edwards* time, and in the Beginning of her *Majeſties Raign*, was but in the *Cradle*; And the *Biſhops*, in thoſe times, did ſomewhat, for *Day-Break*; But that, *Maturity*, and *Fulneſſe*, of *Light*, proceeded from themſelves. So *Sabinius*, *Biſhop* of *Heraclea*, a *Macedoniam Heretick*, ſaid; That the *Fathers*, in the *Councell* of *Nice* were but *Infants*, and *Ignorant Men*: That the

Church

Church, was not ſo perfect in their *Decrees*, as to refuſe, that Further Ripeneſs, of Knowledge, which Time had revealed. And as they cenſure, *vertuous Names*, by the Names, of *Civill*, and *Morall*; So do they cenſure *Men*, truly, and godly wiſe, (who ſee into the vanity of their Affections,) by the name of *Politicks*: ſaying, that their Wiſdome, is but Carnall, and ſavouring of Mans Brain. So likewiſe, if a Preacher, preach with Care, and Meditation; (I ſpeak not, of the vain, Scholaſticall, Manner of Preaching; But ſoundly indeed, ordering the Matter, he handleth, diſtinctly, for Memory; Deducting, and drawing it down, for Direction; and authorizing it, with ſtrong proofs, and warrants;) They cenſure it, as a *Form* of *Speaking*, not becomming, the *Simplicity* of the *Goſpell*; And refer it, to the *Reprehenſion*, of *Saint Paul*, ſpeaking, of the *Enticing Speech*, of *Mans Wiſdome*.

Now, for their own *Manner* of *Preaching*, what is it? Surely, they exhort well, and work Compunction of Mind; And bring Men well to the Queſtion; *Viri, Fratres, quid faciemus?* But that is not enough; Except they reſolve the *Queſtion*. They handle, Matters of *Controverſie*, weakly, and *obiter*, and as before a People, that will accept of any Thing. In *Doctrine* of *Manners*, there is little, but *Generality*, and *Repetition*. The *word*, (the *Bread* of *Life*,) they toſſe up and down, they break it not: They draw not, their Directions down, *ad Caſus Conſcientiæ*: That a Man may be warranted, in his perpetuall Actions, whether they be Lawfull, or not. Neither, indeed, are many of them, able, to do it; What through want, of Grounded knowledge; What through want, of Study, and Time. It is a Compendious, and eaſie Thing, to call for the Obſervation of the *Sabbath Day*; or to ſpeak againſt *unlawfull Gaine*: But what *Actions*, and *works*, may be done upon the *Sabbath*, and what not; And what Courſes, of *Gain*, are *Lawfull*, and in what *Caſes*? To ſet this down, and to clear the whole Matter, with good Diſtinctions, and Deciſions, is a Matter of great Knowledge, and Labour; And asketh much Meditation, and Converſing, in the Scriptures, and other Helps, which *God* hath provided, and preſerved, for *Inſtruction*.

Again, they carry not, an equall Hand, in Teaching the *People*, their *lawfull Liberty*, as well, as their *Reſtraints*, and *Prohibitions*: But they think, a Man, cannot go too far, in that, that hath a ſhew of a *Commandement*.

They forget, that there are *Sins*, on the *Right Hand*, as well as on the *Left*; And that, the *word* is *double edged*, and cutteth on both Sides; As well the Profane Trangreſſions; as the ſuperſtitious Obſervances. Who doubteth, but that, it is as unlawfull, to ſhut, where *God* hath opened, as to open, where *God* hath ſhut: To bind, where *God* hath looſed, as to looſe, where *God* hath bound. Amongſt Men, it is, commonly, as ill taken, to turn back *Favours*, as to diſobey *Commandements*. In this Kind of *Zeal*, (for Example,) they have pronounced, generally, and with-

out difference, all Untruths, unlawfull; Notwithſtanding, that the *Midwives*, are directly reported, to have been bleſſed, for their Excuſe: And *Rahab*, is ſaid, by *Faith*, to have *concealed* the *Spies*: And *Salomons ſelected Judgement*, proceeded upon a *Simulation*: And our *Saviour*, the more to touch the Hearts, of the two *Diſciples*, with an holy Dalliance, made, as if he would have paſſed *Emaus*. Further, I have heard ſome *Sermons* of *Mortification*, which, I think, with very good Meaning, they have preached, out of their own Experience, and Exerciſe; And Things, in private Counſels, not unmeet: But ſurely, no Sound Conceits, Much like to *Parſons Reſolution*, or not ſo good; Apt, to breed in Men, rather weak Opinions, and perplexed De ſpaires, then *Filiall*, and *True Repentance*, which is ſought.

Another Point, of great Inconvenience, and perill, is, to entitle the *People*, to hear *Controverſies*, and all Kinds of *Doctrine*. They ſay, no part, of the Counſell, of God, is to be ſuppreſſed, nor the People defrauded. So as the Difference, which the *Apoſtle* maketh, between *Milk*, and *Strong Meat*, is confounded: And his Precept, that the *weak*, be not admitted, unto *Queſtions*, and *Controverſies*, taketh no place.

But moſt of all is to be ſuſpected, as a Seed of further Inconvenience, their *Manner*, of *Handling* the *Scriptures*. For whileſt, they ſeek expreſſe, *Scripture*, for every Thing; And that they have, in a manner, deprived themſelves, and the *Church*, of a ſpeciall Help, and Support, by Embaſing, the Authority, of the *Fathers*; They reſort to *Naked Examples*, *Conceited Inferences*, and *Forced Alluſions*; ſuch, as do mine, into all *Certainty*, of *Religion*.

Another *Extremity*, is the *Exceſſive Magnifying* of that, which though it be a principall, and moſt holy Inſtitution; yet hath it Limits, as all things elſe have. We ſee, whereſoever, in a manner, they find in the *Scriptures*; *The Word*, ſpoken of, they expound it of *Preaching*. They have made it, in a manner, of the *Eſſence*, of the *Sacrament*, of the *Lords Supper*, to have a *Sermon* precedent. They have, in a ſort, annihilated the uſe of *Liturgies*, and *Formes* of *Divine Service*; Although, the *Houſe of God* be denominated, of the Principall, *Domus Orationis*; *A Houſe of Prayer, and not a Houſe of Preaching*. As for the Life, of the good *Monks*, and *Hermits*, in the *Primitive Church*, I know, they will condemne a Man, as half a *Papiſt*, if he ſhould maintain them, as other then Prophane, becauſe they heard no *Sermons*. In the mean time, what *Preaching* is, and who may be ſaid to *Preach*, they move no *Queſtion*. But, (as far, as I ſee,) every man, that preſumeth to ſpeak in *Chair*, is accounted a *Preacher*. But I am aſſured, that not a few, that call hotly, for a *Preaching Miniſtery*, deſerve to be the Firſt themſelves, that ſhould be expelled. All which Errours, and Miſproceedings, they do fortifie, and intrench, by an addicted Reſpect, to their own Opinions; And an Impatience, to hear Contradiction, or Argument; yea, I know ſome of them, that would

that would think it, a Tempting of God, to hear, or read, what may be ſaid againſt them: As if there could be, A, *Quod bonum eſt, tenete*; without an *Omnia probate*, going before.

This may ſuffice, to offer unto themſelves, a Thought, and Conſideration, whether, in theſe things, they do well, or no? And to correct, and aſſwage, the Partiality, of their *Followers*. For as for any Man, that ſhall, hereby, enter into a Contempt of their *Miniſtery*; it is but his own *Hardneſs* of *Hart*. I know, the work of *Exhortation*, doth chiefly reſt, upon theſe Men, and they have Zeal, and Hate, of Sin. But again, let them take Heed, that it be not true, which one of their Adverſaries ſaid; *That they have, but two ſmall wants*; *Knowledge, and Love*. And ſo I conclude this *Point*.

The laſt Point, touching the due *Publiſhing*, and *Debating*, of theſe *Controverſies*, needeth no long Speech. This ſtrange Abuſe, of Antiques, and Paſquils, hath been touched before. So likewiſe, I repeat that, which I ſaid; That a Character of *Love*, is more proper for Debates, of this Nature, then that of *Zeal*: As for all direct, or indirect, Glaunces, or Levels, at Mens *Perſons*, they were ever, in theſe Cauſes, diſallowed.

Laſtly, whatſoever be pretended, the *People* is no meet *Arbitrator*; but rather the quiet, modeſt, and private Aſſemblies, and Conferences, of the *Learned*. *Qui apud Incapacem loquitur, non diſceptat, ſed calumniatur*. The *Preſſe*, and *Pulpit*, would be freed, and diſcharged, of theſe Contentions: Neither Promotion, on the one Side; nor Glory, and Heat, on the other Side, ought to continue thoſe *Challenges*, and *Cartells*, at the *Croſſe*, and other Places. But rather, all Preachers, eſpecially ſuch as be of good temper, and have Wiſdome with Conſcience, ought to inculcate, and beat upon a Peace, Silence, and Surſeance. Neither let them fear *Solons Law*, which compelled, in Factions, every particular Perſon, to range himſelf, on the one ſide; Nor yet, the fond *Calumny of Neutrality*. But let them know, that is true, which is ſaid by a *wiſe Man*; *That Neuters, in Contentions, are either better, or worſe, then either Side*.

Theſe things have I, in all ſincerity, and ſimplicity, ſet down, touching the *Controverſies*, which now trouble, the *Church* of *England*. And that, without all Art, and Inſinuation. And therfore, not like to be gratefull, to either Part. Notwithſtanding, I truſt, what hath been ſaid, ſhall find a Correſpondence, in their minds, which are not embarqued in Partiality; And which love the Whole, better then a Part. Wherefore, I am not, out of hope that it may do good; At the leaſt, I ſhall not repent my ſelf, of the *Meditation*.

FINIS.

IN

HAPPY MEMORY,

OF

ELIZABETH,

QUEEN of *ENGLAND.*

OR,

A COLLECTION,

OF THE

FELICITIES,

OF

Queen Elizabeth.

Written by his Lordſhip in Latin;

AND

Engliſhed by the Publiſher.

QUeen *Elizabeth*, both in her *Naturall Endowments*, and her *Fortune*, was Admirable amongſt *Women*, and Memorable amongſt *Princes*. But this is no Subject, for the Pen of a meer *Scholler*, or any ſuch *Cloiſtred Writer*. For theſe Men, are eager in their Expreſſions, but ſhallow in their Judgements; And perform the *Schollers* part well, but tranſmit *Things* but unfaithfully to Poſterity. Certainly, it is a Science, belonging to *Statesmen*,

men, and to ſuch as ſit at the *Helmes* of great *Kingdoms*; and have been acquainted with the weight, and Secrets, of Civil Buſineſs; to handle this matter dextrouſly. Rare, in all Ages, hath been the *Raign* of a *Woman*: More rare, the *Felicity* of a *Woman*, in her *Raign*: But moſt rare, a *Permanency*, and *Laſting*, joyned with that *Felicity*. As for this *Lady*, ſhe raigned Four and Fourty years, compleat, and yet ſhe did not ſurvive her *Felicity*. Of this *Felicity*, I am purpoſed to ſay ſomewhat; yet without any Excurſion into *Praiſes*. For *Praiſes* are the Tribute of Men, but *Felicity* the Gift of *God*.

Firſt, I reckon it as a part of her *Felicity*, that ſhe was advanced to the *Regal Throne*, from a Private Fortune. For this is ingenerate, in the Nature, and Opinions, of Men, to aſcribe that, to the greateſt *Felicity*, which is not counted upon, and cometh unlooked for. But this is not that I intend. It is this. *Princes*, that are trained up, in their *Fathers Courts*, and to an immediate, and Apparent, Hope of *Succeſſion*, do get this, by the Tenderneſſe, and remiſſeneſs, of their *Education*, that they become (commonly) leſſe capable, and leſſe Temperate, in their Affections. And therefore, you ſhall find thoſe, to have been the ableſt, and moſt accompliſhed *Kings*, that were Tutoured, by both Fortunes. Such was with us, *King Henry* the *Seventh*; And with the *French*, *Lewis* the *Twelfth*: Both which, in recent Memory, and, almoſt, about the ſame time, obtained their *Crowns*, not onely, from a Private, but alſo from an Adverſe, and Afflicted, Fortune; And did both excell, in their ſeverall wayes; The former in *Prudence*; And the other in *Juſtice*. Much like was the Condition of this *Princeſſe*, whoſe Bloſſomes, and Hopes, were unequally aſpected by Fortune; That afterwards, when ſhe came to the *Crown*, Fortune might prove, towards her, alwayes Mild, and Conſtant. For *Queen Elizabeth*, ſoon after ſhe was born, was entituled to the Succeſſion, in the *Crown*; upon the next turn diſinherited again; Then layed aſide, and ſlighted. During the *Raign*, of her *Brother*, her Eſtate, was moſt Proſperous, and Flouriſhing; During the *Raign*, of her *Siſter*, very Tempeſtuous, and full of Hazard. Neither yet, did ſhe paſſe, immediately, from the *Priſon*, to the *Crown*; (which ſudden Change, might have been enough, to make her caſt off all Moderation;) But firſt ſhe regained her Liberty; Then there budded forth ſome probable Hopes of *Succeſſion*; And laſtly, in a great Still, and Happineſs, ſhe was advanced to the *Imperiall Crown*, without either Noiſe, or *Competitour*. All which I alledge, that it may appear, that the *Divine Providence*, intending to produce, a moſt exquiſite *Princeſſe*, was pleaſed, to prepare, and mould Her, by theſe *Degrees* of *Diſcipline*. Neither ought the Miſfortune of her *Mother*, juſtly to ſtain the pure *Stream* of her *Blood*; eſpecially, ſeeing it is very evident, that *King Henry* the eighth did firſt burn, with new Loves, before he was enflamed, with Indignation, againſt *Queen Anne*.

Neither

Neither is it unknown, to the Ages, ſince, that he was a *King*, naturally prone, to Loves, and Jealouſies; And not containing himſelf, in thoſe caſes, from the effuſion of Blood. Beſides, the very *perſon*, for whom ſhe was ſuſpected, ſheweth, the Accuſation, to be leſſe probable, and built upon weak, and frivolous, Suppoſitions: Which was, both ſecretly whiſpered, in many Mens ears, at that Time; And which, *Queen Anne* her ſelf, teſtified, by her undaunted courage, and that memorable Speech of hers, at the *Time* of her *Death*. For having gotten, (as ſhe ſuppoſed,) a faithfull and friendly, Meſſenger, in the very Hour before her Death, ſhe delivered him theſe words, to relate unto the *King*; *That ſhe had ever found the King, very conſtant and firm, to his purpoſe of Advancing her; For firſt, from the eſtate of a Gentlewoman, onely, and no way pretending to Noble Titles, He raiſed Her, to the Honour of a Marchioneſs; Next, he vouchſafed to make her his Conſort, both of his Kingdom, and Bed; And now, that there remained no higher earthly Honour, he meant to crown her Innocency, with the Glory of Martyrdome.* But though, the meſſenger durſt not relate theſe words to the *King*, who was already enflamed with new Loves; yet certain *Tradition*, the *Conſerver* of *Truth*, hath conveyed them to Poſterity.

Another principall thing, which I caſt into *Queen Elizabeths Felicity*, was the *Time*, and *Period* of her *Raign*; Not onely for that it was Long, but alſo, becauſe it fell, into that ſeaſon, of her Life, which was moſt Active, and Fitteſt, for the ſwaying of a *Scepter*. For ſhe was fully Five and Twenty years old, (at which age, the Civill Law freeth from a Curatour,) when ſhe came to the *Crown*; And raigned to the Seventieth year of her Life. So that ſhe never ſuffered, either the Detriments, of *Pupillage*, and Check of an *Over-awing Power*; Or the Inconveniencies, of an Impotent, and unwieldy, *Old-age*. And Old-age, is not, without a competent portion of miſeries, even to private men; But to *Kings*, beſides the Common Burthen of years, it brings, for the moſt part, a Declining, in the Eſtates, they govern, and a Concluſion of their Lives, without Honour. For there hath ſcarce been known a *King*, that hath lived, to an Extreame, and Impotent Old-age, but he hath ſuffered ſome Detriment, in his *Territories*, and gone leſſe in his *Reputation*. Of which Thing, there is a moſt eminent Example, in *Philip* the *Second*, *King* of *Spain*, a moſt puiſſant *Prince*, and an Excellent *Governer*; Who, in the laſt years of his Life, and Impotent Old-age, was ſenſible of this, whereof we ſpeak; And therefore, with great circumſpection, ſubmitted Himſelf, to Natures Law; Voluntarily ſurrendred the Territories he had gotten in *France*; Eſtabliſhed a Firm Peace in that *Kingdom*; Attempted the like in other Places; That ſo, He might tranſmit his *Kingdoms*, Peaceable, and Entire, to his next *Heir*. Contrary-wiſe, *Queen Elizabeths* Fortune, was ſo conſtant, and deeply rooted, that no Diſaſter

Diſaſter in any of her *Dominions*, accompanied, her indeed declining, but ſtill able, years: Nay further, for an undeniable Token of her *Felicity*, ſhe died not, before the *Rebellion* in *Ireland*, was fortunately decided, and quaſhed, by a *Battel* there; Leaſt otherwiſe, it might have defalked, from the Totall Summe, of her *Glory*. Now the *Condition* alſo, of the *People*, over whom ſhe raigned, I take to be a Matter, worthy our Obſervation. For if her Lot had fallen, amongſt the deſolate *Palmyrens*, or in *Aſia*, a ſoft, and effeminate Race of Men, a *Woman-Prince*, might have been ſufficient, for a *Womaniſh People*; But for the *Engliſh*, a Nation, ſtout, and war-like, to be ruled by the Check of a *Woman*, and to yield ſo humble Obedience to her, is a Thing deſerving the higheſt Admiration.

Neither was this *Diſpoſition* of her *People*, (Hungry of War, and unwillingly bowing to Peace,) any Impediment to her, but that ſhe enjoyed, and maintained, *Peace*, all her Dayes. And this *Deſire*, in her, of *Peace*, together with her fortunate accompliſhment thereof, I reckon to be one, of her chiefeſt Praiſes. For this was Happy for her Times, Comely for her Sex, and Comfortable to her Conſcience. Indeed, about the Tenth year of her *Raign*, there was an *Offer* of a *Commotion*, in the *Northern Parts*; But it was ſoon laid aſleep, and extinguiſhed: But all her *Raign* beſide, was free from the leaſt Breath, or Air, of *Civil Broyles*. Now I judge the *Peace*, maintained by her, to be the more eminent, for two cauſes; Which indeed make nothing for the *Merit* of that *Peace*, but much for the *Honour*. The one, that it was ſet off, and made more conſpicuous, by the Broyls, and Diſſenſions, of *Neighbouring Nations*; As it were, by ſo many Lights, and Torches: The other, that amidſt the Benefits of *Peace*, ſhe loſt not the Honour of *Arms*: Inſomuch, that the Reputation, of the *Engliſh Arms*, was not onely preſerved, but alſo advanced by her, upon many glorious Occaſions. For the *Succours*, ſent into the *Netherlands*, *France*, and *Scotland*; The *Expeditions* by *Sea* into both the *Indies*, whereof ſome circled the whole *Globe* of the *Earth*; The *Fleets* ſent into *Portugall* and to annoy the Coaſts of *Spain*; And laſtly, the often Suppreſſions, and Overthrows, of the *Rebells* in *Ireland*; did both ſhew the warlike Proweſſe of our *Nation*, to be no whit diminiſhed; And did much encreaſe the *Renown* of the *Queen*.

There was another Thing, that did greatly advance her Glory: That both by her timely *Succours*, her *Neighbour Kings* were ſettled in their *Rightfull Thrones*; and the *Suppliant People*, (who by the ill Adviſedneſſe of their *Kings*, were abandoned, and given over, to the Cruelry, of their Miniſters; And to the Fury, of the Multitude; and to all manner, of Butchery, and Deſolation; were relieved by Her; By reaſon whereof, they ſubſiſt unto this Day. Neither was She a *Princeſſe*, leſſe Benigne, and Fortunate in the Influence of her *Counſells*, then of her *Succours*;

As

As being One, that had, oftentimes, interceded to the *King* of *Spain*, to mitigate his wrath, againſt his *Subjects*, in the *Netherlands*, and to reduce them to his Obedience, upon ſome tolerable Conditions; And further, as being one, that did perpetually, and upon all occaſions, repreſent to the *French Kings*, the Obſervation of their own *Edicts*, ſo often declaring, and promiſing, peace to their *Subjects*. I cannot deny, but that theſe good *Counſells* of hers, wanted the Effect: In the former, I verily believe, for the Univerſall good of *Europe*; Leaſt happily, the *Ambition* of *Spain*, being unlooſed from his Fetters, ſhould have poured it ſelf, (as things then ſtood,) upon the other *Kingdoms*, and *States* of *Chriſtendome*: And for the latter, the *Blood* of ſo many *Innocents*, with their Wives, and Children; Slain, within their own Harbours, and Neſts, by the Scumme of the People, (who like ſo many Maſtifes, were let looſe, and heartened, and even ſet upon them, by the State;) would not ſuffer it; which did continually cry unto God for Vengeance, that ſo Blood-ſucking a *Kingdom*, might have her fill thereof, in the inteſtine, Slaughters, and Conſumption, of a *Civill War*. Howſoever ſhe perſiſted, to perform the part of a wiſe, and loving, *Confederate*.

There is another Cauſe alſo, for which we may juſtly admire, this Peace, ſo conſtantly purſued, and maintained, by the *Queen*. And that is, that it did not proceed, from any *Bent*, or *Inclination*, of thoſe *Times*; But from the *Prudency*, of her *Government*, and diſcreet *Carriage* of Things. For whereas, ſhe her ſelf, was not without manifeſt Danger, from an ill affected *Party* at home, for the Cauſe of *Religion*; And that the Strength and Forces of this *Kingdom*, were in the Place of a Bulwark, to all *Europe*, againſt the then dreadfull, and overflowing, Ambition, and Power, of the *King* of *Spain*; She might have apprehended juſt Cauſe of a *War*: But, as ſhe was ſtill ready, with her *Councell*, ſo ſhe was not, behind hand, with her Forces. And this we are taught by an Event, the moſt Memorable, of any in our time, if we look upon the *Felicity* thereof. For when as the *Spaniſh Navy*, (ſet forth with ſuch wonderfull Preparations, in all kinds; the Terrour, and Amazement of all *Europe*; Carried on with almoſt Aſſurance of victory;) came braving upon our *Seas*; It took not ſo much, as one poor Cock-boat of ours, nor fired any one Village, nor landed one Man upon *Engliſh Ground*; But was utterly defeated, and after a ſhamefull Flight, and many ſhipwracks, quite diſperſed; So as the *Peace*, of this *Kingdome*, was never more Firm, and Solid. Neither was her *Felicity* leſſe, in Eſcaping Treacherous *Attempts* at home, then in ſubduing, and Defeating, forrain *Invaſions*. For not a few *Treaſons*, plotted againſt her Life, were, moſt fortunately, diſcovered, and diſappointed. And this was no cauſe, to make her lead, a more fearfull, or diffident, life, then before. No new *Encreaſe* of her *Guard*; No *Immuring* her ſelf within her own Walls, or Forbearing to be

ſeen abroad; But as one aſſured, and confident; And that was more mindfull of her *Eſcape* from *Danger*, then of the *Danger* it ſelf, ſhe was conſtant, to her former Cuſtomes, and Faſhions.

Furthermore, it is worth our labour, to conſider the *Nature* of the *Times*, in which ſhe *Raigned*. For there are ſome *Times*, ſo *Barbarous*, and *Ignorant*, that it is no greater matter, to govern *People*, then to govern a *Flock* of *Sheep*. But this *Queen*, fell upon Times, of ſingular Learning, and Sufficiency; In which, it was not poſſible, to be eminent, without admirable Endowments of wit, and a Rare Temper of Vertue. Again, the *Raignes* of *Women*, are, For the moſt part, obſcured by their *Husbands*: Upon whom, all their Praiſes, and worthy Acts, do reflect: As for thoſe, that continue unmarried, it is they that impropriate, the whole glory, and merit, to themſelves. And this was the peculiar Glory of this *Princeſſe*; That ſhe had no Props, or Supports, of her Government, but thoſe, that were, of her own making. She had no *Brother*, the *Son* of her *Mother*; No *Uncle*; None other of the *Royall Bloud* and *Linage*, that might be *Partner* in her *Cares*, and an *Upholder* of the *Regall Dignity*. And as for thoſe, whom ſhe raiſed to *Honour*, ſhe carried ſuch a diſcreet Hand over them, and ſo enterchanged her Favours, as they all ſtrived in Emulation, and Deſire, to pleaſe her beſt, and ſhe her ſelf remained, in all Things, an *Abſolute Princeſſe*. *Childleſſe* ſhe was, and left no *Iſſue* behind Her; which was the Caſe of many, of the moſt fortunate *Princes*; *Alexander* the *Great*, *Julius Cæſar*, *Trajan*, and others. And this is a Caſe, that hath been often controverted, and argued, on both ſides; Whileſt ſome hold, the *want* of *Children*, to be a *Diminution*, of our *Happineſſe*; As if it ſhould be an Eſtate, more then Human, to be happy, both in our own *Perſons*, and in our *Deſcendants*: But others, do account, the *want* of *Children*, as an *Addition* to *Earthly Happineſſe*; In as much, as that *Happineſſe*, may be ſaid, to be compleat, over which *Fortune* hath no Power, when we are gone: Which, if we leave *Children*, cannot be.

She had alſo many *Outward Gifts* of *Nature*. A tall *Stature*; A comely and ſtrait *Making*; An extraordinary *Majeſty* of *Aſpect*, joyned with a *Sweetneſſe*; A moſt Happy, and Conſtant, *Healthfulneſſe* of *Body*. Unto which I may add, that in the full *Poſſeſſion*, both of her *Limms*, and *Spirits*, untill her laſt Sickneſſe; (Having received no Blow from Fortune, Nor Decay from Old Age;) ſhe obtained that, which *Auguſtus Cæſar*, ſo importunately prayed for; *An eaſie and undiſtempered paſſage, out of this World.* Which alſo is reported of *Antoninus Pius*, that Excellent *Emperour*; Whoſe *Death*, had the Reſemblance, of ſome ſoft, and pleaſing *Slumber*. So in *Queen Elizabeths Diſeaſe*, there was no ghaſtly, or fearfull *Accident*; No *Idleneſſe* of *Brain*; Nothing unaccuſtomed to *Man* in generall: She was not tranſported, either with deſire of Life, or Tedioufneſſe of Sickneſſe, or extremity of Pain; She had no grievou;

grievous, or uncomely, *Symptomes*; But all things were of that kind, as did rather ſhew, the *Frailty* of *Nature*, then a *Deordination*, or *Reproach* of it. For ſome few Dayes, before her *Death*, being much pined, with the extream *Drought*, of her *Body*, and thoſe *Cares*, that accompany a *Crown*; And not wonted, to refreſh her Self, with *Wine*, or any Liberall *Diet*; ſhe was ſtrook with a *Torpour*, and *Frigidity* in her *Nerves*; Notwithſtanding, which is rare in ſuch *Diſeaſes*, ſhe retained both her *Speech*, and *Memory*, and *Motion* though but ſlow and weak, even to the end. And in this Caſe, ſhe continued, but a few dayes; So as it cannot be called, the *Laſt Act* of her *Life*, but the *Firſt ſtep* to her *Death*. For as it is, a Miſerable Condition, to ſee the Faculties, of our Body, buried before us; And to ſurvive long after them; So it is a Faire, and Naturall, Concluſion of our Life, when the Senſes, are, by little and little, layd aſleep, that the Diſſolution of the whole, ſhould immediatly follow.

I will adde one Thing more, to make up, the full Meaſure, of her *Felicity*: which is, that ſhe was not only moſt Happy, in her own *Perſon*, but in the Abilities, and vertues of her *Servants*, and *Miniſters* For ſhe was ſerved by ſuch *Perſons*, as, I ſuppoſe, this *Iſland* never brought forth the like, before her Times. Now when *God* beareth a love to *Kings*, no doubt, he raiſeth up, the *Spirits*, of *Wiſe Servants*, as a concurrent Bleſſing.

There are two faire *Iſſues*, of her *Happineſſe*, born to her, ſince her *Death*; I conceive, not leſſe Glorious, and Eminent, then thoſe ſhe enjoyed a live. The one of her *Succeſſour*; The other of her *Memory*. For ſhe hath gotten ſuch a *Succeſſour*, who although for his *Maſculine Vertues*, and *Bleſſing* of *Poſterity*, and *Addition* of *Territories*, he may be ſaid, to exceed her Greatneſſe, and ſomewhat to obſcure it; Notwithſtanding, he is moſt zealous, of her Name, and Glory; And doth even give, a *Perpetuity* to her *Acts*; Conſidering both in the Choice of the *Perſons*, and in the *Orders*, & *Inſtitutions* of the *Kingdome*, he hath departed ſo little from her. So as, a *Son* could hardly ſucceed a *Father*, with leſſe Noiſe, or Innovation. As for her *Memory*, it hath gotten ſuch Life, in the Mouths, and Hearts, of Men, as that, Envy being put out by her Death, and her Fame lighted, I cannot ſay, whether the *Felicity* of her *Life*, or the *Felicity* of her *Memory*, be the greater. For if (perhaps) there fly abroad, any factious *Fames*, of Her, raiſed either by Diſcontented *Perſons*, or ſuch, as are averſe in *Religion*; (which notwithſtanding dare now ſcarce ſhew their Faces, and are every where cryed down;) The ſame, are neither true, nei ther can they be long liv'd. And for this cauſe eſpecially, have I made this *Collection*, (ſuch as it is,) touching her *Felicity*, and the Marks of *Gods* Favour towards Her; That no malicious Perſon, ſhould dare to interpoſe a *Curſe*, where *God* hath given a *Bleſſing*. Now if any Man, ſhall alledge that againſt me, which was once ſaid to *Cæſar*; *We ſee what we may admire, but we would fain ſee what*

we can commend; Certainly, for my part, I hold true *Admiration*, to be the higheſt Degree of *Commendation*. And beſides, ſuch *Felicities* as we have recounted, could not befall any *Princeſſe*, but ſuch an one, as was extraordinarily ſupported, and cheriſhed by *Gods* Favour; And had much in her own *Perſon*, & Rare *Vertues*, to create, and work out, unto her ſelf, ſuch a *Fortune*. Notwithſtanding, I have thought good, to inſert ſomething now, concerning her *Morall Part*; Yet only in thoſe things, which have miniſtred occaſion, to ſome Mallicious Tongues, to traduce her.

This *Queen*, as touching her *Religion*, was *Pious*; *Moderate*; *Conſtant*, and an Enemy to *Novelty*. Firſt for her *Piety*; Though the ſame were moſt conſpicuous, in her *Acts*, and the *Form* of her *Government*; yet it was Pourtrayed alſo, in the common Courſe of her *Life*, and her daily *Comportment*. Seldome would ſhe be abſent, from Hearing *Divine Service*, and other Duties of *Religion*, either in her *Chappell*, or in her *Privy Cloſet*. In the reading of the *Scriptures*, and the writings of the *Fathers*, eſpecially of Saint *Auguſtine*, ſhe was very Frequent: She compoſed certain *Prayers*, her ſelf, upon emergent occaſions. Whenſoever ſhe named *God*, though it were in common diſcourſe, ſhe would, for the moſt part, adde, The Title of *Maker*; ſaying; *God my Maker*: And compoſe, both her Eyes, and Countenance, to a Submiſneſſe, and Reverence. This I have often (my ſelf) obſerved, being in her preſence. Now whereas ſome have divulged her unmindfulneſſe of *Mortality*, in that ſhe would never endure any Mention, either of her *Age*, or *Death*, it is moſt falſe: For ſhe would often, and that, many years, before her Death, with a great deal of Meekneſſe, profeſſe, that ſhe found her ſelf grown, an old Woman; And ſhe would, ſometimes, open her ſelf, what ſhe liked beſt, for an *Inſcription* upon her *Tombe*; Saying; That ſhe loved no pompous, or vain-glorious, Titles, but would onely have, a Line, or two, for her Memory; wherein, her *Name*; and her *Virginity*; and the years of her *Raign*; and her Eſtabliſhing of *Religion*; and her Maintaining of *Peace*; ſhould be, in the feweſt words, comprehended. It is true, that whileſt ſhe was in her vigorous years, and able to bear Children, if at any time ſhe were moved, to declare her *Succeſſour*, ſhe would make Anſwer; *That ſhe would never endure, to ſee her winding ſheet, before her Eyes.* And yet notwithſtanding, ſome few years, before her death, one day, when ſhe was in a deep Meditation, and, (as it may be gheſſed,) in that of her *Mortality*, One, that might be bold, ſaid unto her; *Madam, there are divers Offices, and great places in the ſtate, which you keep too long void*; She aroſe up, in ſome diſpleaſure, and ſaid; *I am ſure, my Office will not be long void.*

As for her *Moderateneſs* in *Religion*, I ſhall ſeem to be at a ſtand, in regard of the Severe *Lawes*, made againſt her *Subjects*, of the *Romiſh Religion*. Notwithſtanding, that which I ſhall ſay, is no more, then what I know for certain, and diligently obſerved.

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Moſt certain it is, that it was the Firm Reſolution, of this *Princeſſe*, not to offer any violence to *Conſciences*: But then, on the other Side, not to ſuffer the State of her *Kingdome*, to be ruined, under pretence of *Conſcience*, and *Religion*. Out of this Fountain, ſhe concluded; Firſt, That to allow Freedome, and Toleration, of two *Religions*, by publick *Authority*, in a *Nation* Fierce, and Warlike; And that would eaſily fall, from Diſſention of Minds, to Siding and Blowes, would bring inevitable Ruin to this *Kingdome*. Again, in the Newneſſe of her *Raign*, when there was a generall diſtruſt, ſhe ſingled out ſome of the *Biſhops*; of the moſt Turbulent, and Factious, Spirits, and committed them to free Cuſtody; And this not without the warrant of Former *Lawes*; As for the Reſt, either of the *Clergy*, or *Laity*, ſhe did not ranſack their Conſciences, by any *Severe Inquiſition*, but rather ſecured them, by a gracious Connivency. And this was the State of Things, at the firſt. Neither did ſhe depart, from this Clemency, when the *Excommunication* of *Pius Quintus*, came Thundring againſt her; which might both juſtly have provoked her, and have miniſtred occaſion, to new Courſes; But howſoever, ſhe followed her *Royall Nature* ſtill. For, as a wiſe Lady, and of a high Courage, ſhe was not a whit terrified, at the *Roaring* of a *Bull*; Being well aſſured, of her *Peoples* Love, and Fidelity, towards her; As alſo of the Diſability, of the *Popiſh Faction*, within the *Kingdome*, to do her Hurt, if no *Forraign Enemy* joyned with them. But then, about the three and twentieth year of her *Raign*, there followed a Mighty Change. And this Diſtinction of the Times, is not any Device of mine, but it is expreſſed in the publick *Acts* of that *Time*, and, as it were, *cut in Braſſe*. For before that *year*, was there never any *Capitall or ſevere Puniſhment*, inflicted upon any of her *Subjects*, as they had Relation to the *Romiſh Religion*, by the *Lawes* formerly made. But juſt then, began that proud, and vaſt Intention of *Spain*, to conquer this *Kingdome*, by little and little, to ſhew it Self. Of this, the principall Part was, to ſtir up, by all means, a *Party* within the *Kingdome*, of ſuch, as were ill affected to the *State*, and deſirous of *Innovation*, that might adhere to the *Forrainer*, at his Landing. For this, they had no other Hopes, then the Difference in *Religion*. Wherefore, they ſet it down, to purſue this Courſe, with all their power. And the *Seminaries*, at that time, budding, *Prieſts* were ſent into *England*, to plant, and diſperſe, a Love, to the *Romiſh Religion*; To teach, and inculcate, the power, of the *Popes Excommunication*, in freeing Subjects from their Allegeance; And to awaken, and prepare, the minds of Men, to an Expectation, of a Change. About the ſame time, *Ireland* alſo was attempted by an *Invaſion*; And the *Queens Name*, and *Government*, traduced, by ſundry, and ſcandalous *Libells*: To be ſhort, there was an unuſuall Swelling in the *State*, the Forerunner of greater Troubles. Yet I will not affirm, that every *Prieſt*, which was ſent over, was made

of

of the Counſell, or Privy to the Enterpriſe; But that, ſome of them, became the wicked Inſtruments onely, of other Mens *Malice.* Notwithſtanding, this is true, and witneſſed, by the Confeſſions of many, that almoſt all the *Prieſts*, which were ſent into this *Kingdome*, from that aforenamed year, unto the Thirtieth year of *Queen Elizabeths* Raign; (At what time, that Deſign of the *Pope*, and *Spain*, was put into execution, by thoſe memorable Preparations, of the *Navy*, and *Land-Forces*,) Had in their Inſtructions, beſides other Parts of their Function, to diſtill, and inſinuate, into the *People*, theſe Particulars; *It was impoſſible, Things ſhould continue, at this ſtay; They ſhould ſee, ere long, a great change, in this State; That the Pope, and Catholick Princes, were carefull for the Engliſh, if they would, not be wanting to themſelves.* Again, ſundry of the *Prieſts*, did manifeſtly interpoſe themſelves, into thoſe Conſultations, and Plots, which tended, to the undermining, and Ruining, of this *Kingdome*: And, (which eſpecially moved her,) *Letters* were intercepted, out of divers parts, that diſcovered, the true Face of the *Plot*; In which was written, that they doubted not, to go beyond, the vigilancy, of the *Queen*, and *State*, in the Matter of *Catholicks*: For the *Queen* would onely have an eye, leaſt there ſhould ariſe, any *Fit Head*, in the Perſon of ſome *Lord*, or other Eminent *Gentleman* of quality, under whom the *Catholicks* might unite: But they had thought upon another courſe; As namely, by *private Men*, and thoſe but of mean Rank, that ſhould not confer, nor ſcarce know, of each others employment, to prepare, and mature, the Buſineſſe, by the *Secrecy* of *Confeſſion.* And theſe were their *Engines* then, which, (as hath appeared ſince, in a caſe not much unlike,) are uſuall, and familiar, to that *Order* of *Men.* In this great Deluge of Danger, there was a Neceſſity impoſed, upon *Queen Elizabeth*, to reſtrain, by ſome ſharper Bands of *Lawes*, that part of her *Subjects*, which were alienated from her, and had drunk, too deep a Draught, of this Poyſon, ever to recover; And further, which by their retired Living, and Exemption from publick Offices, were grown very Rich: And moreover, the Miſchief daily growing, when as the Cauſe thereof, was aſcribed, to none other, then the *Seminary Prieſts*; Who had been nouriſhed, in Forrain Parts, and received Exhibition, from the Bounty, and Almes, of Forrain *Princes*, profeſſed Enemies to this *State*; And who had converſed in ſuch places, where the Name of *Queen Elizabeth*, was never heard, but as of an *Heretick*, and *Excommunicate*, and *Accurſed Perſon*; And who, though themſelves, (ſometimes,) had no hand in *Treaſon*, yet they were known, to be the intimate Friends, of them that had; And laſtly, who by their Arts, and Poyſons, had infected, and ſoured, the Maſſe, and Lump, of the *Catholicks*, which, before, was more Sweet, and Harmleſſe, with a new kind of *Leven*, and deſperate *Maliciouſneſſe*; There could no other *Remedy* be deviſed, but by forbidding ſuch Perſons, to enter into this *Kingdome*,

dome, upon pain of their *Lives:* Which, at laſt, in the 27th. year of her *Raign*, was done accordingly. Nay, and when the event it ſelf, had confirmed this to be true; (I mean, immediatly after that the dreadfull Tempeſt, aroſe from *Spain*, threatning no leſſe then utter deſolation;) yet did it nothing mollifie, or turn, the edge, of theſe Mens, Mallice, and Fury; but rather whetted it; As if they had caſt off, all Naturall Affection, to their *Country*. As for the Times ſucceeding, (I mean after the Thirtieth year of her *Raign*,) though indeed our Fear of *Spain*, which had been the Spur to this Rigour, had fairely breathed out, or was well abated; yet conſidering the Memory of Times paſt, had made ſo deep Impreſſion, in Mens Hearts, and Cogitations; And that it would have ſeemed, either *Inconſtancy*, to repeal thoſe former *Lawes*, or *Sloath*, to neglect them; The very Conſti ution of Things, did ſuggeſt to the *Queen*, that it was not ſafe, to reduce them unto that State, wherein they had continued, untill the three & twentieth year of her *Raign*. Hereunto may be added, the Induſtry of ſome *Perſons*, in improving the Revenues of the *Exchequer*; And the Zeal of ſome other *Miniſters* of *Juſtice*, which did never think their *Country* ſafe, unleſſe the *Lawes* were rigorouſly executed; All which, did importune, and preſſe, the Execution, of the *Lawes*. Notwithſtanding the *Queen*, for a manifeſt Token, of her *Royall Nature*, did ſo dull, the edge of the *Lawes*, that but a very few *Prieſts*, in reſpect of their Number, did ſuffer death. Now all this, which I have ſaid, is not by way of Defence: For the Matter needes it not: For neither, could this *Kingdom*, have been ſafe without it; Neither were the *Proceedings*, any way, comparable, or of kinn, to thoſe bloody, and unchriſtianly *Maſſacres*, in the *Catholick Countries*; Which proceeded, meerely, from Rancour, and Pride, and not from any neceſſity of *State*. Howſoever, I hope, I have made my firſt *Aſſertion* good; That ſhe was *Moderate* in the Point of *Religion*; And that the *Change*, which happened, was not in her *Nature*, but upon the *Neceſſity* of the *Times*.

Now for the *Conſtancy*, of *Queen Elizabeth*, in *Religion*, and the obſervance thereof, I know no better Argument then this; That although ſhe found the *Romiſh Religion*, confirmed, in her *Siſters* dayes, by *Act* of *Parliament*; And eſtabliſhed, by all ſtrong, and potent, Meanes, that could be deviſed; And to have taken, deep Root, in this *Kingdom*; And that all thoſe, which had any Authority, or bare Office in the *State*, had ſubſcribed to it; yet for that ſhe ſaw, it was not agreeable, to the *Word* of *God*, nor to the *Primitive Purity*, nor to her own *Conſcience*, ſhe did, with a great deal of Courage, and with the aſſiſtanee, of a very few Perſons, quite expell, and aboliſh it. Neither, did ſhe this, by precipitate, and Heady Courſes, but Timing it wiſely, and ſoberly. And this may well be conjectured, as from the Thing it ſelf, ſo alſo by an *Anſwer* of hers, which ſhe made upon occaſion. For within

within a very few dayes, of her Comming, to the *Crown*, when many *Priſoners*, were releaſed, out of *Priſon*; (as the Cuſtome is at the *Inauguration* of a *Prince*;) There came to her, one day, as ſhe was going to *Chappell*, a certain *Courtier*, that had the Liberty of a *Buffone*; And either, out of his own Motion, or by the Inſtigation, of a wiſer Man, preſented her with a *Petition*; And before a great number of *Courtiers*, ſaid to her, with a loud voice; *That there were yet four or five Priſoners, unjuſtly detained in Priſon; He came, to be a Suter, to have them ſet at Liberty: Thoſe were, the four Evangeliſts, and the Apoſtle Saint* Paul; *who had been long ſhut up, in an unknown tongue, as it were in Priſon, ſo as they could not converſe, with the common People.* The *Queen* anſwered very gravely; *That it was beſt firſt, to enquire of them, whether they would be ſet at liberty, or no?* Thus ſhe ſilenced, an unſeaſonable *Motion*, with a doubtfull *Anſwer*; As reſerving the Matter wholly, in her own Power. Neither did ſhe bring in this *Alteration*, timorouſly, or by pieces, but in a grave, and mature, Manner, after a *Conference* betwixt both *Sides*, and the *Calling*, and Concluſion of a *Parliament*. And thus, within the Compaſſe of one year, ſhe did ſo eſtabliſh, and ſettle, all Matters, belonging to the *Church*, as ſhe departed not, one Haires Breadth, from them, to the end of her Life. Nay, and her uſuall Cuſtom was, in the beginning of every *Parliament*, to forewarn the *Houſes*, not to queſtion, or innovate, any thing, already eſtabliſhed, in the *Diſcipline*, or *Rites* of the *Church*. And thus much of her *Religion*.

Now if there be any *Severer Nature*, that ſhall tax her, for that ſhe ſuffered her ſelf, and was very willing, to be courted, wooed, and to have *Sonnets* made in her Commendation; And that ſhe continued this, longer, then was decent for her years; Notwithſtanding, if you will take this Matter at the beſt, it is not without ſingular Admiration; Being much like unto that, which we find in *Fabulous Narrations*, of a certain *Queen*, in the *Fortunate Iſlands*, and of her *Court*, and *Faſhions*, where *Faire purpoſe*, and *Love-making* was allowed, but *Laſciviouſneſſe* baniſhed: But if you will take it at the worſt, even, ſo it amounteth, to a more high Admiration; Conſidering that theſe *Courtſhips*, did not much eclipſe her *Fame*, and not at all her *Majeſty*; Neither, did they make her, leſſe Apt for Government, or check, with the affaires, and buſineſſes, of the *Publick*. For ſuch paſſages as theſe, do often entertain the time, even with the greateſt *Princes*. But to make an end of this Diſcourſe. Certainly, this *Princeſſe* was Good, and Morall: And ſuch, ſhe would be acknowledged: She Deteſted Vice; And deſired, to purchaſe Fame, only by honourable Courſes: And indeed, whileſt I mention her *Morall Parts*, there comes a certain paſſage into my mind, which I will inſert. Once, giving order, to write to her *Embaſſadour*, about certain Inſtructions, to be delivered, apart, to the *Queen Mother*, of the *Houſe* of *Valois*; And that her *Secretary*, had inſerted a certain Clauſe, that the *Embaſſadour*

baſſadour ſhould ſay, as it were, to endear her, to the *Queen Mother*; *That they two, were the only paire, of Female Princes, from whom, for experience, and Arts of Government, there was no leſſe expected, then from the greateſt Kings*: She utterly diſliked the Compariſon, and commanded it to be put out, ſaying; *That ſhe practiſed, other principles, and Arts of Government, then the Queen Mother did.* Beſides, ſhe was not a little pleaſed, if any one ſhould fortune to tell her, that ſuppoſe, ſhe had lived in a *private Fortune*, yet ſhe could not have eſcaped, without ſome Note of *Excellency*, and *Singularity*, in her *Sex*. So little did ſhe deſire, to borrow, or be beholding to her *Fortune*, for her *Praiſe*. But if I ſhould wade further, into this *Queenes Praiſes*, *Morall*, or *Politick*, either, I muſt ſlide into certain *Common places*, and Heads of *Vertue*, which were not worthy of ſo great a *Princeſſe*; Or if I ſhould deſire, to give her *Vertues*, the true Grace, and Luſtre, I muſt fall into a *Hiſtory* of her *Life*; Which requireth, both better Leiſure, and a better Pen, then mine is. Thus much in brief, according to my ability: But to ſay the Truth; *The only Commender, of this Ladies vertues, is Time*; Which, for as many Ages, as it hath runn, hath not yet ſhewed us, one of the *Female Sex*, equall to Her, in the *Adminiſtration*, of a *Kingdom*.

C AN

SEVERAL

DISCOURSES

Written, in the Dayes

OF

KING JAMES,

Whereof, ſome of them,

PRESENTED

TO

His Maieſtie.

BEING,

A brief Diſcourſe, of the Union, of England *and* Scotland.
Articles, and Conſiderations, touching the Union, aforeſaid.
A Beginning of the Hiſtory of Great Britain.
A Letter, and Diſcourſe, to Sir Henry Savill, *touching Helps, for the intellectuall Powers.*
Certain Conſiderations, touching the better Pacification, & Edification, of the Church of England.
Certain Conſiderations, touching the Plantation, in Ireland.
Advice to the King, touching Suttons *Eſtate.*
A Propoſition, to the King, touching the Compiling and Amendment, of the Lawes of England.
A Fragment, of an Eſſay, of Fame.

By the Right Honourable

FRANCIS BACON,

Baron of *Verulam*, Viſcount Saint *Alban.*

LONDON,
Printed by *S. Griffin*, for *William Lee*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in *Fleetſtreet*, at the ſigne of the Turks head, neer the Mitre Tavern, 1661.

A BRIEFE

DISCOURSE,

Of the Happy

UNION,

OF THE

KINGDOMES,

OF

ENGLAND, and *SCOTLAND*;

Dedicated, in Private,

TO

HIS MAJESTY.

I Do not find it ſtrange, (excellent *King*,) that when *Heraclitus*, (he that was ſurnamed, the *Obſcure*,) had ſet forth a certain *Book*, (which is not now extant,) many Men took it, for a *Diſcourſe* of *Nature*; And many others took it, for a *Treatiſe* of *Pollicy*. For there is a great Affinity, and Conſent, between the *Rules* of *Nature*, and the true *Rules* of *Pollicy*: The one being nothing elſe, but an Order, in the Government, of the *World*; And the other, an Order, in the Government, of an *Eſtate*. And therefore the Education, and Erudition, of the *Kings* of *Perſia*, was in a *Science*, which was termed, by a Name then, of great

great Reverence; but now degenerate, and taken in the ill part. For the *Perſian Magick*, which was the ſecret Literature of their *Kings*, was an Application, of the Contemplations, and *Obſervations* of *Nature*, unto a ſenſe *Politick*; Taking the *Fundamentall Lawes* of *Nature*, and the Branches, and Paſſages of them, as an Originall, or firſt Modell, whence to take, and deſcribe, a Coppy, and Imitation, for Government.

After this manner, the foreſaid *Inſtructours*, ſet before their *Kings*, the Examples of the *Celeſtiall Bodies*; The *Sun*, the *Moon*, and the reſt; which have great Glory, and veneration, but no Reſt, or Intermiſſion: Being in a perpetuall Office of Motion, for the Cheriſhing, (in turn, and in Courſe,) of *Inferiour Bodies*: Expreſſing, likewiſe, the true manner, of the Motions, of *Government*; which, though they ought to be, Swift, and Rapide, in reſpect of Diſpatch, and Occaſions; yet are they to be, Conſtant, and Regular, without Wavering, or Confuſion.

So did they repreſent unto them, how the *Heavens*, do not enrich themſelves, by the *Earth*, and the *Seas*; Nor keep no dead Stock, nor untouched Treaſures, of that they draw to them, from below; But whatſoever Moiſture, they do levy, and take, from both *Elements*, in *Vapours*, they do ſpend, and turn back again, in *Showers*; Onely holding, and ſtoring them up, for a time, to the End, to iſſue, and diſtribute them, in Seaſon.

But, chiefly, they did expreſſe, and expound unto them, that *Fundamentall Law* of *Nature*; whereby all things do ſubſiſt, and are preſerved: which is, that every Thing in *Nature*; although it hath his private, and particular, Affection, and Appetite; And doth follow, and purſue the ſame, in ſmall Moments; And when it is free, and delivered, from more generall, and common, Reſpects; yet, nevertheleſſe, when there is Queſtion, or Caſe, for Suſtaining of the more General, they forſake their own *Particularities*, and attend, and conſpire, to uphold the *publick*.

So we ſee, the *Iron*, in ſmall Quantity, will aſcend, and approach, to the *Load-ſtone*, upon a particular Sympathy: But if it be, any Quantity of moment, it leaveth his Appetite, of Amity to the *Loadſtone*, and like a good *Patriott*, falleth to the *Earth*; which is the *Place*, and *Region*, of *Maſſy Bodies*.

So again the *Water*, and other like *Bodies*, do fall, towards the *Center* of the *Earth*; which is, (as was ſaid,) their *Region*, or *Countrey*: And yet we ſee, nothing more uſuall, in all *Water Works*, and *Engines*, then that the *Water*, (rather then to ſuffer any *Diſtraction*, or *Diſunion*, in Nature) will aſcend, Forſaking the Love, to his own Region, or Countrey, and applying it ſelf, to the Body, next adjoyning.

But it were, too long a Digreſſion, to proceed, to more Examples, of this Kind. Your *Majeſty*, your ſelf, did fall, upon a Paſſage, of this Nature, in your *gracious ſpeech* of *Thanks* unto your *Counſell*; when acknowledging, Princely, their Vigilancies, and well

well Deſervings, it pleaſed you to note, that it was a ſucceſſe, and Event, above the Courſe of *Nature*, to have ſo great *Change*, with ſo great a *Quiet*. Foraſmuch, as ſudden *Mutations*, as well in *State*, as in *Nature*, are rarely, without violence, and perturbation. So as ſtill I conclude, there is, (as was ſaid,) a Congruity, between the *Principles* of *Nature*, and *Policy*. And leſt that *Inſtance*, may ſeem to oppone, to this Aſſertion, I may, even in that particular, with your *Majeſties* favour, offer unto you, a Type, or Pattern in Nature, much reſembling, this Event, in your State; Namely *Earthquakes*, which many of them, bring ever, much Terrour, and wonder, but no Actuall Hurt; The *Earth* trembling for a Moment, and ſuddenly ſtabliſhing, in perfect Quiet, as it was before.

This *Knowledge* then, of making, the *Government* of the *World*, a *Mirrour*, for the *Government* of a *State*, being a Wiſdome almoſt loſt, (Whereof the Reaſon, I take to be, becauſe of the Difficulty, for one Man, to embrace both Philoſophies;) I have thought good, to make ſome proof, (as far as my weakneſſe, and the Straights, of Time, will ſuffer,) to revive, in the Handling, of one particular, wherewith now I moſt humbly preſent your *Majeſty*: For ſurely, as hath been ſaid, it is a *Form* of *Diſcourſe*, anciently uſed towards *Kings*; And to what *King*, ſhould it be more proper, then to a *King* that is ſtvdious, to conjoyn contemplative Vertue, and Active Vertue together?

Your *Majeſty*, is the firſt *King*, that had the Honour, to be *Lapis Angularis*, to unite, theſe two Mighty, and warlike, *Nations*, of *England*, and *Scotland*, under one *Soveraignty*, and *Monarchy*. It doth not appear, by the Records, and Memories, of any *true Hiſtory*; Or ſcarcely by the Fiction, and Pleaſure, of any *Fabulous Narration*, or *Tradition*; That ever, of any Antiquity, this *Iſland*, of *Great Brittain*, was united, under one *King*, before this day. And yet there be no *Mountains*, nor *Races*, of *Hills*; There be no *Seas*, or *great Rivers*; There is no *Diverſity*, of Tongue, or *Language*, that hath invited, or provoked, this ancient ſeparation, or Divorce. The Lot of *Spain* was, to have the ſeverall *Kingdoms*, of that Continent, (*Portugall* onely except,) to be united, in an Age, not long paſt; And now, in our Age, that of *Portugall* alſo, which was the laſt that held out, to be incorporate, with the reſt. The Lot of *France*, hath been, much about the ſametime, likewiſe, to have reannexed, unto that *Crown*, the ſeverall *Dutchies*, and *Portions*, which were in former times, diſmembred. The Lot of this *Iſland*, is the laſt, reſerved for your *Majeſties* happy times, by the ſpeciall Providence, and Favour, of *God*; who hath brought your *Majeſty*, to this happy Conjunction, with great Conſent of Hearts, and in the ſtrength of your years, and in the Maturity of your Experience. It reſteth, but that, (as I promiſed,) I ſet before your *Majeſties* Princely Conſideration, the *Grounds* of *Nature*, touching the *Vnion*, and *Commixture*

mixture, of *Bodies*; And the *Correſpondence*, which they have, with the *Grounds of Policy*, in the *Conjunction*, of *States*, and *Kingdoms*.

Firſt, therefore, that *Poſition*; *Vis unita fortior*; Being one of the common Notions of the Mind, needeth not much, to be induced, or illuſtrate.

We ſee the *Sunne*, when he entreth, and while he continueth, under the *ſign* of *Leo*, cauſeth more vehement Heats, then when he is in *Cancer*; what time, his *Beams*, are, nevertheleſſe, more perpendicular. The Reaſon whereof, in great part, hath been truly aſcribed, to the Conjunction, and Cor-Radi-ation, in that place of *Heaven*, of the *Sunne*, with the four *Stars*, of the *firſt Magnitude*; *Syrius*, *Canicula*, *Cor Leonis*, and *Cauda Leonis*.

So the *Moon*, likewiſe, by ancient *Tradition*, while ſhe is in the ſame *Sign*, of *Leo*, is, ſaid, to be at the *Heart*; which is not, for any Affinity, which that place of *Heaven*, can have, with that part, of Mans Body; But onely, becauſe the *Moon* is then, by reaſon of the Conjunction, and Nearneſs, with the Stars aforenamed, in greateſt ſtrength of Influence; And ſo, worketh upon that part, in *Inferiour Bodies*, which is moſt *Vitall*, and *Principall*.

So we ſee, *Waters*, and *Liquours*, in ſmall Quantity, do, eaſily, putrifie, and corrupt; but in large Quantity, ſubſiſt long, by reaſon, of the Strength, they receive, by *Union*.

So in *Earthquakes*, the more generall, do little hurt, by reaſon, of the *united* weight, which they offer to ſubvert; but narrow, and particular, *Earthquakes*, have, many times, overturned, whole *Towns*, and *Cities*.

So then, this *Point*, touching the Force of *Union*, is evident. And therefore, it is more fit, to ſpeak, of the *Manner* of *Union*: wherein, again, it will not be pertinent, to handle one *Kind* of Union, which is *Union* by *Victory*, when one Body, doth, meerly, ſubdue another, and converteth the ſame, into his own Nature; Extinguiſhing, and Expulſing, what part ſoever of it, it cannot overcome. As when the *Fire*, converteth the *Wood*, into Fire, purging away the *Smoak*, and the *Aſhes*, as unapt Matter to enflame: Or when the *Body*, of a *Living Creature*, doth convert, and aſſimilate, *Food*, and *Nouriſhment*, purging, and expelling, whatſoever it cannot convert For theſe Repreſentations, do anſwer, in matter of *Policy*, to *Union* of *Countries*, by *Conqueſt*; where the *Conquering State*, doth extinguiſh, extirpate, and expulſe, any part of the *State Conquered*, which it findeth ſo contrary, as it cannot alter, and convert it. And therefore, leaving *violent Unions*, we will conſider, onely, of *Naturall Unions*.

The *Difference* is excellent, which the beſt *Obſervers*, in *Nature*, do take, between *Compoſitio*, and *Miſtio*; *Putting together*, and *Mingling*: The one, being but a Conjunction, of Bodies, in place, the other, in Quality, and Conſent: The one, the Mother of Sedition; and Alteration, The other, of Peace, and Continuance

Continuance: The one, rather a *Confuſion*, then an *Union*, the other, properly, an *Union*. Therefore, we ſee, thoſe Bodies, which they call *Imperfectè miſta*, laſt not, but are ſpeedily diſſolved. For take, for Example, *Snow* or *Froath*, which are *Compoſitions*, of *Air*, and *Water*; And in them, you may behold, how eaſily they ſever, and diſſolve, the *Water*, cloſing together, and excluding the *Air*.

So thoſe three *Bodies*, which the *Alchymiſts* do ſo much celebrate, as the three *Principles* of *Things*; That is to ſay; *Earth*, *Water*, and *Oyl*; (which it pleaſeth them to term, *Salt*, *Mercury*, and *Sulphur*;) we ſee, if they be united, onely, by *Compoſition*, or putting together, how weakly, and rudely, they do incorporate: For *Water*, and *Earth*, maketh, but an unperfect ſlime: And if they be forced together, by *Agitation*, yet upon a little ſetling, the *Earth* reſideth in the Bottome. So *Water*, and *Oyl*, though by *Agitation*, it be brought into an *Ointment*, yet after a little ſetling, the *Oil* will float on the Top: So as ſuch *Imperfect Miſtures*, continue no longer, then they are forced; And ſtill, in the end, the worthieſt getteth above.

But otherwiſe it is, of *perfect Miſtures*. For we ſee, theſe three *Bodies*, of *Earth*, *Water*, and *Oil*, when they are joyned, in a *Vegetable*, or *Minerall*, they are ſo united, as without great ſubtilty of *Art*, and Force of *Extraction*, they cannot be ſeparated, and reduced, into the ſame *ſimple Bodies*, again. So as the Difference, between *Compoſitio*, and *Miſtio*, clearly ſet down, is this: That *Compoſitio*, is the Joyning, or putting together, of *Bodies*, without a new *Form*; And *Miſtio*, is the Joyning, or putting together, of *Bodies*, under a new *Form*. For the new *Form*, is *Commune Vinculum*: And without that the old *Forms*, will be at Strife, and Diſcord.

Now to reflect, this *Light* of *Nature*, upon *Matter*, of *Eſtate*: There hath been, put in practiſe, in *Government*, theſe two ſeverall kinds, of *Pollicy* in *Uniting*. and *Conjoyning*, of *States*, and *Kingdoms*: The one to retain the ancient *Form*, ſtill ſevered, and onely conjoyned in *Soveraignty*: The other, to ſuper induce a new *Form*, agreeable, and convenient, to the *entire Eſtate*. The former of theſe, hath been more uſuall, and is more Eaſie; but the latter is more Happy. For if a Man, do attentively revolve, *Hiſtories* of all *Nations*, and judge truly thereupon, he will make this *Concluſion*: That there was never any *States*, that were good *Commixtures*, but the *Romans*. Which, becauſe it was the beſt *State* of the *World*, and is the beſt *Example* of this *Point*, we will chiefly inſiſt thereupon.

In the *Antiquities* of *Rome*, *Virgill* bringeth in *Jupiter*, by way of *Oracle*, or *Prediction*, ſpeaking of the *Mixture*, of the *Trojans*, and the *Italians*.

Sermonem Auſonii *Patrium, moreſque tenebant,*
Utque eſt Nomen erit; Commixti Corpore tantum,
Subſident Teucri, *Morem, Rituſque Sacrorum,*
Adjiciam; faciamque omnes uno ore Latinos.
Hinc Genus Auſonio *miſtum, quod ſanguine ſurget,*
Supra Homines, *ſupra ire* Deos, *pietate videbis.*

Wherein, *Jupiter*, maketh a kind of Partition, or Diſtribution; That, *Italy* ſhould give the *Language*, and the *Lawes*; *Troy* ſhould give a *Mixture*, of *Men*, and ſome *Religious Rites*; And both *People*, ſhould meet in one Name, of *Latines*.

Soon after the *Foundation*, of the *City of Rome*, the *People* of the *Romans*, and the *Sabines*, mingled upon equall Terms. Wherein, the Interchange, went ſo even, that (as *Livy* noteth,) the one *Nation* gave the Name, to the Place, the other to the *People*. For *Rome* continued the *Name*, but the people were called *Quirites*; which was the *Sabine* word, derived of *Cures*, the Countrey of *Tatius*.

But that, which is chiefly to be noted, in the whole Continuance, of the *Romane Government*; they were ſo liberall, of their *Naturalizations*, as, in effect, they made perpetuall *Mixtures*. For the manner was, to grant the ſame, not onely to *particular perſons*, but to *Families*, and *Lineages*; And not onely ſo, but to whole *Cities*, and *Countries*. So as, in the end, it came to that, that *Rome* was *Communis Patria*, as ſome of the *Civilians* call it.

So we read of Saint *Paul*, after he had been beaten with Rods, and thereupon charged the *Officer*, with the violation, of the Priviledge, of a *Cittizen*, of *Rome*; The *Captain* ſaid to him; *Art thou then a Romane? That Priviledge hath coſt me dear.* To whom Saint *Paul* replied; *But I was ſo born*, And yet, in another place, Saint *Paul*, profeſſeth himſelf, that he was a *Jew*, by *Tribe*: So as it is manifeſt, that ſome of his Anceſtors, were naturalized; and ſo it was conveyed to him, and their other Deſcendants.

So we read, that it was one, of the firſt Deſpites, that was done, to *Julius Cæſar*; That whereas he had obtained *Naturalization*, for a *City* in *Gaule*, one of the *City* was beaten with *Rods*, of the *Conſul Marcellus*.

So we read, in *Tacitus*, that in the *Emperour Claudius* time, the *Nation* of *Gaule*, (that part which is called *Comata*, the wilder part,) were Suitours, to be made capable, of the honour, of being *Senatours*, and *Officers*, of *Rome*. His words are theſe: *Cum de ſupplendo Senatu agitaretur, primoreſque Galliæ, quæ Comata appellatur, fœdera & Civitatem Romanam pridem aſſecuti, Jus adipiſcendorum in urbe Honorum, expeterent; multus, eâ ſuper re, variuſque Rumor, & ſtudiis diverſis, apud Principem, certabatur.* And in the end, after long debate, it was ruled, they ſhould be admitted.

So likewiſe, the Authority of *Nicholas Matchiavell*, ſeemeth not to be contemned; who, enquiring the Cauſes, of the Growth,

of

of the *Romane Empire*, doth give Judgement; There was not one greater then this; That the State, did ſo eaſily compound, and incorporate with ſtrangers.

It is true, that moſt *Eſtates*, and *Kingdomes*, have taken the other Courſe. Of which this effect hath followed; That the Addition, of further *Empire*, and *Territory*, hath been, rather, matter of Burthen, then matter of Strength, unto them: yea and further, it hath kept alive, the Seeds, and Roots, of Revolts, and Rebellions, for many Ages: As we may ſee, in a freſh, and notable Example, of the *Kingdome*, of *Aragon*: Which, though it were united, to *Caſtile*, by Marriage, and not by *Conqueſt*; And ſo deſcended in Hereditary Union, by the ſpace of more then an 100. years; yet becauſe it was continued, in a divided Government, and not well Incorporated, and Cemented, with the other *Crowns*; Entred into a Rebellion, upon point of their *Fueros*, or *Liberties*, now of very late years.

Now to ſpeak briefly, of the ſeverall parts, of that form, whereby *States*, and *Kingdomes*, are perfectly united; They are, (beſides the *Soveraignty* it ſelf,) four in Number: *Union* in Name; *Union* in *Language*; *Union* in *Lawes*; *Union* in *Employments*.

For *Name*, though it ſeem, but a ſuperficiall, and Outward Matter, yet it carrieth much Impreſſion, and Enchantment: The Generall, and common Name, of *Grecia* made the *Greeks*, alwaies apt to unite, (though otherwiſe full of *Diviſions*, amongſt themſelves,) againſt other *Nations*, whom they called *Barbarous*. The *Helvetian* Name, is no ſmall Band, to knit together, their Leagues, and Confederacies, the faſter. The common Name of *Spain*; (no doubt,) hath been, a ſpeciall meanes, of the better union, and Conglutination, of the ſeverall *Kingdomes*, of *Caſtile*, *Aragon*, *Granada*, *Navarre*, *Valentia*, *Catalonia*, and the reſt; Comprehending alſo now lately *Portugall*.

For *Language*, it is not needful to inſiſt upon it; becauſe both your *Majeſties Kingdomes*, are of one *Language*, though of ſeverall *Dialects*; And the Difference, is ſo ſmall, between them, as promiſeth, rather an inriching, of one *Language*, then a continuance of two.

For *Lawes*, which are the Principall Sinnewes of *Government*, they be of three Natures; *Jura*, which I will term *Freedomes*, or *Abilities*; *Leges*; and *Mores*.

For *Abilities*, and *Freedomes*, they were amongſt the *Romans*, of four Kinds, or rather Degrees. *Jus Connubii*; *Jus Civitatis*; *Jus Suffragii*; and *Jus Petitionis*, or *Honorum*. *Jus Connubii*, is a thing in theſe times, out of Uſe: For *Marriage* is open, between all Diverſities, of *Nations*. *Jus Civitatis*, anſwereth to that, we call *Denization*, or *Naturalization*. *Jus Suffragii*, anſwereth to the *Voice* in *Parliament*. *Jus Petitionis*, anſwereth to place in *Counſell*, or *Office*. And the *Romans*, did, many times, ſever theſe *Freedomes*, granting

Jus Connubii, ſine Civitate; And *Civitatem, ſine ſuffragio*; And *ſuffragium, ſine Jure Petitionis*, which was, commonly, with them, the laſt.

For thoſe, we called *Leges*, it is a Matter of Curioſity, and Inconveniency, to ſeek either to extirpate all particular Cuſtomes; Or to draw all *Subjects*, to one Place, or reſort, of *Judicature*, and *Seſſion*. It ſufficeth, there be an Uniformity, in the Principall, and Fundamentall *Lawes*, both *Eccleſiaſticall*, and *Civill*: For in this Point, the Rule holdeth, which was pronounced by an Ancient Father, touching the Diverſity, of *Rites*, in the *Church*: For finding the *Veſture*, of the *Queen*, in the *Pſalm*, (which did prefigure the *Church*,) was of divers Colours; And finding again, that Chriſts Coat, was without a ſeam, he concludeth well; *In veſte varietas ſit, Sciſſura non ſit.*

For *Manners*, a Conſent in them, is to be ſought induſtriouſly, but not to be enforced: For Nothing amongſt People, breedeth ſo much pertinacy, in holding their Cuſtomes, as ſuddain, and violent, offer to remove them.

And as for *Employments*, it is no more, but in indifferent Hand, and Execution of that *Verſe*;

Trôs, Tyriuſque mihi nullo diſcrimine agetur.

There remaineth, only, to remember, out of the *Grounds* of *Nature*, the two *Conditions*, of *Perfect mixture*; Whereof the former is Time. For the *Naturall Philoſophers* ſay well; that *Compoſitio* is *Opus Hominis*; and *Miſtio Opus Naturæ*. For it is the Duty of *Man*, to make a fit Application, of Bodies together: But the perfect *Fermentation*, and Incorporation, of them, muſt be left to *Time*, and *Nature*; And *Unnaturall Haſting* thereof, doth diſturb the work, and not diſpatch it.

So we ſee, after the *Graft*, is put into the *Stock*, and bound, it muſt be left to *Time*, and *Nature*, to make that *Continuum*, which, at the firſt, was but *Contiguum*. And it is not any continuall preſſing, or Thruſting together, that will prevent *Natures* ſeaſon, but rather hinder it. And ſo in *Liquours*, thoſe *Commixtures*, which are, at the firſt, troubled, grow after, clear, and ſetled, by the benefit, of Reſt, and Time.

The Second *Condition* is; That the greater draw the leſſe. So we ſee, when two *Lights* do meet, the greater, doth darken, and, dim the leſſe. And when a ſmaller *River*, runneth into a greater, it looſeth both his *Name*, and *Stream*. And hereof, to conclude, we ſee an excellent Example, in the *Kingdomes*, of *Judah*, and *Iſrael*. The *Kingdom* of *Judah*, contained Two *Tribes*; The *Kingdom*, of *Iſrael*, contained Ten: *King David*, raigned, over *Judah*, for certain years; And after the Death of *Iſboſheth*, the Son of *Saul*, obtained, likewiſe, the *Kingdom* of *Iſraell*. This Union continued in him, & likewiſe in his Son *Salomon*, by the ſpace of 70. years, at leaſt, between them both: But yet, becauſe the Seat, of the *Kingdom*,

was kept ſtill in *Judah*, and ſo the leſſe ſought to draw the greater; upon the firſt occaſion offered, the *Kingdomes* brake again, and ſo continued ever after.

Thus having, in all Humbleneſſe, made Oblation, to your *Majeſty*, of theſe ſimple Fruits, of my *Devotion*, and *Studies*; I do wiſh, and do wiſh it, not in the Nature, of an Impoſſibility, (to my Apprehenſion;) That this happy *Union*, of your *Majeſties* two *Kingdomes*, of *England*, and *Scotland*, may be in as good an Houre, and under the like *Divine Providence*, as that was, between the *Romans*, and the *Sabines*.

CERTAIN

CERTAIN

ARTICLES,

OR,

CONSIDERATIONS,

TOUCHING THE

UNION,

OF THE

KINGDOMES,

OF

ENGLAND, and *SCOTLAND*;

Collected, and disperſed, for His *MAJESTIES* better Service.

YOUR *Majeſty*, being, (I do not doubt,) directed, and conducted, by a better *Oracle*, then that, which was given for Light, to *Æneas*, in his Peregrination; (*Antiquam exquirite Matrem*;) hath a *Royall*, and, indeed, an *Heroicall*, *Deſire*, to reduce theſe two *Kingdomes*, of *England*, and *Scotland*, into the Unity, of their Ancient *Mother Kingdome* of *Brittain*. Wherein, as I would gladly applaud unto your *Majeſty*, or ſing aloud that *Hymne*, or Antheme; *Sic itur ad Aſtra*; So, in a more ſoft, and ſubmiſſe, voice, I muſt, neceſ-

neceſſarily, remember, unto your *Majeſty*, that Warning, or Caveat; *Ardua, quæ Pulchra*; It is an Action, that requireth, yea, and needeth much, not only of your *Majeſties Wiſedome*, but of your *Felicity*. In this Argument, I preſumed, at your *Majeſties* firſt Entrance, to write a few Lines, indeed Scholaſtically, and Speculatively, and not Actively, or Politickly, as I held it fit for me, at that time; when neither your *Majeſty*, was, in that your deſire, declared; Nor my ſelf, in that Service, uſed, or truſted. But now that both your *Majeſty*, hath opened your deſire, and purpoſe, with much Admiration, even of thoſe, who give it not, ſo full an Approbation; And that my ſelf, was, by the *Commons*, graced, with the firſt Vote, of all the *Commons*, Selected, for that Cauſe; Not in any Eſtimation of my Ability, (For therein ſo wiſe an *Aſſembly* could not be ſo much deceived,) but in an acknowledgement, of my Extream Labours, and Integrity, in that Buſineſſe; I thought my ſelf, every wayes bound; Both in Duty to your *Majeſty*; And in truſt, to that *Houſe* of *Parliament*; And in Conſent to the Matter it ſelf; And in Conformity, to mine own Travailes, and Beginnings; Not to neglect, any paines, that may tend, to the furtherance, of ſo excellent a work: Wherein I will endeavour, that that, which I ſhall ſet down, be *Nihil minus quam verba*: For Length, and Ornament, of Speech, are to be uſed, for perſwaſion of *Multitudes*, and not for Information of *Kings*: eſpecially, ſuch a *King*, as is the only inſtance, that ever I knew, to make a Man of *Plato's* Opinion, *That all Knowledge is but Remembrance*; And that the *Mind* of *Man*, knoweth all Things, and demandeth only, to have her own *Notions*, excited, and awaked. Which your *Majeſties* rare, and indeed ſingular, Gift, and faculty, of ſwift Apprehenſion, and infinite Expanſion, or Multiplication, of another Mans Knowledge, by your own, as I have often obſerved, ſo I did extreamly admire in *Goodwins Cauſe*, Being a matter full of Secrets, and Myſteries, of our Lawes, meerly new unto you, and quite out of the Path of your Education, Reading, and Conference: Wherein, nevertheleſſe, upon a Spark of Light given, your *Majeſty* took in ſo Dexterouſly, and Profoundly, as if you had been indeed *Anima Legis*; Not only in Execution, but in underſtanding: The Remembrance whereof, as it will never be out of my mind, ſo it will alwayes be a warning to me, to ſeek rather to excite your Judgement briefly, then to enform it tediouſly; And if in a Matter, of that Nature, how much more in this, wherein your *Princely Cogitations* have wrought themſelves, and been converſant; And wherein, the principall Light, ptoceeded from your ſelf.

And, therefore, my Purpoſe is, onely to break, this Matter, of the *Union*, into certain ſhort *Articles*, and *Queſtions*; And to make, a certain kind, of *Anatomy*, or *Analyſis*, of the Parts, and Members thereof; Not that I am of Opinion, that all the *Queſtions*, which I now ſhall Open, were fit to be, in the Conſultation, of the *Commiſſioners*,

miſſioners, propounded. For I hold nothing, ſo great an Enemy, to good Reſolution, as the Making, of too many Queſtions; Specially in *Aſſemblies*, which conſiſt of many. For *Princes*, for Avoyding of Diſtraction, muſt take many Things by way of Admittance; And if *Queſtions*, muſt be made of them, rather to ſuffer them, to ariſe from others, then to grace them, and authorize them, as propounded from themſelves. But unto your *Majeſties* private Conſideration, to whom it may better ſort with me, rather to ſpeak as a *Remembrancer*, then as a *Counceller*; I have thought good, to lay before you, all the *Branches*, *Lineaments*, and *Degrees*, of this *Union*; that upon the *View*, and Conſideration, of them, and their Circumſtances, your *Majeſty* may the more clearly diſcern, and more readily call to mind, which of them is to be embraced, and which to be rejected; And of theſe, which are to be accepted, which of them is preſently to be proceeded in, and which to be put over to further time; And again, which of them, ſhall require *Authority* of *Parliament*, and which are fitter, to be effected, by your *Majeſties Royall Power*, and *Prerogative*, or by other Pollicies, or Means; And laſtly, which of them, is liker to Paſſe, with Difficulty, and Contradiction, and which, with more Facility, and Smoothneſſe.

First therefore, to begin with that *Queſtion*, that I ſuppoſe will be out of queſtion.

Statutes concerning *Scotland*, and the Scotiſh Nation.

Whether it be not meet, that the Statutes, which were made touching *Scotland*, or the *Scottiſh Nation*, while the *Kingdomes* ſtood ſevered, be repealed?

It is true, there is a Diverſity in theſe; For ſome of theſe *Lawes*, conſider *Scotland* as an Enemy Countrey; Other Lawes conſider it, as a Forrain Countrey onely: As for *Example*, the Law of *Rich.* 2. *Anno* 7o, which Prohibiteth, all Armour, or Victuall, to be carried to *Scotland*; And the Law of 7° of *K. H.* the 7. that Enacteth, all the *Scottiſh* Men, to depart the Realm, within a time prefixed; Both theſe *Lawes*, and ſome others, reſpect *Scotland*, as a countrey of hoſtility: But the of *Law* of 22 of *Ed.* 4, that endueth *Barwick*, with the Liberty, of a *Staple*, where all *Scottiſh Merchandizes*, ſhould reſort, that ſhould be uttred for *England*: And likewiſe all *Engliſh Merchandizes*, that ſhould be uttered for *Scotland*; This *Law* beholdeth *Scotland*, onely, as a *Forrain Nation*; And not ſo much neither; For there have been erected, *Staples*, in Towns of *England*, for ſome Commodities, with an Excluſion, and Reſtriction, of other Parts, of *England*.

But this is a Matter of the leaſt Difficulty; your *Majeſty*, ſhall have a *Calender* made, of the *Lawes*, and a *Brief* of the Effect; And ſo you may judge of them: And the like, or Reciproque, is to be done by *Scotland*, for ſuch *Lawes*, as they have concerning *England*, and the *Engliſh Nation*.

Lawes, Cuſtomes, Commiſſions, Officers, of the Borders, or Marches.

The Second Queſtion is, what Lawes, Cuſtomes, Commiſſi-

ons,

ons, Officers, Garriſons, and the like, are to be put down, diſcontinued, or taken away, upon the Borders of both Realms.

This *Point*, becauſe I am not acquainted, with the *Orders* of the *Marches*, I can ſay the leſſe.

Herein falleth that *Queſtion*, whether that the *Tennants*, who hold their *Tennant Rights*, in a greater Freedome, and Exemption, in Conſideration of their Service, upon the *Borders*; And that the *Countreys* themſelves, which are, in the ſame reſpect, diſcharged, of *Subſidies*, and *Taxes*; ſhould not now be brought, to be, in one degree, with other *Tennants*, and *Countreys*; *Nam ceſſante cauſâ tollitur Effectus*; Wherein, in my Opinion, ſome time would be given; *Quia adhùc eorum Meſſis in Herbâ eſt*: But ſome preſent *Ordinance*, would be made, to take effect, at a future time; conſidering, it is one of the greateſt *Points*, and *Marks*, of the Diviſion, of the *Kingdomes*. And becauſe Reaſon doth dictate, that where the Principall Solution of Continuity was, there the Healing, and Conſolidating Plaiſter, ſhould be chiefly applyed; There would be ſome further Device, for the utter, and perpetuall, Confounding, of thoſe *Imaginary Bounds*, (as your *Majeſty* termeth them;) And therefore, it would be conſidered, whether it were not convenient, to Plant, and Erect, at *Carleil*, or *Barwick*, ſome *Counſell*, or *Court* of *Juſtice*, the *Juriſdiction* whereof, might extend, part into *England*, and part into *Scotland*; With a *Commiſſion*, not to proceed preciſely, or meerly, according to the *Lawes*, and *Cuſtomes*, either of *England*, or *Scotland*; But mixtly, according to Inſtructions, by your *Majeſty*, to be ſet down, after the Imitation, and Precedent, of the *Counſell*, of the *Marches*, here in *England*, Erected, upon the *Union*, of *Wales*.

Further Union beſides the Removing of Inconvenient and diſſenting Lawes and Uſages.

The third *Queſtion* is that, which many will make a great *Queſtion* of, though, perhaps, your *Majeſty*, will make no *Queſtion* of it; And that is, Whether your *Majeſty*, ſhould not make, a ſtop, or ſtand here, and not to proceed, to any further *Union*; Contenting your Self, with the two former *Articles*, or *Points*.

For it will be ſaid, That we are now well, (thanks be to *God*;) And your *Majeſty*, and the *State*, of neither *Kingdome*, is to be repented of; And that it is true, which *Hippocrates* ſaith; That, *Sana Corpora difficilè medicationes ferunt*: It is better, to make Alterations, in ſick Bodies, then in ſound. The *Conſideration* of which *Point*, will reſt upon theſe two *Branches*: What *Inconveniencies* will enſue, with time, if the *Realmes* ſtand, as they are, divided, which are yet not found, nor ſprung up. For it may be, the ſweetneſſe, of your *Majeſties* firſt Entrance, and the great Benefit, that both *Nations* have felt thereby, hath covered many *Inconveniencies*; Which, nevertheleſſe, be your *Majeſties* Government, never ſo gracious, and Pollitick, Continuance of Time, and the Accidents of Time, may breed, and diſcover, if the *Kingdomes* ſtand divided.

The Second *Branch* is; Allow no manifeſt, or important, Perill, or *Inconvenience*, ſhould enſue, of the Continuing of the *Kingdomes* Divided; yet, on the other Side, whether that, upon the further *Uniting* of them, there be not like to follow, that Addition, and Encreaſe, of Wealth, and Reputation, as is worthy your *Majeſties* Vertues, and Fortune, to be the Authour, and Founder of, for the Advancement, and Exaltation, of *Your Majeſties Royall Poſterity*, in time to come.

Points wherein the Nations ſtand already united.

But admitting, that your *Majeſty* ſhould proceed, to this more perfect, and entire, *Union*; Wherein your *Majeſty* may ſay, *Majus Opus moveo*; To enter, into the *Parts*, and *Degrees* thereof, I think fit, firſt, to ſet down, as in a brief *Table*, in what Points, the *Nations*, ſtand now, at this preſent time, already *united*; And in what *Points*, yet ſtill ſevered, and divided; that your *Majeſty* may the better ſee, what is done, and what is to be done; And how that which is to be done, is to be inferred, upon that which is done.

The *Points*, wherein the *Nations*, ſtand already united, are;

In *Soveraignty*
In the *Relative* thereof, which is *Subjection*.
In *Religion*.
In *Continent*.
In *Language*.

And now, laſtly, by the Peace, by your *Majeſty* concluded, with *Spain* In *Leagues*, and *Confederacies*; For now, both *Nations*, have the ſame Friends, and the ſame Enemies.

Yet notwithſtanding, there is none of the ſix *Points*, wherein the *Union*, is perfect, and Conſummate; But every of them, hath ſome ſcruple, or rather Grain of ſeparation, enwrapped, and included in them.

Soveraignty; Line Royall.

For the *Soveraignty*, the *Union* is abſolute in your *Majeſty*, and your *Generation*; But if it ſhould ſo be, (which *God*, of his infinite Mercy, defend,) that your Iſſue ſhould fail, then the Deſcent, of both *Realmes*, doth reſort to the ſeverall *Lines*, of the Severall *Blouds Royall*.

Subjection Obedience.

For *Subjection*, I take the Law of *England*, to be clear, (what the Law of *Scotland*, is I know not;) That all *Scottiſhmen*, from the very Inſtant of your *Majeſties Raign* begun, are become *Denizons*; And the *Poſt-Nati*, are naturaliz'd Subjects, of *England*, for the time forwards: For, by our *Lawes*, none can be an *Alien*, but he that is, of another Allegeance, then our *Soveraign Lord the King*; For there be but two Sorts of *Aliens*, whereof we find mention in our *Law*; An *Alien Ami*, and an *Alien Enemy*: Whereof the former, is a *Subject*, of a *State*, in *Amity* with

Alien Naturalization

the

the *King*, And the latter, a *Subject*, of a *State*, in *Hoſtility*: But whether he be one, or other, it is an Eſſentiall Difference, tinto the Definition of an *Alien*, if he be not of the *Kings Allegeance*; As we ſee it evidently, in the precedent of *Ireland*; who ſince they were *Subjects*, to the *Crown*, of *England*, have ever been Inheritable, and capable, as *Naturall Subjects*; And yet, not by any *Statute*, or *Act of Parliament*, but meerly by the *Common Law*, and the Reaſon thereof. So as, there is no doubt, that every *Subject* of *Scotland* was, and is, in like Plight, and Degree, ſince your *Majeſties* Comming in, as if your *Majeſty*, had granted, particularly, your *Letters* of *Denization*, or *Naturalization*, To every of them; And the *Poſt-Nati*, wholly *Naturall*. But then, on the other Side, for the time Back-wards, and for thoſe that were *Ante-Nati*, the *Bloud* is not, by Law, naturalized; So as they cannot take it, by Deſcent, from their *Anceſtours*, without *Act* of *Parliament*. And therefore, in this *Point*, there is a *Defect*, in the *Union*, of *Subjection*.

Religion, Church-Government.

For Matter of *Religion*, the *Union* is perfect, in points of *Doctrine*; but in Matter of *Diſcipline*, and *Government*, it is imperfect.

Continent Borders.

For the *Continent*; It is true, there are no Naturall *Boundaries* of *Mountains*, or *Seas*, or *Navigable Rivers*; But yet there are *Badges*, and *Memorialls*, of *Borders*; Of which Point, I have ſpoken before.

Language, Dialect.

For the *Language*; It is true, the *Nations* are *unius Labii*, and and have not the firſt *Curſe* of Diſunion, which was *Confuſion* of *Tongues*, whereby one underſtood not another. But yet the *Dialect* is differing, and it remaineth, a kind of Mark, of Diſtinction. But for that, *Tempori permittendum*, it is to be left to *Time*: For conſidering, that both *Languages*, do concur, in the principall Office, and Duty, of a *Language*, which is to make a Mans ſelf underſtood; For the reſt, it is rather to be accounted, (as was ſaid) a *Diverſity* of *Dialect*, then of *Language*: and as I ſaid in my firſt *Writing*, it is like to bring forth, the *enriching* of one *Language*, by compounding, and taking in the proper, and ſignificant Words, of either *Tongue*, rather then a Coutinuance, of two *Languages*.

Leagues, Confederacies, Treaties.

For *Leagues*, and *Confederacies*; It is true, that neither Nation, is now in *Hoſtility*, with any *State*, wherewith the other *Nation*, is in *Amity*: but yet ſo, as the *Leagues*, and *Treaties*, have been concluded, with either *Nation*, reſpectively, and not with both, jointly; which may contain, ſome Diverſity of *Articles*, of ſtraitneſs of *Amity*, with one, more then with the other.

But many of theſe Matters, may, perhaps, be of that kind, as may fall within that *Rule*; *In veſte varietas ſit, ſciſſura non ſit.*

Now to deſcend to the particular *Points*, wherein the *Realms*, ſtand, ſevered, and divided, over and beſides, the for-

mer ſix *Points* of *ſeparation*, which I have noted, and placed, as defects, or Abatements, of the ſix Points of the *Union*; And therfore, ſhall not need to be repeated. The *Points*, I ſay yet remaining, I will divide, into *Externall*, and into *Internal*.

Externall points of the Separation and Union

The *Externall Points*, therefore, of the *Separation*, are four.

1. The ſeverall *Crowns*; I mean the *Ceremoniall*, and *Materiall*, *Crowns*.
2. The ſecond is, the ſeverall *Names*, *Stiles*, or *Appellations*.
3. The third is, the ſeverall *Prints*, of the *Seals*.
4. The fourth is, the ſeverall *Stamps*, or *Marks* of the *Coins*, or *Monies*.

It is true, that the *Externall*, are, in ſome reſpect, and parts, much mingled, and interlaced, with *Conſiderations Internall*; And that they may be as effectuall, to the true *Union*, which muſt be the work of Time, as the *Internall*; Becauſe, they are Operative, upon the Conceits, and Opinions, of the *People*: The *Uniting*, of whoſe Hearts, and Affections, is the *Life*, and true *End* of this *Work*.

The Ceremoniall or Materiall Crowns.

For the *Ceremoniall Crowns*, the Queſtion will be, whether there ſhall be framed, one, new, Imperiall *Crown*, of *Britain*, to be uſed for the times to come?

Alſo, admitting that to be thought Convenient, whether in the Frame thereof, there ſhall not be ſome Reference, to the *Crowns*, of *Ireland*, and *France*.

Alſo, whether your *Majeſty*, ſhould repeat, or iterate, your own *Coronation*, and your *Queens*; or onely ordain, that ſuch new *Crown*, ſhall be uſed, by your *Poſterity*, hereafter.

The *Difficulties* will be, in the Conceit, of ſome *Inequality*, whereby the *Realm* of *Scotland*, may be thought, to be made an Acceſſion, unto the *Realm* of *England*. But that reſteth in ſome Circumſtances: for the *Compounding*, of the two *Crowns*, is equall; The *Calling* of the new *Crown*, the *Crown* of *Brittain* is equall. Onely the *Place* of *Coronation*, if it ſhall be at *Weſtminſter*, which is the *Ancient*, *Auguſt*, and *Sacred place*, for the *Kings* of *England*, may ſeem to make an *Inequality*: And again, if the *Crown* of *Scotland*, be diſcontinued, then that *Ceremony*, which, I hear, is uſed in the *Parliament*, of *Scotland*; in the abſence of the *Kings*, to have the *Crowns* carried in ſolemnity, muſt likewiſe ceaſe.

The Stiles and Names.

For the *Name*, the main Queſtion is, whether the *Contracted Name*, of *Brittain*, ſhall be, by your *Majeſty*, uſed, or the *Divided Names* of *England*, and *Scotland*.

Admitting there ſhall be an Alteration, then the Caſe will require, theſe Inferiour *Queſtions*.

Firſt, whether the *Name* of *Brittain*, ſhall, not onely, be uſed, in your *Majeſties Stile*, where the entire *Stile* is recited; And in all other Forms, the *Divided Names* to remain, both of the *Realms*, and of the People; Or otherwiſe, that the very *Divided Names*, of *Realms*, and *People*, ſhall, likwiſe, be changed,

ged, or turned into ſpecial or ſubdivided *Names*, of the Generall *Name*; That is to ſay, for Example; whether your *Majeſty*, in your *Stile*, ſhall denominate your ſelf, *King of Brittain*, *France*, and *Ireland*; &c. And yet, nevertheleſſe, in any *Commiſſion*, *Writ*, or otherwiſe, where your *Majeſty* mentioneth, *England*, or *Scotland*, you ſhall retain the ancient *Names*, as *Secundum Conſuetudinem Regni noſtri Angliæ*; or whether, thoſe Divided *Names*, ſhall be, for ever, loſt, and taken away, and turned, into the ſubdiviſions, of *South-Britain*, and *North-Britain*; and the People to be *South-Brittains*, and *North-Brittains*; And ſo, in the Example aforeſaid, the Tenour of the like clauſe, to run, *Secundum Conſuetudinem Britanniæ Auſtralis*.

Alſo, if the former of theſe, ſhall be thought convenient, whether it were not better, for your *Majeſty*, to take, that Alteration of *Stile*, upon you, by *Proclamation*, as *Edward* the *third* did, the *Stile* of *France*, then to have it enacted by *Parliament*.

Alſo in the *Alteration*, of the *Stile*, whether it were not better, to tranſpoſe the *Kingdom*, of *Ireland*; and put it, immediatly, after *Britain*, and ſo place the *Iſlands* together; And the *Kingdom* of *France*, being upon the Continent, laſt: In regard, that theſe *Iſlands*, of the *Weſtern Ocean*, ſeem, by Nature, and Providence, an entire *Empire* in themſelves; And alſo, that there was never *King* of *England*, ſo entirely poſſeſt of *Ireland*, as your *Majeſty* is: So as your Stile, to run; *King* of *Britain*, *Ireland*, and the *Iſlands Adjacent*, and of *France*, &c.

The *Difficulties* in this, have been, already, throughly beaten over, but they gather but to two *Heads*.

The one, Point of *Honour*, and *Love*, to the former *Names*.

The other, *Doubt*, leſt the *Alteration*, of the *Name*, may induce, and involve, an *Alteration* of the *Lawes*, and *Pollicies*, of the *Kingdom*; Both which, if your *Majeſty* ſhall aſſume, the *Stile*, by *Proclamation*, and not by *Parliament*, are in themſelves ſatisfied: For then, the uſuall *Names*, muſt needs remain, in *Writs*, and *Records*; The Formes whereof, cannot be altered, but by *Act* of *Parliament*; And ſo the point of Honour ſatisfied. And again, your *Proclamation* altereth no *Law*; And ſo, the Scruple, of a tacite, or implyed, *Alteration* of *Lawes*, likewiſe ſatisfied. But then, it may be conſidered, whether it were not a *Form*, of the greateſt *Honour*, if the *Parliament*, though they did not enact it, yet ſhould become Suiters, and Petitioners to your *Majeſty*, to aſſume it.

For the *Seales*; That there ſhould be but one *Great Seal* of *Britain*, and one *Chanceller*; And that their ſhould only be a *Seal* in *Scotland*; for *Proceſſes*, and *ordinary Juſtice*; And that all *Patents*, of Graunts, of *Lands*, or otherwiſe, as well in *Scotland*, as in *England*, ſhould paſſe under the *Great Seal* here, kept about your *Perſon*; It is an *Alteration internall*, whereof I do not now ſpeak. The Seales.

But

But the *Queſtion*, in this Place, is; whether the *Great Seales*, of *England*, and *Scotland*, ſhould not be changed, into one, and the ſame Form, of *Image*, and *Superſcription*, of *Britain*; which, Nevertheleſſe, is requiſite, ſhould be, with ſome one plain, or manifeſt, Alteration, leſt there be a Buz, and ſuſpect, that *Grants* of *Things* in *England*, may be paſſed, by the Seal of *Scotland*; Or è *converſo*.

Alſo, whether this *Alteration*, of *Form*, may not be done, without *Act* of *Parliament*, as the *Great Seales*, have uſed, to be heretofore changed, as to their *Impreſſions*.

The Standards, and Stamps, Moneys.

For the *Moneys*, as to the Reall, and Internall Conſideration thereof, the *Queſtion* will be, whether your *Majeſty*, ſhould not continue two *Mints*; which, the Diſtance of *Territory* conſidered,) I ſuppoſe, will be of Neceſſity.

Secondly, how the *Standards*, (if it be not already done, as I hear ſome doubt made of it, in popular Rumour,) may be reduced, into an Exact proportion, for the time to come; And likewiſe, the *Computation*, *Tale*, or *Valuation*, to be made exact, for the *Moneys*, already beaten.

That done, the laſt *Queſtion* is, (which is onely proper to this place,) whether the *Stamp*, or the *Image*, and *Superſcription*, of *Britain*, for the time forwards, ſhould not be made, the ſelf ſame, in both places, without any Difference at all. A Matter alſo, which may be done, as our *Law* is, by your *Majeſties Prerogative*, without *Act of Parliament*.

Theſe *Points*, are *Points*, of *Demonſtration*, *Ad faciendum populum*; But ſo much the more, they go, to the *Root*, of your *Majeſties Intention*; which is to imprint, and inculcate, into the Hearts, and Heads, of the *People*; that they are one *People*, and one *Nation*.

In this kind, alſo, I have heard it, paſſe abroad in Speech, of the *Erection*, of ſome *new Order*, of *Knighthood*, with a Reference to the *Union*, and an *Oath* appropriate thereunto; which is a *Point*, likewiſe, deſerveth a Conſideration. So much for the *Externall Points*.

Internall Points of Union.

The *Internall Points*, of *Separation*, are as followeth.

1. Severall *Parliaments*.
2. Severall *Councels* of *Eſtate*.
3. Severall *Officers* of the *Crown*.
4. Severall *Nobilities*.
5. Severall *Lawes*,
6. Severall *Courts* of *Juſtice*, *Trialls*, and *Proceſſes*.
7. Severall *Receipts*, and *Finances*.
8. Severall *Admiralties*, and *Merchandizings*:
9. Severall *Freedomes*, and *Liberties*.
10. Severall *Taxes*, and *Impoſts*.

As

As touching the Severall *States Eccleſiaſticall*; and the ſeverall *Mints*, and *Standards*; and the ſeverall *Articles*, and *Treaties*, of *Intercourſe*, with *Forrain Nations*, I touched them before.

In theſe *Points*, of the ſtraight, and more inward, *Union*, there will interveyn, one principall *Difficulty*, and *Impediment*, growing from that Root, which *Ariſtotle*, in his *Politicks*, maketh, to be the Root, of all Diviſion, and Diſſention, in *Common Wealths*; And that is *Equality*, and *Inequality*. For the *Realm* of *Scotland*, is now, an Ancient, and Noble, *Realm*, ſubſtantive of it ſelf. But when this *Iſland*, ſhall be made *Britain*, then *Scotland*, is no more to be conſidered, as *Scotland*, but as a part of *Britain*; No more then *England*, is to be conſidered, as *England*, but as a part, likewiſe, of *Britain*: And conſequently, neither of theſe, are to be conſidered, as Things entire of themſelves, but in the Proportion that they bear to the *Whole*. And therefore, let us imagine, (*Nam id Mente poſſumus, quod actu non poſſumus,*) that *Britain*, had never been divided, but had ever been one *Kingdome*; Then that part, of *Soyl*, or *Territory*, which is comprehended under the Name of *Scotland*; is, in quantity, (as I have heard it eſteemed, how truly I know not;) Not paſt, a third part of *Britain*; And that part of *Soyl*, or *Territory*, which is comprehended, under the Name of *England*, is two parts of *Britain*; Leaving to ſpeak, of any Difference, of *Wealth*, or *Population*, and ſpeaking onely of *Quantity*. So then, if, for Example, *Scotland*, ſhould bring to *Parliament*, as much *Nobility*, as *England*, then, a Third part, ſhould countervail two parts; *Nam ſi Inæqualibus æqualia addas, omnia erunt Inæqualia.* And this, I proteſt before *God*, and your *Majeſty*, I do ſpeak, not as a Man born in *England*, but as a Man born in *Britain*. And therefore, to deſcend, to the particulars.

For the *Parliaments*, the Conſideration of that *Point*, will fall into four *Queſtions*. 1. Parliament.

1. The firſt, what proportion ſhall be kept, between the *Votes* of *England*, and the *Votes* of *Scotland*.

2. The Second, touching the *Manner* of *Propoſition*, or *poſſeſſing*, of the *Parliament*, of Cauſes there to be handled; Which in *England*, is uſed to be done, immediatly, by any *Member*, of the *Parliament*, or by the *Prolocutor*; And in *Scotland*, is uſed to be done, immediatly, by the *Lords*, of the *Articles*; Whereof, the one Form, ſeemeth to have, more *Liberty*, and the other, more *Gravity*, and *Maturity*: And therefore, the Queſtion will be, whether of theſe, ſhall yield to other; Or whether there ſhould not be, a Mixture of both, by ſome Commiſſions, precedent, to every *Parliament*, in the Nature, of *Lords*, of the *Articles*; And yet not Excluding, the Liberty, of

of propounding, in full *Parliament*, afterwards.

3. The Third, touching the *Orders* of *Parliament*, how they may be compounded, and the beſt, of either, taken.

4. The Fourth, how thoſe, which by *Inheritance*, or otherwiſe, have *Offices* of *Honour*, and *Ceremony*, in both the *Parliaments*, as the *Lord Steward*, with us, &c. may be ſatisfied, and Duplicity accommodated.

2. Counſells of Eſtate.

For the *Councells* of *Eſtate*, while the *Kingdomes* ſtand divided, it ſhould ſeem neceſſary, to continue ſeverall *Councells*; But, if your *Majeſty*, ſhould procced to a ſtrict *Union*, then, howſoever your *Majeſty*, may eſtabliſh, ſome *Provinciall Councells*, in *Scotland*, as there is here, of *Yorke*, and in the *Marches* of *Wales*; Yet the Queſtion will be, whether it will not be, more convenient, for your *Majeſty*, to have but one *Privy Councell*, about your *Perſon*; Whereof, the *Principall officers*, of the *Crown*, of *Scotland*, to be, for *Dignity* ſake, howſoever, their Abiding, and Remaining, may be, as your *Majeſty*, ſhall imploy their Service. But this *Point*, belongeth, meerely, and wholy, to your *Majeſties Royall* Will, and Pleaſure.

3. Officers of the Crown

For the *Officers*, of the *Crown*, the Conſideration thereof, will fall into theſe Queſtions.

Firſt, in regard, of the *Latitude*, of your *Kingdom*, and the *Diſtance* of *Place*, whether it will not be Matter of neceſſity, to continue the ſeverall *Officers*, becauſe of the *Impoſſibility*, for the ſervice, to be performed, by one.

The Second, admitting, the *Duplicity*, of *Officers*, ſhould be continued, yet, whether there ſhould not be a Difference, that one ſhould be the *Principall Officer*, and the other, to be, but Speciall, and Subalterne: As for example, one to be *Chancellour* of *Britain*, and the other, to be *Chancellour*, with ſome ſpeciall Addition; As here of the *Dutchy*, &c.

The Third, if no ſuch ſpecialty, or Inferiority, be thought fit, then whether both *Officers*, ſhould not have the *Title*, and the *Name*, of the whole *Iſland*, and *Precincts*: As the *Lord Chancellor of England*, to be, *Lord Chancellor of Britain*; And the *Lord Chancellor of Scotland*, to be, *Lord Chancellor of Britain*; But with ſeverall proviſo's, that they ſhall not, intromit themſelves, but within their ſeverall precincts.

4. Nobiliries.

For the *Nobilities*, the Conſideration thereof, will fall into theſe *Queſtions*.

The Firſt, of their *Votes*, in *Parliament*, (which was touched before,) what proportion they ſhall bear, to the *Nobility* of *England*: Wherein, if the Proportion, which ſhall be thought fit, be not full, yet your *Majeſty* may, out of your *Prerogative*, ſupply it: For although, you cannot make fewer, of *Scotland*, yet you may make more of *England*.

The Second is, touching the *Place*, and *Precedence*; wherein, to marſhall them, according to the *Precedence* of *England*, in

in your *Majesties Stile*; And according, to the *Nobility*, of *Ireland*; That is, all *English Earles* first, and then *Scottish*, will be thought unequall, for *Scotland*. To marshall them, according to *Antiquity*, will be thought unequall for *England*. Because I hear, their *Nobility*, is, generally, more ancient: And therefore, the Question will be, whether the indifferentest way, were not, to take them enterchangeably; As for Example; First, the Ancient *Earl* of *England*; And then, the Ancient *Earl* of *Scotland*; And so, *Alternis Vicibus*.

5. Lawes.

For the *Lawes*, to make an intire, and perfect, *Union*, it is a Matter of great Difficulty, and Length; Both in the *Collecting* of them, and in the *Passing* of them. For first, as to the *Collecting* of them, there must be made, By the *Lawyers*, of either *Nation*, a *Disgest*, under *Titles*, of their severall *Lawes*, and *Customes*; Aswell *Common Lawes*, as *Statutes*; That they may be *Collated*, and *Compared*; And that, the *Diversities*, may appear, and be discerned of. And for the *Passing* of them, we see, by experience, that *Patrium Mos*, is dear to all men; And that Men are bred, and nourished up, in the Love of it; And therefore, how harsh, *Changes*, and *Innovations*, are. And we see, likewise, what Disputation, and Argument, the *Alteration*, of some one *Law*, doth cause, and bring forth; How much more, the *Alteration*, of the whole *Corps*, of the *Law*? Therefore, the first *Question* will be, whether it be not good, to proceed by parts, and to take that, that is most necessary, and leave the rest, to Time? The Parts therefore, or Subject, of *Lawes* are, for this purpose, fitliest distributed, according to that ordinary *Division*, of *Criminall*, and *Civill*; And those of *Criminall Causes*, into *Capitall*, and *Penall*.

The Second *Question*, therefore, is; Allowing the Generall *Union* of *Lawes*, to be too great a Work, to embrace, whether it were not convenient, that *Cases Capitall*, were the same, in both *Nations*? I say, the *Cases*; I do not speak, of the *Proceedings*, or *Trials*; That is to say; whether the same *Offences*, were not fit, to be made *Treason*, or *Felony*, in both places?

The Third *Question* is, whether *Cases Penall*, though not *Capitall*, yet if they concern the *Publick State*, or otherwise, the *Discipline* of *Manners*, were not fit, likewise, to be brought, into one *Degree*? As the *Case*, of *Misprision* of *Treason*; The *Case* of *Premunire*; The *Case* of *Fugitives*; The *Case* of *Incest*; The *Case* of *Simony*; and the rest.

But the *Question*, that is more urgent, then any of these, is; Whether these *Cases*, at the least, be they of an higher, or inferiour, degree; Wherein the *Fact* committed, or *Act* done in *Scotland*, may prejudice, the *State*, and *Subjects*, of *England*, or *é converso*; Are not, to be reduced, into one *Uniformity*, of *Law*, and *Punishment*? As for Example; A perjury, committed, in a *Court* of *Justice*, in *Scotland*, cannot be prejudiciall, in *Eng-*

gland; Becauſe *Depoſitions*, taken in *Scotland*, cannot be produced, and uſed, here in *England*. But a *Forgery*, of a *Deed*, in *Scotland*, I mean, with a falſe *Date* of *England*, may be uſed, and given in Evidence, in *England*. So likewiſe, the Depopulating, of a *Town* in *Scotland*, doth not, directly, prejudice, the *State* of *England*: But if an *Engliſh Merchant*, ſhall carry Silver, and Gold, into *Scotland*, (as he may,) and thence tranſport it, into forrain parts, this prejudiceth the *State* of *England*: And may be, an Evaſion, to all the *Lawes*, of *England*, ordained in that *Caſe*: And therefore, had need to be bridled, with as ſevere a *Law*, in *Scotland*, as it is here in *England*.

Of this kind, there are many *Lawes*.

The *Law*, of the 50, of *Rich.* the 2. of going over without licence, if there be not the like *Law* in *Scotland*, will be fruſtrated, and evaded: For any *Subject* of *England*, may go firſt into *Scotland*, and thence into forrain parts.

So the *Lawes*, prohibiting Tranſportation of ſundry *Commodities*, as *Gold*, and *Silver*, *Ordnance*, *Artillery*, *Corn*, &c. if there be not, a Correſpondence of *Lawes*, in *Scotland*, will, in like manner, be deluded, and fruſtrate: For any *Engliſh Merchant*, or *Subject*, may carry ſuch *Commodities*, firſt into *Scotland*, as well, as he may carry them, from Port, to Port, in *England*. And out of *Scotland*, into Forrain Parts, without any Perill of *Law*.

So *Libells*, may be deviſed, and written, in *Scotland*, and publiſhed, and ſcattered in *England*.

Treaſons, may be plotted in *Scotland*, and executed, in *England*.

And ſo, in many other *Caſes*, if there be not, the like Severity, of *Law*, in *Scotland*, to reſtrain *Offences*, that there is in *England*; (whereof, we are here ignorant, whether there be, or no,) It will be, a Gap, or Stop, even for *Engliſh Subjects*, to eſcape, and avoid, the *Lawes*, of *England*.

But for *Treaſons*, the beſt is, that by the *Statute*, of 26. *K. Hen.* the 8th. *Cap.* 13. any *Treaſon*, committed in *Scotland*, may be proceeded with, in *England*, as well, as *Treaſons* committed, in *France*, *Rome*, or elſewhere.

6. Courts of Juſtice, and Adminiſtration of Lawes.

For *Courts* of *Juſtice*, *Trialls*, *Proceſſes*, and other *Adminiſtration* of *Lawes*, to make any *Alteration*, in either *Nation*, it will be a Thing, ſo new, and unwonted, to either *People*; That it may be doubted, it will make, the *Adminiſtration* of *Juſtice*; (Which, of all other Things, ought to be known, and certain, as a beaten way;) To become intricate, and uncertain: And beſides, I do not ſee, that the Severalty, of *Adminiſtration* of *Juſtice*, though it be by *Court Soveraign*, of *laſt Reſort*; (I mean, without *Appeal*, or *Errour*;) Is any Impediment at all, to the *Union*

nion of a *Kingdom*: As we ſee by Experience, in the ſeverall *Courts* of *Parliament*, in the *Kingdome* of *France*: And I have been, alwayes, of Opinion, that the *Subjects* of *England*, do, already, fetch *Juſtice*, ſomewhat far off, more then in any *Nation*, that I know, the largeneſs of the *Kingdome* Conſidered, though it be holpen, in ſome part, by the *Circuits*, of the *Judges*; And the two *Councels*, at *York*, and in the *Marches* of *Wales*, eſtabliſhed.

But it may be a good *Queſtion*, whether, as *Commune Vinculum*, of the *Juſtice*, of both *Nations*, your *Majeſty*, ſhould not erect, ſome *Court* about your *perſon*, in the Nature, of the *Grand Councell*, of *France*; To which *Court*, you might, by way of *Evocation*, draw Cauſes, from the ordinary *Judges*, of both *Nations*; For ſo doth the *French King*, from all the *Courts*, of *Parliament*, in *France*; Many of which, are more remote, from *Paris*, then any part of *Scotland*, is from *London*.

For *Receits*, and *Finances*, I ſee no *Queſtion* will ariſe; In regard it will be Matter of Neceſſity, to eſtabliſh in *Scotland*, a *Receit* of *Treaſure*, for *Payments*, and Erogations, to be made, in thoſe parts: And for the *Treaſure* of *Spare*, in either *Receipts*, the *Cuſtodies* thereof, may well be ſeverall; conſidering, by your *Majeſties Commandement*, they may be, at all times, removed, or diſpoſed, according to your *Majeſties Occaſions*. 7. Receits, Finances, and Patrimonies of the Crown.

For the *Patrimonies*, of both *Crowns*, I ſee, no Queſtion will ariſe; Except your *Majeſty* would be pleaſed, to make one compounded *Annexation*, for an Inſeparable *Patrimony*, to the *Crown*, out of the *Lands*, of both *Nations*; And ſo, the like, for the *Principality* of *Britain*, and for other *Appennages*, of the reſt of your *Children*; Erecting, likewiſe, ſuch *Dutchies*, and *Honours*, compounded, of the Poſſeſſions, of both *Nations*, as ſhall be thought fit.

For *Admiralty*, or *Navy*, I ſee, no great queſtion, will ariſe: For I ſee no Inconvenience, for your Majeſty, to continue *Shipping*, in *Scotland*. And for the *Juriſdictions*, of the *Admiralties*, and the Profits, and Caſualties, of them, they will be reſpective, unto the *Coaſts*, over againſt which, the Seas lye, and are ſituated; As it is here, with the *Admiralties*, of *England*. 8. Admiralty, Navy, and Merchandizing.

And for *Merchandizing*, it may be a Queſtion, whether that the *Companies*, of the *Merchant Adventurers*, of the *Turky Merchants*, and the *Muſcovy Merchants*, (if they ſhall be continued,) ſhould not be compounded, of *Merchants*, of both *Nations*, *Engliſh*, and *Scottiſh*. For to leave *Trade* free, in the one *Nation*, and to have it reſtrained, in the other, may, percaſe, breed ſome *Inconvenience*.

For *Freedomes*, and *Liberties*, the *Charters* of both *Nations*, may be reviewed: And of ſuch *Liberties*, as are agreeable, and convenient, for the *Subjects*, and *People*, of both *Nations*, one 9. Freedomes and Liberties.

Great Charter, may be made, and confirmed, to the *Subjects*, of *Britain*; And thoſe *Liberties*, which are peculiar, or proper, to either *Nation*, to ſtand in State, as they do.

10. Taxes and Impoſts.

But for *Impoſts*, and *Cuſtomes*, it will be a great *Queſtion*, how to accommodate them, and reconcile them: For, if they be much eaſier in *Scotland*, then they be here in *England*, (which is a Thing, I know not,) then this Inconvenience will follow; That the *Merchants* of *England*, may unlade, in the *Ports* of *Scotland*; And this *Kingdome*, to be ſerved, from thence, and your *Majeſties Cuſtomes* abated.

And for the Queſtion, whether the *Scottiſh Merchants*, ſhould pay *Strangers Cuſtome*, in *England*, that reſteth, upon the *Point*, of *Naturalization*, which I touched before.

Thus have I made your *Majeſty*, a brief, and naked, *Memoriall*, of the *Articles*, and *Points*, of this great *Cauſe*; which may ſerve, onely, to excite, and ſtir up, your *Majeſties Royall Judgement*, and the *Judgement* of *Wiſer Men*, whom you will be pleaſed to call to it: Wherein, I will not preſume, to perſwade, or diſſwade any thing; Nor to interpoſe mine own Opinion; But do expect light, from your *Majeſties Royall Directions*; Unto the which, I ſhall ever ſubmit my *Judgement*, and apply my *Travailes*: And I moſt humbly pray your *Majeſty*, in this which is done, to pardon my Errours, and to cover them, with my good Intention, and Meaning, and Deſire I have, to do your *Majeſty* Service; And to acquite the Truſt, that was repoſed in me; And chiefly, in your *Majeſties* benign, and gracious Acceptation.

FINIS.

THE BEGINNING OF THE HISTORY, OF *GREAT BRITAIN.*

BY the *Deceaſe*, of *Elizabeth*, *Queen of England*, the Iſſues, of *King Henry the* 8th, failed; Being ſpent, in one *Generation*, and three *Succeſſions*. For that *King*, though he were one, of the goodlieſt *Perſons*, of his time, yet he left, onely by his *Six Wives*, three *Children*; who *Raigning ſucceſſively*, and *Dying Childeleſſe*, made place, to the *Line*, of *Margaret*, his eldeſt, Siſter, Married, to *James the* 4th, *King of Scotland*. There ſucceeded therefore, to the *Kingdome* of *England*, *James the* 6th, then *King of Scotland*, deſcended of the ſame *Margaret*, both by *Father*, and *Mother*: So that, by a rare Event, in the *Pedegrees* of *Kings*, it ſeemed, as if the *Divine Providence*, to extinguiſh, and take away, all *Note* of a *Stranger*, had doubled, upon his Perſon, within the Circle of one Age, the *Royall Bloud* of *England*, by both *Parents*. This *ſucceſſion*, drew towards it, the Eyes of all Men; Being one, of the moſt memorable Accidents, that had hapned, a long time, in the *Chriſtian World*. For the *Kingdome*, of *France*, having been re-united, in the Age before, in all the *Provinces* thereof, formerly diſmembred: And the *Kingdome*, of *Spain*, being, of more freſh memory, united, and made entire, by the Annexing of *Portugall*, in the Perſon, of *Philip* the *ſecond*; There remained, but this Third, and laſt *Union*, for the counterpoizing, of the Power, of theſe three *great*

great Monarchies; And the diſpoſing, of the Affaires, of *Europe*, thereby, to a more aſſured, and univerſall, Peace, and Concord. And this Event, did hold Mens Obſervations, and Diſcourſes, the more; Becauſe, the *Iſland*, of *Great Britain*, divided from the Reſt of the *World*, was never before united, in it ſelf, under one *King*; Notwithſtanding the *People* be of one *Language*, and not ſeparate, by *Mountains*, or great *Waters*: And, notwithſtanding alſo, that the *uniting* of them, had been, in former times, induſtriouſly attempted, both by *Warre*, and *Treaty*. Therefore, it ſeemed, a manifeſt work of *Providence*, and *Caſe* of *Reſervation*, for theſe times; Inſomuch, as the vulgar conceived, that now there was an End given, and a Conſummation, to ſuperſtitious Prophecies; (The *Belief* of *Fooles*, but the *Talk*, ſometimes, of *Wiſe Men*;) And to an ancient tacite Expectation, which had by Tradition, been infuſed, and inveterated, into Mens Minds. But, as the beſt Divinations, and Predictions, are the Politick, and probable, Foreſight, and Conjectures, of wiſe *Men*; So, in this Matter, the *Providence*, of *King Hen. the 7th*, was in all Mens Mouths; Who, being one, of the *Deepeſt*, and moſt *prudent Princes*, of the *World*, upon the Deliberation, concerning the *Marriage*, of his *Eldeſt Daughter*, into *Scotland*, had, by ſome *Speech*, uttered by him, ſhewed himſelf ſenſible, and almoſt Preſcient, of this Event.

Neither did there want, a Concurrence, of divers Rare, externall Circumſtances, (beſides the Vertues, and Conditions, of the *Perſon*.) which gave great Reputation, to this *Succeſſion*. A *King*, in the *ſtrength* of his *years*, ſupported with great *Alliances abroad*, eſtabliſhed with *Royall Iſſue* at home, at *Peace* with all the *World*, practiſed, in the *Regiment*, of ſuch a *Kingdome*, as mought rather enable a *King*, by variety of Accidents, then corrupt him, with Affluence, or vain glory; And One, that beſides his univerſall Capacity, and Judgement, was notably exerciſed, and practiſed, in *Matters* of *Religion*, and the *Church*; Which, in theſe times, by the confuſed uſe, of both *Swords*, are become ſo intermixed, with Conſiderations of Eſtate, as moſt of the Counſailes, of *Soveraign Princes*, or *Republiques*, depend upon them: But nothing, did more fill, *Forraign Nations*, with Admiration, and Expectation, of his *Succeſſion*, then the wonderfull, and (by them,) unexpected, Conſent, of all *Eſtates*, and *Subjects*, of *England*, for the receiving of the *King*, without the leaſt ſcruple, Pauſe, or Queſtion. For it had been generally diſperſed, by the *Fugitives*, beyond the *Seas*, (who partly, to apply themſelves, to the *Ambition*, of *Forreiners*; And partly, to give Eſtimation, and value, to their own Employments; uſed to repreſent, the ſtate of *England*, in a falſe light;) That after *Queen Elizabeths* Deceaſe, there muſt follow, in *England*, nothing but *Confuſions*, *Interregns*, and *perturbations* of *Eſtate*; likely, for to exceed, the Ancient *Calamities*, of the *Civill Wars*, between the *Houſes*, of *Lancaſter*, and *York*: By how much

much more, the Diſſentions, were like to be more Mortall, and Bloudy, when *Forraign Competition*, ſhould be added, to Domeſticall; And *Diviſions* for *Religion*, to Matter of *Title*, to the *Crown*. And in ſpeciall, *Parſons* the *Jeſuite*, under a diſguiſed Name, had, not long before, publiſhed, an expreſſe *Treatiſe*; Wherein, whether his *Malice*, made him believe his own *Fancies*; Or whether, he thought it the fitteſt way, to move *Sedition*; Like *evill Spirits*, which ſeem, to foretell, the *Tempeſt*, they meane to move; He laboured to diſplay, and give colour, to all the vain Pretences, and Dreams, of *Succeſſion*, which he could imagine; And thereby, had poſſeſſed Many abroad, that knew not the Affaires here, with thoſe his *Vanities*. Neither wanted there, here, within this *Realm*, divers Perſons, both Wiſe, and well affected, who, though they doubted not, of the undoubted Right; yet, ſetting before themſelves, the waves of peoples Hearts; (Guided, no leſſe, by ſuddain, and temporary, *Winds*, then by the naturall Courſe, and Motion, of the Waters;) Were, not without fear, what mought be the Event? For *Queen Elizabeth*, being a *Prince*, of extream Caution; and yet One, that loved *Admiration*, above *Safety*; And knowing, The Declaration of a *Succeſſour*, mought, in point of Safety, be diſputable; But in point of Admiration, and Reſpect, aſſuredly to her Diſadvantage; Had, from the beginning, ſet it down, for a *Maxime*, of *Eſtate*, to impoſe a *Silence*, touching *Succeſſion*. Neither was it onely *Reſerved*, as a *Secret* of *Eſtate*, but *Reſtrained*, by ſevere Lawes; That no Man, ſhould preſume, to give Opinion, or maintain Argument, touching the ſame; So, though the *Evidence* of *Right*, drew all the *Subjects* of the Land, to think one Thing; yet the *Fear* of *Danger* of *Law*, made no Man privy, to others Thought. And therefore, it rejoyced all Men, to ſee ſo fair a Morning of a *Kingdome*, and to be throughly ſecured, of former Apprehenſions; As a Man, that awaketh, out of a *Fearfull Dream*. But ſo it was, that not onely the Conſent, but the Applauſe, and Joy, was infinite, and not to be expreſſed, throughout the *Realm* of *England*, upon this *Succeſſion*: Whereof, the Conſent, (no doubt,) may be truly aſcribed, to the Clearneſſe of the Right; But the generall Joy, Alacrity, and Gratulation, were the Effects, of differing *Cauſes*. For *Queen Elizabeth*, although ſhe had the uſe, of many, both Vertues, and Demonſtrations, that mought draw, and knit unto her, the Hearts of her People; Yet nevertheleſſe, carrying a Hand, *Reſtrained* in *Gift*, and *ſtrained*, in *Points* of *Prerogative*, could not anſwer the Votes, either of *Servants*, or *Subjects*, to a full Contentment; eſpecially in her latter Dayes, when the Continuance of her *Raign*, (which extended to Five and Forty years,) mought diſcover, in *People*, their *Naturall Deſire*, and *Inclination*, towards *Change*; So that a new *Court*, and a new *Raign*, were not, to many, unwelcome. Many were glad, and eſpecially, thoſe of *Setled Eſtate*, and *Fortunes*, that the *Feares*, and *Incertainties* were *Overblown*,

blown, and that the *Dye was cast*: Others that had made their way, with the *King*, or offered their *Service*, in the *Time* of the *former Queen*, thought now the Time was come, for which they had prepared: And generally, all such, as had any dependance, upon the late *Earl* of *Essex*; (Who had mingled, the Secrecy, of his own Ends, with the Popular pretence, of advancing the *Kings Title*;) Made account, their *Cause* was amended. Again, such as mought misdoubt, they had given the *King*, any occasion of Distast, did continue, by their Forwardnesse, and Confidence, to shew, it was but their *Fastness*, to the *Former Government*; And that, those *Affections*, ended with the Time. The *Papists*, nourished their hopes, by collating, the Case, of the *Papists* in *England*, and under *Queen Elizabeth*, and the Case, of the *Papists*, in *Scotland*, under the *King*: Interpreting, that the Condition, of them, in *Scotland*, was the lesse Grievous; And divining, of the *Kings Government* here accordingly: Besides, the Comfort, they ministred themselves, from the Memory, of the *Queen* his *Mother*. The *Ministers*, and those which stood, for the *Presbytery*, thought their Cause, had more Sympathy, with the *Discipline* of *Scotland*, then the *Hierarchy* of *England*; And so, took themselves, to be, a Degree nearer their Desires. Thus had every *Condition* of Persons, some Contemplation of Benefit, which they promised themselves; Over-reaching, perhaps, according to the Nature of Hope; But yet, not without, some probable Ground, of Conjecture. At which time also, there came forth, in Print, the *Kings Book*, entitled Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον: Containing, Matter of Instruction, to the *Prince*, his *Son*, touching the *Office* of a *King*; Which *Booke*, falling into every Mans Hand, filled the whole *Realm*, as with a good Perfume, or Incense, before the *Kings comming in*: For being excellently written, and having nothing of Affectation, it did not only satisfie better, then particular Reports, touching the *Kings Disposition*; But far exceeded, any formall, or curious, *Edict*, or *Declaration*, which could have been devised, of that Nature, wherewith *Princes*, in the beginning of their *Raignes*, do use, to grace themselves, or at least, expresse themselves gracious, in the Eyes of their *People*. And this was, for the generall, the *State*, and *Constitution*, of Mens Minds, upon this Change: The *Actions themselves*, passed in this *Manner*, &c.

The Rest is wanting.

A

LETTER,

AND

DISCOURSE,

TO

Sir *HENRY SAVILL*,

TOUCHING

HELPS,

FOR THE

INTELLECTUAL POWERS.

SIR,

COming back from your Invitation at *Eton*, where I had refreſhed my Self, with Company, which I loved; I fell, into a Conſideration, of that Part, of *Policy*, whereof *Philoſophy* ſpeaketh too much, and *Lawes* too little; And that is, of *Education* of *Youth*. Whereupon, fixing my mind, a while, I found ſtrait wayes, and noted, even in the *Diſcourſes* of *Philoſophers*, which are ſo large in this Argument, a ſtrange Silence, concerning one principall Part, of that Subject: For as touching, the *Framing*, and *Seaſoning*, of *Youth*, to *Morall Vertue*; (As *Tolerance* of *Labours*, *Continency* from *Pleaſures*, *Obedience*, *Honour*, and the like; They handle it; But touching

the *Improvement*, and *Helping*, of the *Intellectuall Powers*; As of *Conceit*, *Memory*, and *Judgement*, they ſay nothing. Whether it were, that they thought it, to be a Matter, wherein *Nature* onely prevailed; Or that they intended it, as referred, to the ſeverall, and Proper, *Arts*, which teach, the uſe, of *Reaſon*, and *Speech*. But for the former of theſe two Reaſons, howſoever, it pleaſeth them, to diſtinguiſh, of *Habits*, and *Powers*; The Experience is manifeſt enough, that the *Motions*, and *Faculties*, of the *Wit*, and *Memory*, may be, not onely governed, and guided, but alſo confirmed, and enlarged, by Cuſtome, and Exercíſe, duly applyed: As if a *Man* exerciſe *ſhooting*, he ſhall not onely ſhoot nearer the Mark, but alſo draw a ſtronger Bow. And as for the Latter, of Comprehending, theſe precepts, within the *Arts*, of *Logick*, & *Rhetorick*; If it be rightly conſidered, their Office is diſtinct, altogether, from this Point: For it is no part, of the Doctrine, of the Uſe, or Handling, of an *Inſtrument*, to teach, how to Whet, or grinde, the *Inſtrument*, to give it a ſharp edge; Or how to quench it, or otherwiſe, whereby to give it a ſtronger Temper. Wherefore, finding this part of Knowledge, not broken, I have, but *tanquam aliud agens*, entred into it, and ſalute you with it; Dedicating it, after the ancient manner, firſt as to a dear Friend; And then as to an Apt Perſon; For as much, as you have, both place, to practiſe it, and Judgement, and Leyſure, to look deeper into it, then I have done. Herein you muſt call to mind, Ἀριστον μὲν ὕδωρ. Though the Argument, be not of great Heigth, and Dignity, nevertheleſſe, it is of great, and univerſall uſe: And yet, I do not ſee, why, to conſider it rightly; That ſhould not be a *Learning* of *Heigth*, which teacheth to raiſe, the Higheſt, and Worthieſt, *Part of the Mind*. But howſoever that be, if the *World* take any Light, and Uſe, by this *Writing*, I will, the Gratulation be, to the good Friendſhip, and Acquaintance, between us two. And ſo I commend you, to *Gods Divine Protection*.

A DISCOURSE, *touching* HELPS, *for the* INTELLECTUALL POWERS.

I did ever hold it, for an Inſolent, and unlucky, Saying; *Faber quiſque Fortunæ ſuæ*; Except it be uttered, onely, as an *Hortative*, or *Spur*, to correct Sloth. For otherwiſe, if it be believed, as it ſoundeth; And that a Man, entreth into an high Imagination, that he can compaſs, and fathom, all Accidents; And aſcribeth, all Succeſſes, to his Drifts, and Reaches; And the contrary, to

to his Errours, and Sleepings: It is commonly ſeen, that the *Evening Fortune*, of that Man, is not ſo proſperous, as of him, that without ſlackning, of his Induſtry, attributeth much to *Felicity*, and *Providence* above him. But if the Sentence were turned to this; *Faber quiſque Ingenii ſui*, it were ſomewhat more True, and much more Profitable: Becauſe it would teach Men, to bend themſelves, to *Reform*, thoſe *Imperfections*, in themſelves, which now they ſeek but to Cover: And to attain, thoſe *Vertues*, and *Good Parts*, which now they ſeek, but to have, onely, in *ſhew*, and *Demonſtration*. Yet notwithſtanding, every Man attempteth to be, of the firſt Trade, of Capenters; And Few bind themſelves to the Second: whereas, nevertheleſſe, the *Riſing* in *Fortune*, ſeldome, amendeth the *Mind*; But, on the other ſide, the Removing of the Stonds, and Impediments, of the Mind, doth often clear, the paſſage, and Current, to a Mans Fortune. But certain it is, whether it be believed, or no, that, as the moſt excellent of *Mettalls*, *Gold*, is, of all other, the moſt Pliant, and moſt Enduring to be wrought; So, of all Living, and Breathing Subſtances, the Perfecteſt, (Man,) is the moſt ſuſceptible of *Help*, *Improvement*, *Impreſſion*, and *Alteration*; And not only in his *Body*, but in his *Mind*, and *Spirit*; And there again, not only, in his *Appetite*, and *Affection*, but in his *Powers* of *Wit*, and *Reaſon*.

For as to the *Body* of *Man*, we find many, and ſtrange, Experiences, how *Nature* is overwrought by *Cuſtome*, even in Actions, that ſeem of moſt difficulty, and leaſt poſſible. As firſt in *Voluntary Motion*; Which though it be termed *Voluntary*, yet the higheſt Degrees of it, are not *Voluntary*; For it is, in my *Power*, and *Will*, to Run; But to *Run* faſter, then according to my Lightneſſe, or Diſpoſition of *Body*, is not in my *Power*, nor *Will*. We ſee the Induſtry, and Practiſe, of *Tumblers*, and *Funambulo's*, what *Effects*, of great *Wonder*, it bringeth, the *Body* of *Man*, unto. So for *ſuffering* of *Pain*, and *Dolour*, which is thought ſo contrary to the *Nature* of *Man*, there is much Example of *Penances*, in *ſtrict Orders*, of *ſuperſtition*, what they do endure; Such as may well verifie, the Report, of the *Spartan Boyes*, which were wont, to be ſcourged, upon the Altar ſo bitterly, as ſometimes they dyed of it; And yet were never heard to complain. And to paſs to thoſe *Faculties*, which are reckoned more *Involuntary*; As *Long Faſting*, and *Abſtinence*; and the contrary *Extream*, (*Voracity*;) The *Leaving*, and *Forbearing*, the *Uſe*, of *Drink*, for altogether; The *Enduring vehement Cold*, and the like; There have not wanted, neither do want, divers Examples, of ſtrange Victories, over the Body, in every of theſe. Nay in *Reſpiration*, the proof hath been of ſome, who by continuall uſe of *Diving*, and *Working*, under the *Water*, have brought themſelves, to be able, to hold their Breath, an incredible time; And others, that have been able, without Suffocation, to endure, the Stifling Breath, of an Oven,

or Furnace, ſo heated; As though, it did not ſcald, nor burn; Yet it was, many Degrees, too hot, for any Man, not made to it, to Breath, or take in. And ſome *Impoſtours*, and *Counterfeits*, likewiſe, have been able, to wreath, and caſt their Bodies, into ſtrange Formes, and Motions: Yea, and others, to bring themſelves, into *Trances*, and *Aſtoniſhments*. All which *Examples*, do demonſtrate, how variouſly, and how to High, Points, and Degrees, the *Body* of *Man*, may be, (as it were,) moulded, and wrought. And if any Mad conceive, than it is ſome ſecret propriety of Nature, that hath been in thoſe Perſons, which have attained to thoſe Points; And that it is not open, for every Man, to do the like, though he had been put to it; For which Cauſe, ſuch Things, come but very rarely to paſſe; It is true, no doubt, but ſome Perſons, are apter then others; But ſo, as the more aptneſſe, cauſeth Perfection, but the leſſe Aptneſſe, doth not diſable: So that, for Example, the more apt *Child*, that is taken, to be made a *Funambulo*, will prove more excellent in his Feates; But the leſſe apt will be *Gregarius Funambulo* alſo. And there is ſmall Queſtion, but that theſe Abilities, would have been more common; And others, of like ſort, not attempted, would, likewiſe, have been brought, upon the Stage, but for two *Reaſons*: The one, becauſe of Mens Diffidence, in prejudging them, as Impoſſibilities; For it holdeth, in thoſe things, which the *Poet* ſaith; *Poſſunt, quia poſſe videntur*: For no Man ſhall *Know*, how much may be done, except he *Believe*, much may be done. The other *Reaſon* is, becauſe they be, but Practiſes, baſe, and inglorious, and of no great uſe; And therefore ſequeſtred from Reward of Value; And on the other ſide, painfull; So as the Recompence ballanceth not with the Travaile, and Suffering. And as to the *Will* of Man, it is that, which is moſt Maniable, and Obedient; As that, which admitteth moſt *Medicines*, to cure, and alter it. The moſt *Soveraign*, of all, is *Religion*; which is able to change, and transform it, in the deepeſt, and moſt inward inclinations, and Motions: And next to that is *Opinion*, and *Apprehenſion*; Whether it be infuſed by Tradition, and Inſtitution; or wrought in, by Diſputation, and Perſwaſion: And the Third is *Example*, which transformeth the Will of Man, into the Similitude of that, which is moſt obverſant, and familiar towards it. And the Fourth is, when one *Affection*, is *healed*, and *corrected*, by another: As when Cowardiſe, is remedied by Shame, and Diſhonour; Or Sluggiſhneſſe, and Backwardneſſe, by indignation, and Emulation; And ſo of the like. And laſtly, when all theſe *Meanes*, or any of them, have new framed, or formed, *Humane Will*; Then doth *Cuſtome*, and *Habite*, Corroborate, and confirm, all the reſt. Therefore, it is no marvaile, though this *Faculty*, of the *Mind*, (of *Will*, and *Election*;) which inclineth *Affection*, and *Appetite*, being but the *Inceptions*, and *Rudiments*, of *Will*; May be ſo well-governed, and managed; Becauſe, it admitteth acceſſe, to

ſo

ſo divers *Remedies*, to be applyed to it, and to work upon it. The Effects whereof are ſo many, and ſo known, as require no Enumeration; But, generally, they do iſſue, as *Medicines* do, into two *Kinds*, of *Cures*; whereof the one, is a *Juſt*, or *True*, *Cure*; And the other, is called *Palliation*. For, either the Labour, and Intention is, to reform the Affections, really, and truly; Reſtraining them, if they be too violent; And raiſing them, if they be too Soft, and Weak; Or elſe, it is to cover them; Or, if occaſion be, to pretend them, and repreſent them. Of the former Sort whereof, the Examples, are plentifull, in the *Schooles*, of *Philoſophers*, and in all other *Inſtitutions*, of *Morall Vertue*; And of the other ſort, the Examples, are, more plentifull, in the *Courts* of *Princes*, and in all *Politick Traffique*: Where it is ordinary to find, not only profound Diſſimulations, and Suffocating the Affections, that no Note, or Mark, appear of them, outwardly; But alſo, lively Simulations, and Affectations, carrying the Tokens of Paſſions, which are not; As *Riſus Juſſus*, and *Lachrymæ Coactæ*, and the like.

Of *Helps*, of the *Intellectuall Powers*.

THe *Intellectual Powers*, have fewer means, to work upon them, then the *Will*, or *Body* of Man; But the one, that prevaileth, that is *Exerciſe*, worketh more forcibly in them, then in the Reſt.

The Ancient *Habite*, of the *Philoſophers*; *Si quis quærat, in utramque partem, de omni Scibili.*

The *Exerciſe*, of *Schollers*, making *Verſes extempore*; *Stans pede in uno.*

The *Exerciſe*, of *Lawyers*, in *Memory Narrative:*

The *Exerciſe*, of *Sophiſts*, and *Jo. ad Oppoſitum*, with manifeſt effect.

Artificiall Memory greatly holpen by *Exerciſe.*

The *Excerciſe*, of *Euffons*, to draw all things, to Conceits Ridiculous.

The *Meanes* that help the *Underſtanding*, and *Faculties* thereof, are.

(Not *Example*, as in the *Will*, by Converſation; And here, the Conceit of Imitation, already diſgeſted; with the Confutation, *Obiter, ſi videbitur*, of *Tullies Opinion*, adviſing a Man, to take ſome one to *Imitate*. *Similitude* of *Faces* analyſed.)

These that follow, are but indiſgeſted Notes.

Arts

Arts, *Logick*, *Rhetorick*: The *Ancients*, *Ariſtotle*, *Plato*, *Thætetus* *Gorgias*, *Litigioſus*, vel *Sophiſta*, *Protagoras*, *Ariſtotle*, *Schola ſua*. *Topicks*, *Elenchs*, *Rhetoricks*, *Organon*, *Cicero*, *Hermogenes*. The *Neotericks*, *Ramus*, *Agricola*. *Nil ſacri Lullius*. *his Typocoſmia*, ſtudying *Coopers Dictionary*; *Mattheus Collection*, of proper words for *Metaphors*; *Agrippa*, *de vanitat.* &c.

Que. if not here, of Imitation.

Collections preparative. *Ariſtotles* Similtude of a Shoomakers *Shop*, full of *Shoes*, of all Sorts: *Demoſthenes Exordia Concionum*. *Tullies* precept, of *Theſes* of all ſorts, *preparative*.

The *Relying* upon *Exerciſe*, with the *Difference*, of *Uſing*, and *tempering*, the *Inſtrument*; And the Similitude, of preſcribing, againſt the *Lawes*, of *Nature* and of *Eſtate*.

5. Points.

1. That *Exerciſes*, are to be *framed*, to the *Life*: That is to ſay, to work *Ability*, in that kind, whereof a *Man*, in the *Courſe of Action*, ſhall have moſt *Uſe*.

2. The *indirect*, and *Oblique Exerciſes*, which do, *per partes*, and *per conſequentiam*, inable theſe Faculties; which perhaps, *direct Exerciſe*, at firſt, would but diſtort. And theſe, have chiefly place, where the *Faculty* is weak, not *per ſe*, but *per* Accidens. As if *Want* of *Memory*, grow through *Lightneſſe* of *Wit*; and want of *ſtayed Attention*; Then the *Mathematiques*, or the *Law*, helpeth: Becauſe, they are Things, wherein if the *Mind* once roam, it cannot recover.

3. Of the *Advantages* of *Exerciſe*; As to dance with heavy Shoes; To march with heavy Armour, and Carriage; And the contrary *Advantage*, (in Natures, very dull, and unapt,) of working *Alacrity*, by framing an *Exerciſe*, with ſome *Delight*, or *Affection*;

—Veluti pueris dant Cruſtula blandi
Doctores, Elementa velint ut diſcere prima.

4. Of the *Cautions* of *Exerciſe*; As to beware, leſt by evill doing, (as all Beginners do weakly,) a Man grow not, and be inveterate, in an ill *Habit*; And ſo take, not the *Advantage* of *Cuſtome* in perfection, but in confirming ill. *Slubbering* on the *Lute*.

5. The *Marſhalling*, and *Sequele* of *Sciences*, and *practiſes*: *Logick*, and *Rhetorick*, ſhould be uſed, to be read, after *Poeſy*, *Hiſtory*, and *Philoſophy*. Firſt, *Exerciſe*, to do things well, and clean; after, promptly, and readily.

The *Exerciſes*, in the *Univerſities*, and *Schooles*, are of *Memory*, and *Invention*; Either to ſpeak by *Heart*, that which is ſet down *verbatim*; Or to ſpeak *Extempore*. Whereas, there is little uſe, in *Action*, of either of both: But moſt things, which we utter, are neither *verbally premeditate*, nor *meerly Extemporall*. Therefore

Exerciſe,

Exerciſe, would be framed to take a little Breathing, and to conſider of *Heads*; And then to fit, and form, the *Speech*, *Ex tempore*. This would be done, in two manners; Both with writing, and Tables; And without. For, in moſt *Actions*, it is permitted, and paſſable, to uſe the *Note*; Whereunto, if a *Man* be not accuſtomed, it will put him out.

There is no uſe, of a *Narrative Memory*, in *Academiis*, viz, with Circumſtances of Times, Perſons, and Places, and with Names; And it is one Art, to diſcourſe, and another to Relate, and Deſcribe: And herein *Uſe*, and *Action*, is moſt converſant.

Alſo, to Summe up, and Contract, is a Thing, in *Action*, of very generall *Uſe*.

CERTAIN

CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS, Touching the Better, PACIFICATION, AND EDIFICATION, OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Dedicated, to His moſt *Excellent* MAJESTY.

THe *Vnity* of your *Church*, (excellent *Soveraign*,) is a Thing, no leſſe precious, then the *Vnion* of your *Kingdomes*; Being both Works, wherein your *Happineſs*, may contend, with your *Worthineſs*: Having therefore preſumed, not without your *Majeſties* gracious Acceptation, to ſay ſomewhat of the one; I am, the more encouraged, not to be ſilent, in the other: The rather, becauſe it is an Argument, that I have travelled in heretofore: But *Salomon*, commendeth *a Word ſpoken in*

Seaſon, And as our *Saviour*; (ſpeaking of the Diſcerning of *Seaſons*;) ſaith; *When you ſee a Cloud, riſing in the Weſt, you ſay, it will be a ſhower*: So your *Majeſties Riſing*, to this *Monarchy*, in the *Weſt Parts*, of the *World*, doth promiſe, a ſweet, and fruitfull, *Shower*, of many *Bleſſings*, upon this *Church*, and *Common-wealth*; A *Shower*, of that Influence, as the very firſt Deaws, and Drops thereof, have, already, layed the Stormes, and Winds, throughout *Chriſtendom*; Reducing, the very *Face*, of *Europe*, to a more peaceable, and Amiable, Countenance. But to the Purpoſe.

It is very true, that theſe *Eccleſiaſticall Matters*, are Things, not properly appertaining, to my *Profeſſion*; which, I was not, ſo inconſiderate, but to object to my Self: But finding, that it is, many times, ſeen, that a Man, that ſtandeth off, and ſomewhat removed, from a Plot of Ground, doth better ſurvey it, and diſcover it, then thoſe which are upon it; I thought it not impoſſible, but that I, as a Looker on, might caſt mine Eyes, upon ſome Things, which the Actours themſelves, (eſpecially, ſome being *intereſſed*, ſome *led* and *addicted*, ſome *declared and engaged*,) did not, or would not ſee. And that, knowing in my Conſcience, (whereto *God* beareth witneſſe,) that the Things which I ſhall ſpeak, ſpring out of no Vein of Popularity, Oſtentation, Deſire of Novelty, Partiality to either Side, Diſpoſition to intermeddle, or any the like *Leven*; I may conceive hope, that what I want, in depth of Judgement, may be countervailed, in Simplicity, and Sincerity, of Affection. But of all Things, this did moſt animate me; That I found, in theſe Opinions, of mine, (which I have long held, and embraced, as may appear by that, which I have, many years ſince, written of them, according to the proportion, nevertheleſſe, of my weakneſs,) a Conſent, and Conformity, with that, which your *Majeſty* hath publiſhed, of your own, moſt *Chriſtian*, moſt *Wiſe*, and *Moderate Senſe*, in theſe Cauſes: wherein you have well expreſſed, to the *World*, that there is infuſed, in your Sacred Breſt, from *God*, that *High principle*, and *Poſition* of *Government*; *That you ever hold the Whole, more dear, then any Part*.

For who ſeeth not, that Many are affected, and give Opinion, in theſe Matters, as if they had not, ſo much a deſire, to purge the Evill, from the Good, as to countenance, and protect, the Evill, by the Good? Others ſpeak, as if their Scope, were onely, to ſet forth, what is *Good*, and not to ſeek, what is *Poſſible*; which is to *Wiſh*, and not to *Propound*. Others proceed, as if they had rather, a Mind of *Removing*, then of *Reforming*: But howſoever, either Side, as Men, (though excellent Men) ſhall run into Extremities; yet your *Majeſty*, as a moſt *Wiſe*, *Equall*, and *Chriſtian Moderator*, is diſpoſed, to find out, the Golden *Mediocrity*, in the Eſtabliſhment, of that which is Sound; And, in the Reparation, of that, which is Corrupt, and decayed. To your *Princely Judgement*, then, I do, in all Humbleneſſe, ſubmit, whatſoever I ſhall propound;

propound; offering the ſame, but as a *Mite*, into the *Treaſury*, of your *Wiſedom*: For, as the *Aſtronomers*, do well obſerve; That when three, of the *Superior Lights*, do meet in *Conjunction*, it bringeth forth, ſome admirable *Effects*: So, there being joyned, in your *Majeſty*, the *Light* of *Nature*, the *Light* of *Learning*, and above all, the *Light* of *Gods Holy Spirit*; It cannot be, but your *Government*, muſt be as a Happy *Conſtellation*, over the ſtates of your *Kingdomes*. Neither is there wanting, to your *Majeſty*, that Fourth *Light*; which though it be, but a borrowed Light, yet is, of ſingular Efficacy, and Moment, added to the reſt; which is, the *Light*, of a moſt [illegible] and well *compounded*, *Councell*; To whoſe Honourable, and [illegible]e, *Wiſdomes*, I do likewſe ſubmit, whatſoever I ſhall ſpeak: Hoping, that I ſhall not need, to make Proteſtation, of my Mind, and Opinion; That untill your *Majeſty*, doth otherwiſe determine, and order, all Actuall, and Full Obedience, is to be given, to *Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction*, as it now ſtandeth; And when your *Majeſty*, hath determined, and ordered, that every good ſubject ought to reſt ſatisfied, and apply his Obedience, to your *Majeſties Lawes*, *Ordinances*, and *Royall Commandements*: Nor, of the Diſlike, I have, of all Immodeſt Bitterneſſe, peremptory preſumption, Popular handling; And other Courſes, tending rather to Rumour, and Impreſſion, in the vulgar Sort, then to likely-hood of Effect, joyned with *Obſervation* of *Duty*.

But before, I enter, into the *Points controverted*, I think good to remove, (if it may be,) two Opinions, which do directly confront, and oppone, to *Reformation*: The one, bringing it to a *Nullity*; And the other, to an *Impoſſibility*. The Firſt is; *That it is againſt good Policy, to innovate any Thing, in Church Matters*; The other; *That all Reformation, muſt be, after one Platform.*

For the Firſt of theſe, it is excellently ſaid, by the Prophet; *State ſuper vias antiquas, & videte, quænam ſit via recta, & vera, & ambulate in eâ.* So as, he doth not ſay; *State ſuper vias antiquas, & ambulate in eis*: For it true, that with all *Wiſe*, and *Moderate*, Perſons; *Cuſtom*, and *Uſage*, obtaineth that Reverence, as it is ſufficient Matter, to move them, to make a ſtand, and to diſcover, and take a View; But it is no warrant, to guide, and conduct them: A juſt Ground, I ſay, it is, of *Deliberation*, but not of *Direction*. But, on the other ſide, who knoweth not, that *Time*, is truly compared, to a *Stream*, that carrieth down, *freſh*, and *pure Waters*, into that *ſalt Sea of Corruption*, which invironeth all *Human Actions*? And therefore, if Man ſhall not, by his Induſtry, Vertue, and Policy, as it were, with the Oare, row againſt the Stream, and inclination of *Time*; All Inſtitutions, and Ordinances, be they never ſo pure, will corrupt, and degenerate. But not, to handle this matter, Common-place like, I would only ask, why the *Civill State*, ſhould be purged, and reſtored, by Good, and Wholeſome, *Lawes*, made every Third, or Fourth, year, in *Parliament aſſembled*; Deviſing *Remedies*, as faſt as *Time*, breedeth *Miſchief*; And contrariwiſe,

the *Eccleſiaſticall State*, ſhould ſtill continue, upon the Dreggs of *Time*, and receive, no Alteration now, for this Five and Forty years, and more? If any Man, ſhall object, that if the like Intermiſſion, had been uſed, in *Civil Cauſes* alſo, the Errour had not been great; Surely the Wiſedome of the *Kingdome*, hath been otherwiſe, in Experience, for Three Hundred years ſpace, at the leaſt. But, if it be ſaid to me, that there is a Difference, between *Civill Cauſes*, and *Eccleſiaſticall*, they may as well tell me, that *Churches*, and *Chappels*, need no Reparations, though *Caſtles*, and *Houſes*, do; Whereas commonly, to ſpeak truth, *Dilapidations*, of the Inward, and Spirituall, *Edifications*, of the *Church*, of *God*, are, in [illegible]times, as great, as the *Outward*, and Materiall. Sure I am, that [illegible] very word, and Stile, of *Reformation*, uſed by our *Saviour*; *Ab initio non fuit ſic*; was applyed, to *Church Matters*; And thoſe, of the higheſt *Nature*, concerning the *Law Morall*.

Nevertheleſſe, He were both unthankfull, and unwiſe, that would deny, but that the Church, of *England*, during the time of *Queen Elizabeth*, of *famous Memory*, did flouriſh. If I ſhould compare it, with Forrain *Churches*, I would rather, the Compariſon ſhould be, in the *Vertues*, then, as ſome make it, in the *Defects*; Rather, I ſay, as between the *Vine*, and the *Olive*, which ſhould be moſt fruitfull, And not, as between the *Briar*, & the *Thiſtle*, which ſhould be moſt unprofitable. For that Reverence, ſhould be uſed, to the *Church*, which the good *Sons* of *Noah*, uſed, to their *Fathers Nakedneſs*; That is, as it were, to go backwards, and to help, the Defects thereof, and yet to diſſemble them. And it is to be acknowledged, that ſcarcely any *Church*, ſince the *Primitive Church*, yielded, in like Number of Years, and Latitude of Country, a greater Number, of *Excellent Preachers*, *Famous Writers*, and *Grave Governers*: But for the *Diſcipline*, and *Orders*, of the *Church*, as many, & the chiefeſt, of them, are Holy, and Good; So yet, if Saint *John*, were to indite an *Epiſtle*, to the *Church* of *England*, as he did, to them of *Aſia*, it would, ſure, have the *Clauſe*; *Habeo adverſus te pauca*. And no more, for this *Point*; Saving that, as an Appendix thereunto, it is not amiſſe, to touch that *Objection*, which is made to the *Time*, and not to the *Matter*; Pretending, that if Reformation, were neceſſary, yet it were not now ſeaſonable, at your *Majeſties* Firſt Entrance: Yet *Hippocrates* ſaith; *Si quid moves, à principio move*: And the wiſedom, of all Examples, do ſhew, that the wiſeſt *Princes*, as they have ever been, the moſt ſparing, in *Removing*, or *Alteration*, of *Servants*, and *Officers*, upon their Coming in; So, for *Removing* of *Abuſes*, and *Enormities*; And for *Reforming* of *Lawes*, and the *Policy* of their *States*, they have, chiefly, ſought to ennoble, and commend, their *Beginnings* therewith; Knowing, that the firſt Impreſſion, with People, continueth long; And when Mens Minds, are moſt in Expectation, and Suſpence, then, are they beſt wrought, and mannaged: And therefore it ſeemeth to me, that as the *Spring* of *Nature*, (I mean, the

the Spring of the *year*,) is the beſt Time, for purging, and Medicining, the *Naturall Body*; So the Spring of *Kingdoms*, is the moſt proper Seaſon, for the purging, and Rectifying, of *Politick Bodies*.

There remaineth yet, an *Objection*, rather of Suſpition, then of Reaſon; And yet ſuch, as I think, maketh a great Impreſſion, in the minds, of very wiſe, and well affected, Perſons; which is; *That if way be given, to Mutation, though it be in taking away Abuſes, yet it may ſo acquaint Men, with ſweetneſſe of change, as it will undermine, the Stability, even of that, which is ſound, and good.* This, ſurely, had been a good, and true, allegation, in the Ancient Contentions, and Diviſions, between the *People*, and the *Senate*, of *Rome:* where things were carried, at the *Appetites* of *Multitudes*; which can never keep, within the Compaſſe, of any Moderation: But theſe Things, being with us, to have an orderly paſſage, under a King, who hath a Royall power, and approved Judgement; And knoweth, as well the *Meaſure* of Things, as the *Nature* of them; It is, ſurely, a needleſſe, Fear. For they need not doubt, but your *Majeſty*, with the adviſe of your *Councell*, will diſcern, what Things are intermingled, like the *Tares, amongſt the wheat*; which have their *Roots*, ſo enwrapped, and entangled, as the one, cannot be pulled up, without endangering the other; And what, are mingled, but as the *Chaffe, and the Corn*, which need but a *Fanne*, to *ſift*, and *ſever* them. So much therefore, for the firſt *Point*, of no *Reformation*, to be admitted, at all.

For the *Second Point*, that there ſhould, be but one form, of *Diſcipline*, in all *Churches*; And that, impoſed, by neceſſity, of a Commandement, and preſcript, out of the *word of God*; It is a Matter, *Volumes* have been compiled of, and therefore cannot receive a brief *Redargution*. I, for my part, do confeſſe, that in Revolving the *Scriptures*, I could never find, any ſuch Thing; But that *God*, had left, the like *Liberty*, to the *Church Government*, as he had done to the *Civill Government*; To be varied, according to *Time*, and *Place*, and *Accidents*; which, nevertheleſſe, his high, and Divine, Providence, doth order, and diſpoſe. For all *Civil Governments*, are reſtrained, from *God*, unto the general Grounds, of Juſtice, and *Manners*; But the Policies, and Forms, of them, are left Free; So that *Monarchies*, and *Kingdoms*; *Senates*, and *Seignories*, *Popular States*, and *Communalties*; are lawfull; And where they are planted, ought to be maintained inviolate.

So likewiſe, in *Church Matters*, the Subſtance of *Doctrine*, is Immutable; And ſo are, the generall Rules, of *Government*; But for *Rites*, and *Ceremonies*; And for the particular *Hierarchies*, *Policies*, and *Diſciplines*, of Churches, they be left at large. And therefore, it is good, we return, unto the ancient *Bounds* of *Vnity*, in the *Church of God*; which was, *One Faith*, *One Baptiſme*; And not, *one Hierarchy*, *one Diſcipline*: And that we obſerve the

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League of *Christians*, as it is penned by our *Saviour*, which is, in substance of Doctrine, this; *He that is not with us, is against us*: But in Things indifferent, and but of circumstance, this; *He that is not against us, is with us*. In these things, so as the generall *Rules* be observed; *That Christs Flock be fed*; *That there be, a Succession, in Bishops, and Ministers, which are the Prophets of the new Testament*; *That there be a due, and reverent, use, of the power, of the Keyes*; *That those that preach the Gospel, live of the Gospel*; *That all things tend to edification*; *That all things be done, in order, and with decency*; And the like; The rest, is left, to the *Holy wisdome*, and *Spirituall Discretion*, of the *Master Builders, and inferiour Builders*, in *Christs Church*; As it is excellently alluded, by that *Father*, that noted; That *Christs Garment, was without Seam*, and yet, the *Churches Garment, was of divers Colours*; And thereupon, setteth down for a Rule; *In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit*.

In which Variety, nevertheless, it is a safe, and wise, Course, to follow good *Examples*, and *Presidents*; But then, by the Rule of Imitation, and Example, to consider, not onely, which are Best, but which are the Likeliest; as namely, the *Goverument*, of the *Church*, in the purest Times, of the first *Good Emperours*, that embraced the *Faith*. For the Times of *Persecution*, before *Temporall Princes*, received *our Faith*; As they were, excellent *Times*, for *Doctrine, and Manners*; so they be unproper, and unlike Examples, of *outward Government*, and *Policie*. And so much, for this *Point*: Now to the particular *Points*, of *Controversies*, or rather of *Reformation*.

Circumstances, *in the* Government, *of* Bishops.

FIrst therefore for the *Government* of *Bishops*, I for my part, not prejudging, the Presidents of other *Reformed Churches*, do hold it warranted, by the *Word* of *God*, and by the Practise, of the *Ancient Church*, in the *better Times*; And much more convenient, for *Kingdoms*, then *Parity of Ministers*, and *Government* by *Synods*. But then further, it is to be considered, that the *Church*, is not now to *plant*, or *Build*; But onely, to be proined, from Corruption; And to be repaired, and restored, in some decayes.

For it is worth the Noting, that the *Scripture* saith; *Translato Sacerdotio, necesse est, ut & Legis fiat Translatio*. It is not possible, in respect of the great, and neer Sympathy, between the *State Civill*, and the *State Ecclesiasticall*, to make so main an alteration, in the *Church*, but it would have a perillous operation, upon the *Kingdoms*: And therefore, it is fit, that *Controversie*, be in Peace, and Silence.

But there be two *Circumstances*, in the *Administration*, of *Bishops*, Wherein,

Wherein, I confeſſe, I could never be ſatisfied; *The one, the ſole Exerciſe, of their Authority; The other, the Deputation, of their Authority.*

For the Firſt, the *Biſhop* giveth *Orders alone; Excommunicateth alone; Judgeth alone.* This ſeemeth, to be a Thing, almoſt, without Example, in good Government; and therefore, not unlikely, to have crept in, in the degenerate, and corrupt, Times. We ſee, the *greateſt Kings, and Monarchs*, have their *Councells:* There is no *Temporall Court*, in *England*, of the Higher ſort, where the *Authority*, doth reſt in one perſon: The *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and the *Exchequer*, are *Benches*, of a certain Number, of Judges. The *Chancellour* of *England*, hath an Aſſiſtance, of *twelve Maſters*, of the *Chancery*. The *Maſter of the Wards*, hath a *Councell*, of the *Court:* So hath, the *Chancellour of the Dutchy*. In the *Exchequer Chamber*, the *Lord Treaſurer*, is joyned, with the *Chancellour*, and the *Barons*. The *Maſters of the Requeſts*, are ever, more then One. The *Juſtices* of *Aſſiſe*, are two. The *Lord Preſidents*, in the *North*, and in *Wales*, have *Councells* of divers; The *Star-Chamber*, is an Aſſembly, of the *Kings Privy Councell*, aſperſed, with the *Lords*, *Spirituall*, *and Temporall:* So as in *Courts*, the principall *Perſon*, hath ever, either *Colleagues*, or *Aſſeſſours.*

The like, is to be found, in other, well governed, *Common-Wealths*, abroad, where the *Juriſdiction* is yet more diſperſed; As in the *Court of Parliament of France*; And in other places. No man will deny, but the Acts, that paſſe the *Biſhops Juriſdiction*, are of as great Importance, as thoſe, that paſſe, the *Civil Courts*; For Mens *Souls*, are more precious, then their *Bodies*, or *Goods*; And ſo are their *Good Names. Biſhops* have their Infirmities, & have no Exception, from that generall *Malediction*, which is pronounced againſtall Men Living; *Væ Soli, nam ſi ceciderit*; &c. Nay, we ſee, that the firſt *Warrant*, in *Spirituall Cauſes*, is directed to a Number; *Dic Eccleſiæ*; which is not ſo, in *Temporall Matters:* And we ſee, that in generall *Cauſes*, of *Church Government*, there are, as well Aſſemblies, of all the *Clergy*, *in Councells*, as of all the States in *Parliament:* Whence ſhould this ſole exerciſe, of Juriſdiction come? Surely, I do ſuppoſe, and I think, upon good Ground; That *Ab Initio non fuit ita:* And that the *Deans*, and *Chapters*, were *Councells*, about the *Sees*, and *Chairs*, of *Biſhops*, at the firſt; And were, unto them a *Preshytery*, or *Conſiſtory*; And intermedled, not onely, in the Diſpoſing, of their Revenues, and Endowments; but much more, in *Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſticall.* But, it is probable, that the *Deans*, and *Chapters*, ſtuck cloſe to the *Biſhops*, in Matters of *Profit*, and the *World*, and would not looſe their Hold; But, in Matters of Juriſdiction, (which they accounted but Trouble, and Attendance,) they ſuffered the *Biſhops* to encroach, and uſurp; And ſo the one continueth, and the other is loſt. And we ſee, that the Biſhop of *Rome*, (*Fas enim & ab Hoſte*

Hoste docere; And, no question, in that *Church*, the first Institutions, were excellent,) performeth, all *Ecclesiasticall Juri; diction*, as in *Consistory*.

And whereof consisteth this *Consistory*, but of the *Parish Priests*, of *Rome*, which term themselves *Cardinals*, *à Cardinibus Mundi*; Because, the *Bishop*, pretendeth to be universall, over the whole *World*. And hereof again, we see many *shadowes*, yet remaining: As that the *Dean*, and *Chapter*, *pro formâ*, chooseth the *Bishop*, which is the Higheſt *Point*, of *Jurisdiction*. And that, the *Bishop*, when he giveth *Orders*, if there be any *Ministers*, casually present, calleth them, to joyn with him, in *Imposition* of *Hands*, and some other *Particulars*. And therefore it seemeth to me, a Thing *Reasonable*, and *Religious*, and according to the *first Institution*, that *Bishops*, in the greatest Causes, and those which require a *Spirituall Discerning*; Namely in *Ordaining*, *Suspending*, or *Depriving Ministers*; In *Excommunication*, (being restored, to the true, and proper Use; As shall be afterwards touched;) In sentencing, *the Validity*, *of Marriages*, and *Legitimations*, In *Judging* Causes *Criminous*, as *Symony*, *Incest*, *Blasphemy*, and the like; Should not proceed sole, and unassisted. Which Point, (as I understand it,) is a *Reformation*, that may be planted, *sine Strepitu*, without any Perturbation, at all: And is a Matter, which will give *strength* to the *Bishops*; *Countenance* to the *inferior Degrees* of *Prelates*, or *Ministers*; And the better Issue, or proceeding, to those Causes, that shall passe.

And, as I wish, this *strength*, given to the *Bishops*, by *Councell*, so it is not unworthy, your *Majesties* Consideration, whether you shall not think fit, to give strength, to the *generall Councell*, of your *Clergy*, (the *Convocation House*;) which was then restrained, when the *State* of the *Clergy*, was thought, a Suspected Part, to the *Kingdome*, in Regard, of their late Homage, to the *Bishop of Rome*; Which State, now, will give place to none, in their Loyalty, and Devotion, to your *Majesty*.

For the *Second Point*; which is, the *Deputation of their Authority*; I see, no perfect, and sure Ground, for that neither; Being somewhat different, from the Examples, and Rules, of *Government*. The *Bishop*, exerciseth his *Jurisdiction*, by his *Chanceller*, and *Commissary*, *Officiall*, &c. We see, in all *Lawes*, in the world, *Offices* of *Confidence*, and *skill*, cannot be put over, nor exercised by *Deputy*; Except it be, especially, contained, in the *Originall Graunt*; And in that case, it is dutifull. And for Experience, there was never, any *Chanceller of England*, made a *Deputy*. There was never any *Judge*, in any Court, made a *Deputy*. The *Bishop*, *is a Judge*, and of a high Nature; whence commeth it, that he should depute? Considering, that all Trust, and Confidence, (as was said,) is personall, and Inherent; And cannot, nor ought not, be transposed? Surely, in this again; *Ab Initio non fuit sic*; But it is probable, *that Bishops*, when they gave themselves, too much, to the

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But that *Example*, of *Kings*, and *Potentates*, giveth no good Defence. For the Reaſons, why *Kings*, adminiſter, by their *Judges*; although themſelves are *Supream Judges*, are two. The one, becauſe the Offices of *Kings* are, for the moſt part, of Inheritance; And it is a *Rule*, in all *Lawes*, that *Offices* of *Inheritance*, are rather Matters, that *Ground in Intereſt*, then in *Confidence*; For as much, as they may fall upon *Women*, upon *Infants*, upon *Lunaticks*, *and Ideots*, *perſons incapable*, to Execute *Judicature*, in *Perſon*; And therefore, ſuch *Offices*, by all *Lawes*, might, ever, be exerciſed, and adminiſtred, by *Delegation*. The Second Reaſon is, becauſe of the Amplitude of their Juriſdictions; Which is a great, as either their *Birth-right*, *from their Anceſtours*, or their *Sword-right from God*, maketh it. And therefore, if *Moſes*, that was *Governer*, over no *great People*, and thoſe collected together, in a *Camp*; And not ſcattred, in *Provinces*, and *Cities*; Himſelf of an extraordinary *Spirit*; Was, nevertheleſſe, not able, to *ſuffice*, and hold out, in perſon, to judge the People; But did, by the adviſe of *Jethro*, approved from *God*, ſubſtitute *Elders*, and *Judges*, how much more, other *Kings*, and *Princes*?

There is a Third *Reaſon*, likewiſe, though not much to the preſent purpoſe; And that is; That Kings, either in reſpect of the *Common-wealth*, or of the *Greatneſſe* of their own *Patrimonies*, are, uſually, *Parties in Suites*; And then, their *Judges*, ſtand indifferent, between Them, and the *Subject*. But in the Caſe of *Biſhops*, none of theſe *Reaſons* hold. For firſt, their *Office* is *Elective*, and for *Life*, and not *Patrimoniall*, or *Hereditary*: An *Office*, *meerly* of *Confidence*, *Science*, and *Qualification*: And for the *Second Reaſon*, it is true, that their *Juriſdiction*, is Ample, and Spacious; And that their Time, is to be divided, between the Labours; As well, in the *Word*, and *Doctrine*, as in *Government*, and *Juriſdiction*. But yet, I do not ſee, (ſuppoſing, the *Biſhops Courts*, to be uſed, incorruptly, and without any indirect courſe held, to multiply Cauſes for gain of Fees;) But that the *Biſhop*, might very well, for *Cauſes* of *Moment*, ſupply, his *Judiciall Function*, in his own *Perſon*. For we ſee, before our Eyes, that one *Chancellor* of *England* diſpatcheth, the *Suites* in *Equity*, of the whole *Kingdome*; which is not ſo much, by reaſon, of the Excellency, of that *Rare Honourable Perſon*, which now holdeth the place; But it was ever ſo, though, more, or leſſe, burdenous, to the Suiter, as the *Chancellor*, was more, or leſſe, able, to give diſpatch. And if Hold be taken, of that which was ſaid before, that the *Biſhops Labour* in the *Word*, muſt take up, a principall Part of his Time; ſo, I may ſay again, that *Matters* of *State*, have, ever, taken up, moſt of the

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But that *Example*, of *Kings*, and *Potentates*, giveth no good Defence. For the Reaſons, why *Kings*, adminiſter, by their *Judges*; although themſelves are *Supream Judges*, are two. The one, becauſe the Offices of *Kings* are, for the moſt part, of Inheritance; And it is a *Rule*, in all *Lawes*, that *Offices* of *Inheritance*, are rather Matters, that *Ground in Intereſt*, then in *Confidence*; For as much, as they may fall upon *Women*, upon *Infants*, upon *Lunaticks*, *and Ideots*, *perſons incapable*, to Execute *Judicature*, in *Perſon*; And therefore, ſuch *Offices*, by all *Lawes*, might, ever, be exerciſed, and adminiſtred, by *Delegation*. The Second Reaſon is, becauſe of the Amplitude of their Juriſdictions; Which is a great, as either their *Birth-right*, *from their Anceſtours*, or their *Sword-right from God*, maketh it. And therefore, if *Moſes*, that was *Governer*, over no *great People*, and thoſe collected together, in a *Camp*; And not ſcattred, in *Provinces*, and *Cities*; Himſelf of an extraordinary *Spirit*; Was, nevertheleſſe, not able, to *ſuffice*, and hold out, in perſon, to judge the People; But did, by the adviſe of *Jethro*, approved from *God*, ſubſtitute *Elders*, and *Judges*, how much more, other *Kings*, and *Princes*?

There is a Third *Reaſon*, likewiſe, though not much to the preſent purpoſe; And that is; That Kings, either in reſpect of the *Common-wealth*, or of the *Greatneſſe* of their own *Patrimonies*, are, uſually, *Parties in Suites*; And then, their *Judges*, ſtand indifferent, between Them, and the *Subject*. But in the Caſe of *Biſhops*, none of theſe *Reaſons* hold. For firſt, their *Office* is *Elective*, and for *Life*, and not *Patrimoniall*, or *Hereditary*: An *Office*, *meerly* of *Confidence*, *Science*, and *Qualification*: And for the *Second Reaſon*, it is true, that their *Juriſdiction*, is Ample, and Spacious; And that their Time, is to be divided, between the Labours; As well, in the *Word*, and *Doctrine*, as in *Government*, and *Juriſdiction*. But yet, I do not ſee, (ſuppoſing, the *Biſhops Courts*, to be uſed, incorruptly, and without any indirect courſe held, to multiply Cauſes for gain of Fees;) But that the *Biſhop*, might very well; for *Cauſes* of *Moment*, ſupply, his *Judiciall Function*, in his own *Perſon*. For we ſee, before our Eyes, that one *Chanceller* of *England* diſpatcheth, the *Suites* in *Equity*, of the whole *Kingdome*; which is not ſo much, by reaſon, of the Excellency, of that *Rare Honourable Perſon*, which now holdeth the place; But it was ever ſo, though, more, or leſſe, burdenous, to the Suiter, as the *Chanceller*, was more, or leſſe, able, to give diſpatch. And if Hold be taken, of that which was ſaid before, that the *Biſhops Labour* in the *Word*, muſt take up, a principall Part of his Time; ſo, I may ſay again, that *Matters* of *State*, have, ever, taken up, moſt of the

Chancellers Time; Having been, for the moſt part, Perſons, upon whom the *Kings*, of this *Realm*, have moſt relyed, for Matters of *Councell*. And therefore, there is no Doubt, but the *Biſhop*, whoſe Circuit is leſſe ample, and the Cauſes, in Nature, not ſo multiplying; with the Help, of *References*, and *Certificates*, to, and from, fit Perſons, for the better Ripening of Cauſes, in their mean proceedings; And ſuch ordinary Helps, incident to *Juriſdiction*; May, very well, ſuffice his *Office*. But yet, there is another *Help*; For the Cauſes, that come before him, are theſe: *Tithes*; *Legacies*; *Adminiſtrations*, and other *Teſtamentary Cauſes*; *Cauſes Matrimoniall*; *Accuſations* againſt *Miniſters*, tending to their *Suſpenſion*, *Deprivation*, or *Degrading*; *Simony*; *Incontinency*; *Hereſy*; *Blaſphemy*; *Breach of the Sabboth*; And other, like *Cauſes*, of *Scandall*. The firſt two of theſe, in mine Opinion, differ from the Reſt; That is, *Tithes*, and *Teſtaments*; For thoſe, be Matters of profit, and, in their nature, *Temporall*; Though, by a Favour, and Connivence, of the *Temporall Juriſdiction*, they have been allowed, and permitted, to the *Courts Eccleſiaſticall*: The one, to the end, the *Clergy*, might ſue for that, that was their *Suſtentation*, before their own *Judges*; And the other, in a kind of Piety, and Religion, which was thought incident, to the performance, of *Dead Mens Wills*. And ſurely, for theſe two, the *Biſhop*, in mine opinion, may, with leſſe danger, diſcharge himſelf, upon his *Ordinary Judges*. And I think, likewiſe, it will fall out, that thoſe Suites, are in the greateſt number. But for the reſt, which require a *Spirituall Science*, and *Diſcretion*, in reſpect of their *Nature*, or of the *Scandall*, it were reaſon, in mine Opinion, there were no Audience given, but by the *Biſhop* Himſelf; He being alſo aſſiſted, as was touched before: But it were neceſſary alſo, he were attended, by his *Chancellor*, or ſome others, his *Officers*, being learned, in the *Civill Lawes*; for his better Inſtruction, in *Points*, of *Formality*, or the *Courſes*, of the *Court*: which if it were done, then were there leſſe uſe, of the *Officials Court*; Whereof, there is now, ſo much *Complaint*. And *Cauſes*, of the Nature aforeſaid, being onely drawn, to the *Audience*, of the *Biſhop*, it would repreſſe, frivoulous, and Prowling Suites; And give, a Grave, and Incorrupt, Proceeding, to ſuch *Cauſes*, as ſhall be fit, for the *Court*.

There is a *Third Point* alſo, not of *Juriſdiction*, but of *Form* of *Proceeding*, which may deſerve *Reformation*. The rather, becauſe it is contrary, to the *Lawes*, and *Cuſtomes*, of this *Land*, and *State*; which, though they do not rule thoſe *Proceedings*, yet may they be adviſed with, for better Directions; And that is, the *Oath ex Officio*; Whereby Men, are enforced, to accuſe themſelves; And that, that is more, are ſworn unto Blancks, and not unto *Accuſations*, and *Charges* declared. By the *Law* of *England*, no man is bound, to accuſe himſelf. In the Higheſt *Caſes*, of *Treaſon*, *Torture* is uſed, for *Diſcovery*, and not for *Evidence*. In *Capitall Matters*, no *Delinquents* Anſwer, upon *Oath*, is required; No, not permitted.

mitted. In *Criminall Matters*, not *Capitall*, handled in the *Star-Chamber*; And in *Cauſes* of *Conſcience*, handled in the *Chancery*, for the moſt part, grounded, upon Truſt, and Secrecy, the *Oath* of the *Party*, is required. But how? Where there is an *Accuſation*, and an *Accuſer*, which we call, *Bills of Complaint*; (From which the *Complainant* cannot vary; And, out of the Compaſſe, of the which, the *Defendant* may not be examined,) Exhibited unto the *Court*, and, by *Proceſſe*, notified, unto the *Defendant*. But to examin a Man, upon *Oath*, out of the *Inſinuation* of *Fame*; Or out, of *Accuſations*, *ſecret*, and *undeclared*; Though it have, ſome Countenance, from the *Civill Law*; yet it is, ſo oppoſite, *Ex Diametro*, to the Senſe, and Courſe, of the *Common-Law*, as it may well receive, ſome *Limitation*.

Concerning the Liturgy, *the* Ceremonies, *and* Subſcription.

FOr the *Liturgy*, great Reſpect, and Heed, would be taken, leaſt, by inveighing againſt the *Dumb Miniſtery*, due Reverence, be not withdrawn, from the *Liturgy*. For though the *Gift* of *Preaching*, be far above that of *Reading*; Yet, the *Action* of the *Liturgy*, is as High, and Holy, as that of the *Sermon*. It is ſaid; *Domus mea Domus Orationis Vocabitur: The Houſe of Prayer*, Not the *Houſe of Preaching*: And whereas the *Apoſtle* ſaith; *How ſhall Men call upon him, on whom they have not believed? And how ſhall they believe, unleſſe they hear? And how ſhall they hear, without a Preacher?* It appeareth, that as *Preaching* is the more *Originall*, ſo *Prayer* is the more *Finall*: As the Difference is, between the *Seed*, and the *Fruit*; For the Keeping of *Gods Law*, is the *Fruit*, of the *Teaching*, of the *Law*; And *Prayer*, or *Invocation*, or *Divine Service*, or Liturgy; (For theſe, be but Varieties, of Termes;) Is the *Immediate Hallowing*, of the *Name of God*; And the principall work, of the *firſt Table*; And, of the *great Commandement*, of the *Love*, of *God*. It is true, that the *Preaching*, of the *Holy Word*, of *God*, is the *Sowing* of the *Seed*; It is the *Lifting* up, of the *Brazen Serpent*; The *Miniſtery* of *Faith*; And the Ordinary *Means*, of *Salvation*; But yet, it is good, to take Example, how that the beſt *Actions*, of the *Worſhip* of *God*, may be extolled, *exceſſively*, and *ſuperſtitiouſly*. As the *Extolling*, of the *Sacrament*, bred the *Superſtition* of the *Maſſe*; The *Extolling* of the *Liturgy*, and *Prayers*, bred the *Superſtition*, of the *Monaſticall Orders*, and *Oraiſons*; And ſo, no doubt, *Preaching* likewiſe, may be magnified, and extolled, *ſuperſtitiouſly*; As if, all the whole *Body*, of *Gods Worſhip*, ſhould be turned into an *Ear*. So as none, (as I ſuppoſe,) of ſound *Judgement*, will derogate from

the *Liturgy*, if the Form thereof, be, in all parts, agreeable, to the *Word of God*; The *Example* of the *Primitive Church*; And that holy *Decency*, which *Saint Paul* commendeth. And therefore, firſt, that there be a *Set form* of *Prayer*; And that, it be not left, either to an *Extemporall Form*, or to an *Arbitrary Form*. Secondly, that it conſiſt, as well of *Laudes*, *Hymnes*, and *Thanksgivings*, as of *Petitions*, *Prayers*, and *Supplications*. Thirdly, that the *Form* thereof be quickned, with ſome ſhortneſſe, and Diverſities, of *Prayers*, and *Hymnes*, and with ſome Interchanges, of the *Voyce* of the *People*, as well as of the *Miniſter*. Fourthly, that it admit ſome *Diſtinctions*, of *Times*, and *Commemorations*, of *Gods principall Benefits*, as well Generall, as particular. Fifthly, that *Prayers*, likewiſe, be appropriated, to ſeverall *Neceſſities*, and *Occaſions*, of the *Church*. Sixthly, that there be a *Form*, likewiſe, of *Words*, and *Liturgy*, in the *Adminiſtration* of the *Sacraments*, and in the *Denouncing* of the *Cenſures*, of the *Church*, and other Holy *Actions*, and *Solemnities*: Theſe things, I think, will not be much controverted.

But for the *Particular Exceptions*, to the *Liturgy*, in form, as it now ſtandeth; I think, divers, of them, allowing they were *Juſt*, yet ſeem they not to be *Weighty*; Otherwiſe, then that nothing ought to be accounted Light, in Matters of *Religion*, and *Piety*; As the Heathen himſelf could ſay; *Etiam vultu ſepè læditur Pietas.* That the *word*, (*Prieſt*,) ſhould not be continued, eſpecially with Offence, the *word*, (*Miniſter*,) being allready made familiar. This may be ſaid, that it is a good *Rule* in *Tranſlation*, never to confound that in one word, in the *Tranſlation*, which is preciſely diſtinguiſhed, in two words in the *Original*; for doubt of *Equivocation*, and *Traducing*. And therefore, ſeeing the word Ἱερεὺς, & Ἱερεύειν, be alwaies diſtiuguiſhed, in the *Original*; And the one uſed for a *Sacrificer*, the other for a *Miniſter*; The word, *Prieſt*, being made common to both, (whatſoever the Derivation be,) yet, in uſe, it confoundeth the *Miniſter*, with the *Sacrificer*. And for an *Example*, of this kind; I did ever allow the Diſcretion, and Tenderneſſe, of the *Rhemiſh Tranſlation*, in this Point; That finding, in the *Originall*, th word Ἀγάπη, and never Ἔρως, do ever tranſlate *Charity*, and never *Love*; Becauſe of of the *Indifferency*, and *Equivocation*, of the *word*, with *Impure Love*.

Touching the *Abſolution*, it is not unworthy Conſideration, whether it may not be thought, unproper, and unneceſſary? For there are, but two ſorts, of *Abſolution*; Both ſuppoſing, an *Obligation*, precedent: The one, upon an *Excommunication*, which is *Religious*, and *Primitive*; The other, upon *Confeſſion*, and *Penance*, which is *Superſtitious*, or, at leaſt, *Poſitive*; And both Particular, neither Generall. Therefore, ſince the one is taken away, and the other hath his proper caſe, what doth a *generall Abſolution*, wherein, there is neither *Penance*, nor *Excommunication*, precedent? For the *Church*, never *looſeth*, but where the *Church* hath *bound*.

bound. And ſurely, I may think, This, at the firſt, was allowed, in a kinde, of ſpirituall Diſcretion; Becauſe the *Church* thought, the people, could not be ſuddainly weaned, from their Conceit of Aſſoyling; To which they had been, ſo long accuſtomed.

For *Confirmation*, to my underſtanding, the State of the Queſtion is, whether it be not, a matter miſtaken, and altred by Time; And whether, that be not now made, a *Subſequent* to *Baptiſme*, which was, indeed, an *Inducement*, to the *Communion*. For whereas in the *Primitive Church*, *Children* were examined of their *Faith* before they were admitted to the *Communion*, Time may ſeem to have turned it, to refer, as if it had been, to receive, a *Confirmation*, of their *Baptiſme*.

For *Private Baptiſme*, by *Women*, or *Lay-Perſons*, the beſt *Divines*, do utterly condemne it; and I hear it not generally defended; And I have often marvailed, that where the *Booke*, in the *Preface*, to *Publicke Baptiſme*, doth acknowledge, that *Baptiſme*, in the Practiſe, of the *Primitive Church*, was Anniverſary, and but at certain Times; which ſheweth, that the *Primitive Church*, did not attribute, ſo much, to the *Ceremony*, as they would break an outward, and generall, Order for it; The *Booke*, ſhould afterwards, allow of *Private Baptiſme*; As if the *Ceremony*, were of that Neceſſity, as the very *Inſtitution*, which committed *Baptiſme* onely to the *Miniſters*, ſhould be broken, in regard, of the ſuppoſed Neceſſity. And therefore this Point, of all others, I think, was, but a *Conceſſum proper Duritiam Cordis*.

For the *Form*, of *Celebrating Matrimony*, the *Ring* ſeemeth to many, even of vulgar Senſe, and Underſtanding, a *Ceremony* not Grave; Eſpecially, to be made, (as the *words* make it,) the eſſentiall Part, of the *Action*? Beſides, ſome other of the *words*, are noted, in Speech, to be, not ſo Decent, and Fit.

For *Muſick* in *Churches*; That there ſhould be *Singing* of *Pſalmes*, and *Spirituall Songs*, is not denyed: So the Queſtion is, *de Modo*; Wherein, if a Man, will look attentively, into the Order, and Obſervation, of it, it is eaſie to diſcern, between the *Wiſedome*, of the *Inſtitution*, and the *Exerciſe* of the late *Times*. For firſt, there are no Songs, or Verſes, ſung, by the *Quire*, which are not ſuppoſed, by continuall uſe, to be ſo familiar with the *People*, as they have them without Booke; Whereby, the Sound, hurteth not the Underſtonding; And thoſe, which cannot read, upon the Booke, are yet Partakers of the Senſe, and may follow it with their mind. So again, after the *Reading* of the *Word*, it was thought fit, there ſhould be, ſome pauſe, for Holy Meditation, before they proceeded, to the Reſt, of the *Service*: Which Pauſe, was thought fit, to be filled, rather with ſome *grave ſound*, then with a *ſtill ſilence*; Which was the Reaſon, of the *Playing* upon the *Organs*, after the *Scriptures* read. All which was *Decent*, and tending to *Ediſicatirn*. But then, the *Curioſity* of *Deviſion*, and *Reports*, and other *Figures* of *Muſick*, have no Affinity, with

with the *Reaſonable Service of God*, but were added, in the more pompous Times.

For the *Capp*, and *Surpliſſe*, ſince they be Things, in their Nature, indifferent; And yet, by ſome, held ſuperſtitious; And that the Queſtion is, between Science, and Conſcience; It ſeemeth to fall, within the Compaſs, of the *Apoſtles Rule*; Which is, *That the ſtronger, do deſcend, and yield, to the Weaker.* Only, the Difference is, that it will be materially ſaid, that the *Rule* holdeth, between *Privat Man*, and *Privat Man*, But not between the Conſcience, if a *Private Man*, and the *Order*, of a *Church*. But yet ſince the *Queſtion*, at this time, is of a *Tolleration*; Not by *Connivence*, which may encourage *Diſobedience*; But by *Law*, which may give a *Liberty*; It is good, again, to be adviſed, whether it fall not, within the *Equity*, of the Former *Rule*: The rather, becauſe the *Silencing* of *Miniſters*, by this Occaſion, is, in this ſcarcity of good *preachers*, a puniſhment, that lighteth upon the *People*, as well as upon the *Party*. And for the *Subſcription*, it ſeemeth to me, in the Nature of a *Confeſſion*; And therefore, more proper, to bind, in the *Unity* of *Faith*; And to be urged, rather, for *Articles of Doctrine*, then for *Rites*, and *Ceremonies*, and *Points* of *outward Government*. For howſoever, Politick Conſiderations, and Reaſons of State, may require *Uniformity*, yet *Chriſtian*, and *Divine Grounds*, look, chiefly, upon *Unity*.

Touching a Preaching Miniſtery.

TO ſpeak of a *Learned Miniſtery*; It is true, that the *Worthineſs*, of the *Paſtours*, & *Miniſters*, is, of all other points of *Religion*, the moſt *Summary*; I do not ſay, the *Greateſt*, but the moſt *Effectual*, towards the reſt: But herein to my Underſtanding, while Men, go on, in Zeal, to haſten this work, they are not aware, of as great, or greater Inconvenience, then that, which they ſeek to remove. For while, they inveigh, againſt a *Dumb Miniſtery*, they make, too eaſie, and too promiſcous, an Allowance of ſuch, as they account *Preachers*; Having not Reſpect enough, to their *Learnings*, in other Arts, which are *Handmaides*, to *Divinity*; Not Reſpect enough, to *Tears*, except it be, in Caſe, of *Extraordinary Gift*; Not Reſpect enough, to the *Gift* it ſelf, which, many Times, is none at all. For *God* forbid, that every Man, that can take unto himſelf Boldneſſe, to ſpeak an Hour together, in a *Church* upon a *Text*, ſhould be admitted for a *Preacher*, though he mean never ſo well. I know, there is a great *Latitude*, in *Gifts*; And a great *Variety* in *Auditories*, and *Congregations*; But yet ſo, as there is, *Aliquid Infimum*, below which, you ought not to deſcend. For you

muſt, rather, leave the *Arke*, to ſhake, as it ſhall pleaſe *God*, then put, unworthy *Hands*, to hold it up: And when we are, in *Gods Temple*, we are warned, rather, to *put our Hands, upon our Mouth; then to offer, the Sacrifice, of Fooles*. And ſurely, it may be juſtly thought, that amongſt many Cauſes of *Atheiſme*, which are miſerably met in our Age; As *Schiſmes*, and *Controverſies*; *Prophane Scoffings, in Holy Matters*; and others; It is not the leaſt, that divers do adventure, to handle the *Word* of *God*, which are unfit, and unworthy. And herein, I would have, no man, miſtake me; as if I did extoll, curious, and affected, *Preaching*; which is, as much, on the other ſide, to be diſliked; And breedeth *Atheiſm*, and *Scandall*, as well as the other; (For who, would not be offended, at one, that cometh into the *Pulpit*, as if he came upon the *Stage*, to play Parts, or Prizes?) Neither, on the other ſide, as if I would diſcourage any, who hath any tollerable Gift.

But upon this *Point*, I ground three *Conſiderations*: Firſt, whether it were not requiſite, to renew, that good *Exerciſe*, which was practiſed, in this *Church*, ſome years; And afterwards, put down, by order, indeed, from the *Church*; In regard, of ſome Abuſe thereof; Inconvenient, for thoſe Times; And yet, againſt the Advice, and Opinion, of one, of the Greateſt, and Graveſt, *Prelates*, of this *Land*; And was commonly called *Prophecying*. Which was this; That the *Miniſters*, within a *Precinct*, did meet, upon a week day, in ſome principall Town; where there was, ſome ancient, *Grand Miniſter*, that was *Preſident*; And an *Auditory*, admitted, of *Gentlemen*, or other *Perſons* of *Leyſure*. Then every *Miniſter*, ſucceſſively, beginning with the youngeſt, did handle one, and the ſame part, of *Scripture*, ſpending, ſeverally, ſome *Quarter* of an *Hour*, or better, And, in the whole, ſome *two Hours*: And ſo, the *Exerciſe*, being begun, and concluded, with *Prayer*; And the *Preſident*, giving a *Text*, for the next meeting, the *Aſſembly* was diſſolved. And this was, as I take it, a Forthnights Exerciſe: which in my Opinion, was the beſt way, to frame, and train, up *Preachers*, to handle the *Word* of *God*, as it ought to be handled, that hath been practiſed. For we ſee, *Oratours*, have their *Declamations*; *Lawyers*, have their *Moots*; *Logicians* their *Sophems*; And every practiſe of Science, hath an Exerciſe of Erudition, and initiation, before Men come to the Life; Onely *Preaching*, which is the worthieſt; And wherein it is moſt danger to be amiſſe; Wanteth an Introduction, and is ventred, and ruſhed upon, at the firſt: But unto this *Exerciſe* of the *Prophecy*, I would wiſh, theſe two *Additions*; The one, that after this *Exerciſe*, which is, in ſome ſort, *Publick*, there were, immediately, a *Private Meeting*, of the ſame *Miniſters*; Where they might, brotherly admoniſh, the one, the other; And ſpecially the elder ſort, the younger, of any Thing, that had paſſed, in the *Exerciſe*, in *Matter, or Manner*, unſound, and uncomely; And, in a word, might, mutually, uſe ſuch Adviſe,

In-

Inſtruction, Comfort, or Encouragement, as Occaſion might miniſter; For *publick Reprehenſion*, were to be debarred. The other *Addition*, that I mean, is, That the ſame *Exerciſe*, were uſed in the *Univerſities*, for *young Divines*, before they preſumed to Preach, as well, as in the *Countrey*, for *Miniſters*. For they have, in ſome *Colledges*, an *Exerciſe*, called a *Common Place*; Which can, in no Degree, be ſo profitable, being but the Speech, of one Man, at one time. And if it be feared, that it may be Occaſion, to whet Mens Speeches, for Controverſies, it is eaſily remedied, by ſome ſtrict Prohibition, that Matters of Controverſie, tending, any way, to the violating, or Diſquieting, the *Peace* of the *Church*, be not handled or entred into; Which Prohibition, in regard, there is ever to be, a *Grave perſon*, *Preſident*, or *Moderatour*, cannot be fruſtrate. The *ſecond Conſideration* is, whether it were not convenient, there ſhould be a more exact *Probation*, and *Examination*, of *Miniſters*; Namely, that the *Biſhops*, do not ordain alone, but by *Adviſe*; And then, that Ancient, *Holy Orders* of the *Church* might be revived: By the which, the *Biſhop* did ordain *Miniſters*, but at *foure ſet times*, of the *year*; which were called, *Quatuor Tempora*; which, are, now, called *Ember-weeks*; It being thought fit, to accompany, ſo High an *Action*, with *generall Faſting*, and *Prayer*, and *Sermons*, and all *Holy Exerciſes*; And the *Names*, likewiſe, of thoſe, that were to be *Ordained*, were publiſhed, ſome dayes, before their *Ordination*; To the end, *Exceptions* might be taken, if juſt Cauſe were. The Third Conſideration, is, that if the Caſe of the *Church* of *England* be, that where a *Computation* is taken, of all the *Parochian Churches*, (allowing the *Union* of ſuch, as were too ſmall, and adjacent;) And again, a *Computation*, to be taken, of the *perſons*, who are worthy to be *Paſtours*; And, upon the ſaid Account, if it fall out, that there are many more *Churches*, then *Paſtours*; Then of Neceſſity, Recourſe muſt be had, to one of theſe Remedies; Either, that *Pluralities*, muſt be allowed; (ſpecially, if you can by *permutation*, make the *Benefices* more compatible:) Or that there be *Allowed Preachers*, to have a more generall Charge, to ſupply, and ſerve, by turn, *Pariſhes* unfurniſhed: For that ſome *Churches*, ſhould be provided, of *Paſtours*, able to teach; and others wholy Deſtitute, ſeemeth, to me, to be againſt the *Communion* of *Saints*, and *Chriſtians*; And againſt the *Practice*, of the *Primitive Church*.

Touching

Touching the Abuſe, *of* Excommunication.

Excommunication, is the greateſt *Judgement*, upon *Earth*; Being that, which is ratified in *Heaven*; And being, a *Precurſory*, or *Preluſory Judgement*, of the great *Judgement*, of *Chriſt*, in the *End* of the *World*. And therefore, for this, to be uſed unreverently, and to be made, an *Ordinary Proceſſe*, to lackey up and down, for *Fees*, how can it be, without Derogation, to *Gods Honour*, and making the *power of the Keyes*, contemptible? I know, very well, the Defence thereof, which hath no great Force; That it iſſueth forth, not for the Thing it ſelf, but for the *Contumacy*. I do not deny, but this *Judgement* is, (as I ſaid before,) of the Nature, of *Gods Judgements*, of the which, it is a Modell. For, as the *Judgement* of *God*, taketh hold, upon the *leaſt ſin*, of the *Impenitent*; And taketh no hold, of the *greateſt Sin* of the *Convert*, or *Penitent*: So *Excommunication*, may, in caſe, iſſue, upon the ſmalleſt Offence; And, in Caſe, not iſſue, upon the greateſt: But is this *Contumacy*, ſuch a *Contumacy*, as *Excommunication* is now uſed for? For the *Contumacy*, muſt be ſuch, as the Party, (as far, as the Eye, and Wiſdom, of the *Church*, can diſcern,) ſtandeth in State, of *Reprobation*, and *Damnation*: As one, that for that time, ſeemeth given over, to *Finall Impenitency*. Upon this *Obſervation*, I ground two *Conſiderations*: The one, that this *Cenſure*, be reſtored, to the true *Dignity*, and *Uſe*, thereof; which is, that it proceed not, but in Cauſes, of great weight; And that it be decreed, not by any *Deputy*, or *Subſtitute*, of the *Biſhop*, but by the *Biſhop*, in *Perſon*; And not by him alone, but by the *Biſhop Aſſiſted*.

The other *Conſideration*, is, That in liew, thereof, there be given, to the *Eccleſiaſticall Court*, ſome ordinary *Proceſſe*, with ſuch Force, and Coercion, as appertaineth; That ſo the *Dignity*, of ſo high a *Sentence*, being, retained, and the Neceſſity, of *Mean Proceſſe* ſupplyed, the *Church*, may be, indeed, reſtored, to the Ancient Vigour, and Splendour. To this purpoſe, joyn'd with ſome other Holy, and Good, purpoſes, was there a *Bill*, drawn in *Parliament*, in the Three and Twentieth Year, of the *Raign*, of the *Queen* deceaſed; (which was the Graveſt *Parliament*, that I have known;) And the *Bill*, recommended, by the graveſt, *Counſellor* of *Eſtate*, in *Parliament*; Though afterwards, it was ſtayed, by the *Queenes*, ſpeciall *Commandement*, the Nature of thoſe Things conſidered.

Touching, { NON-RESIDENTS, *And* PLURALITIES.

FOR *Non-Reſidence*, except it be, in Caſe of neceſſary Abſence, it ſeemeth, an *Abuſe*, drawn out of *Covetouſneſſe*, and *Sloth:* For that Men, ſhould *Live* of the *Flock*, that they do not *Feed*; Or of the *Altar*, at which they do not *Serve*; Is a Thing, that can hardly receive, juſt *Defence*. And to Exerciſe, the *Office*, of a *Paſtour*, in Matter of the *Word*, and *Doctrine*, by Deputies; Is a Thing not warranted, as hath been touched before. The *Queſtions* upon this *Point*, do ariſe, upon the Caſes of *Exception*, and *Excuſation*; Which ſhall be thought *Reaſonable*, and *Sufficient*; And which not. For the Caſe of *Chaplaines*, let me ſpeak that with your *Majeſties* pardon, and with Reverence, towards the other *Peeres*, and Grave *Perſons*, whoſe *Chaplaines*, by *Statutes*, are priviledged: I ſhould think, that the Attendance, which *Chaplaines* give, to your *Majeſties Court*, and in the *Houſes*, & *Families*, of their *Lords*, were a juſter Reaſon, why they ſhould have no *Benefice*, then why, they ſhould be quallified, to have Two: For, as it ſtandeth, with *Chriſtian Policy*, that ſuch Attendance, be, in no wiſe, neglected; Becauſe that good, which enſueth thereof, to the *Church* of *God*, may exceed, or countervaile, that, which may follow of their Labours, in any, though never ſo large, a *Congregation*; So it were reaſonable, that their *Maintenance* ſhould *Honourably*, and *Liberally*, proceed thence, whence their *Labours* be imployed. Neither, are there wanting, in the *Church*, *Dignities*, and *Preferments*, not joyned, with any exact *Cure of Soules*; By which, and by the Hope of which, ſuch *Attendants* in *Ordinary*, (who ought to be, as for the moſt part they are, of the beſt Gifts, and Sort,) may be, further, encouraged, and rewarded. And as for *Extraordinary Attendants*, they may, very well, retain the Grace, and Countenance, of their places, and Duties, at times incident thereunto, without *Diſcontinuance*, or *Non-Reſidence*, in their *Paſtorall Charges*. Next, for the Caſe, of intending *Studies* in the *Univerſities*, it will, more eaſily, receive an Anſwer; For *Studies*, do but ſerve, and tend, to the Practiſe, of thoſe *Studies*; And therefore, for that, which is moſt Principall, and Finall, to be left undone, for the Attending, of that, which is *Subſervient*, and *Subminiſtrant*, ſeemeth to be, againſt proportion, of *Reaſon*. Neither do I ſee, but that, they proceed right well, in all Knowledge, which do couple *Study*, with their *Practice*; And do not firſt *Study altogether*, and then *Practiſe altogether*; And therefore, they may, very well, *Study*, at their *Benefices*. Thirdly, for the Caſe, of *Extraordinary Service* of the *Church*;

Church; As if ſome Paſtour, be ſent, to a *Generall Councell*; Or here, to a *Convocation*; And likewiſe, for the Caſe of Neceſſity, as in the particular, of *Infirmity* of *Body*, and the like; No man will contradict, but there may be, ſome *Subſtitution*, for ſuch a Time. But the *Generall Caſe*, of Neceſſity, is the Caſe of *Pluralities*; the *Want* of *Paſtours*, and *Inſufficiency*, of *Livings*, conſidered, *Poſito*, that a Man, doth, faithfully, and inceſſantly, divide, his Labours, between two *Cures*; Which kinde of *Neceſſity*, I come now, to ſpeak of, in the Handling, of *Pluralities*.

For *Pluralities*, in Caſe, the *Number*, of *Able Miniſters*, were ſufficient, and the *Valew* of *Benefices* were ſufficient, then *Pluralities*, were, in no ſort, tollerable. But we muſt take heed, we deſire not Contraries. For to deſire, that every Pariſh, ſhould be furniſhed, with a ſufficient *Preacher*; And to deſire, that *Pluralities*, be, forthwith, taken away, is to deſire Things contrary; Conſidering, *De Facto*, there are not, *Sufficient* Preachers, for every *Pariſh*: Whereto adde likewiſe, that there is not, *Sufficient Living*, and *Maintenance*, in many *Pariſhes*, to maintain a *Preacher*; And it maketh, the *Impoſſibility*, yet much the greater. The *Remedies*, in *Rerum Naturâ*, are but Three; *Union*, *Permutation*, and *Supply*. Union, of ſuch *Benefices*, as have the *Living*, too ſmall, and the *Pariſh* not too great, and are Adjacent. Permutation, to make *Benefices* more compatible, though men be over ruled, to ſome loſſe, in changing a *Better*, for a *Nearer*. Supply, by *Stipendary* Preachers, to be rewarded, with ſome *Liberall Stipends*, to ſupply, as they may, ſuch places, which are unfurniſhed, of *ſufficient* Paſtours. As *Queen Elizabeth*, amongſt other, her *Gracious Acts*, did erect, certain of them, in *Lancaſhire*; Towards which Penſions, I ſee no reaſon, but *Reading Miniſters*, if they have rich *Benefices*, ſhould be charged.

Touching the Proviſion, *for* ſufficient Maintenance, *in the* Church.

TOuching *Church Maintenance*, it is well to be weighed, what is, *Jure Divino*, and what, *Jure Poſitivo*. It is a *Conſtitution*, of the *Divine Law*, from which humane Lawes, cannot derogate; That thoſe, which *feed the flock*, ſhould *live of the Flock*; That thoſe, that *ſerve*, *at the Altar*, ſhould *live of the Altar*; That thoſe, which *diſpenſe ſpirituall things*, ſhould *Reap Temporall Things*; Of which, it is alſo an *Appendix*, that the *Proportion*, of this *Maintenance*, be not *ſmall*, or *neceſſitous*, but *Plentifull*, and *Liberall*. So then, that all the *Places*, and *Offices*, of the *Church*, be provided, of ſuch a *Dotation*, that they may be maintained, according to their ſeverall

Degrees, is a *Conſtitution*, *permanent*, and *perpetuall*: But for particularity, of the *Endowment*, whether it ſhould conſiſt of *Tithes*, or *Lands*, or *Penſions*, or *Mixt*, might make a *Queſtion*, of *Convenience*, but no *Queſtion*, of *preciſe Neceſſity*. Again, that the *Caſe*, of the *Church*, *de facto*, is ſuch, that there is want, in the *Church*, of *Patrimony*, is confeſſed. For the Principall Places, namely, the *Biſhops Livings*, are, in ſome particulars, not ſufficient; And therefore, enforced, to be ſupplyed, by Tolleration of *Commendams*, Things, of themſelves, unfit, and ever held of no good Report. And as for the *Benefices*, and *Paſtours* Places, it is manifeſt, that very many of them, are very weak, and penurious. On the other ſide, that there was a Time, when the *Church*, was rather burthened, with *Superfluity*, then with *Lack*, that is likewiſe apparent; But it is long ſince; So as the *Fault*, was in others, the *Want* redoundeth unto us. Again, that it were to be wiſhed, that *Impropriations*, were returned to the *Church*, as the moſt *Proper*, and *Naturall*, *Endowments* thereof, is a Thing likewiſe, wherin Mens Judgements, will not much vary. Nevertheleſſe, that it is an *Impoſſibility*, to proceed now, either to their *Reſumption*, or *Redemption*, is as plain on the other ſide. For Men are ſtated in them, by the *Higheſt Aſſurance*, of the *Kingdome*, which is, *Act of Parliament*; And the value of them, amounteth, much above ten *Subſidies*: And the *Reſtitution* muſt, of Neceſſity, paſſe their Hands, in whoſe Hands they now are, in poſſeſſion, or Intereſt.

But of theſe things, which are manifeſtly true, to infer, and ground, ſome Concluſions. Firſt, in mine own Opinion, and Senſe, I muſt confeſſe, (let me ſpeak it with Reverence,) that all the *Parliaments*, ſince 27°. and 31°. of *H.* 8. (who gave away *Impropriations*, from the *Church*,) ſeem to me, to ſtand, in a ſort, obnoxious, and obliged, to *God*, in *Conſcience*, to do ſomewhat for the *Church*; To reduce the *Patrimony* thereof, to a *Competency*. For ſince, they have debarred, *Chriſtes Wife*, of a great part, of her *Dowry*, it were Reaſon, they made her, a competent *Joynture*. Next to ſay, that *Impropriations*, ſhould be onely charged; That carrieth, neither *Poſſibility*, nor *Reaſon*. Not Poſſibility, for the Reaſons touched before: Not Reaſon, becauſe, if it be conceived, that if any other Perſon be charged, it ſhould be a *Re-charge*, or *Double-charge*, in as much, as he payeth *Tithes*, already, that is a Thing miſtaken. For it muſt be remembred, that as the *Realm*, gave *Tithes*, to the *Church*; So the *Realm*, ſince again, hath given *Tithes*, *away* from the *Church*, unto the *King*: As they may give their 8th *Sheaf*, or Ninth *Sheaf*. And therefore, the firſt Gift, being evacuated, it cannot go, in defeazance, or diſcharge, of that perpetuall Bond, wherewith Men are bound, to maintain *Gods Miniſters*. And ſo, we ſee, in Example, that divers Godly, and well *Diſpoſed*, *People*, not *Impropriatours*, are content, to encreaſe, their *Preachers Livings*; which, though in *Law*, it be but a *Benevolence*, yet, before *God*, it is a *Conſcience*. Further, that *Impropriations*,

ations, ſhould not be, ſomewhat, more deeply, charged, then o-ther *Revenues*, of like value, me thinks, cannot well be denied; Both, in regard, of the *Ancient claim* of the *Church*; And the *Intention*, of the *firſt Giver*; And again, becauſe they have paſſed, in *valuation*, between Man and Man, ſomewhat, at the leſſe rate, in regard, of the ſaid *pretence*, or *Claim*, of the *Church*, in *Conſcience*, before *God*. But of this *Point*, touching *Church-Maintenance*, I do not think fit, to enter into further Particularity, but reſerve the ſame, to a fitter Time.

Thus have I, in all Humbleneſſe, and Sincerity of Heart, to the beſt of my underſtanding, given your *Majeſty*, Tribute, of my Cares, and Cogitations, in this *Holy Buſineſſe*; So highly tending to *Gods Glory*, your *Majeſties Honour*, and the *Peace*, and *Welfare*, of your *States*. Inſomuch, as I am perſwaded, that the *Papiſts* themſelves, ſhould not need, ſo much, the *Severity* of *Penall Lawes*, if the *Sword* of the *Spirit*, were better edged, by *ſtrengthening* the *Authority*, and *ſuppreſſing* the *Abuſes*, in the *Church*.

To conclude, renewing my moſt Humble Submiſſion, of all that I have ſaid, to your *Majeſties*, moſt *High Wiſdome*; And again, moſt humbly, craving pardon, for any Errours, committed in this *Writing*; which, the ſame weakneſs, of Judgement, that ſuffered me to commit them, would not ſuffer me to diſcover them; I end, with my Devout, and Fervent, *Prayer* to *God*; That, as he hath, made your *Majeſty*, the *Corner-ſtone*, in joyning, your two *Kingdomes*; So, you may be alſo, as a *Corner-ſtone*, to unite, and knit together, theſe Differences, in the *Church*, of *God*; To whoſe *Heavenly* Grace, and *never erring*, *Direction*, I commend your *Majeſties Sacred Perſon*, and all your *Doings*.

CERTAIN

CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS, TOUCHING THE PLANTATION IN IRELAND.

PRESENTED TO His Maiesty, 1606.

IT seemeth *God*, hath reserved, to your *Majesties* Times, two *Works*; which amongst the *Works* of *Kings*, have the supream Preheminence; The *Union*, and *Plantation*, of *Kingdoms*. For although it be a great Fortune, for a *King*, to deliver, or recover, his *Kingdom*, from long continued Calamities; yet, in the Judgement of those, that have distinguished, of the Degrees, of *Soveraign Honour*; To be a *Founder*, of *Estates*, or *Kingdoms*, excelleth all the rest? For, as in *Arts*, and Sciences, to be the first *Inventer*, is more, then to *Illustrate*, or *Amplifie*: And as, in the *Works* of *God*, the *Creation*, is greater, then the *Preservation*; And as, in the *Works* of *Nature*, the *Birth*, and *Nativity*, is more then the

the *Continuance*: So in *Kingdoms*, the first *Foundation*, or *Plantation*, is of more *Noble Dignity*, and *Merit*, then all that followeth. Of which *Foundations*, there being but two Kinds; The first that maketh One of More; And the Second, that maketh, One of None; The Latter, resembling, the *Creation* of the *World*, which was, *De Nihilo ad Quid*; And the Former, the Edification of the Church, which was *de Multiplici ad Simplex, vel ad unum*: It hath pleased the *Divine Providence*, in singular Favour to your *Majesty*, to put, both these *Kinds* of *Foundations*, or *Regenerations*, into your Hand; The one, in the *Union*, of the *Island*, of *Britain*; The other, in the *Plantation*, of *Great* and *Noble Parts*, of the *Island*, of *Ireland*: Which Enterprises, being once happily accomplished; Then that, which was uttered, by One of the Best *Orators*, in one of the Worst *verses*; *O fortunatam natam me Consule Romam*: May be, far more truly, and properly, applied to your *Majesties* Act: *Natam te Rege Britanniam*; *Natam Hiberniam*. For He spake, unproperly, of Deliverance, and Preservation; But, in these Acts of yours, it may be verified, more naturally. For indeed, *Unions*, and *Plantations*, are the very *Nativities*, or *Birth-Dayes* of *Kingdomes*. Wherein, likewise, *your Majesty* hath yet a Fortune extraordinary, and Differing, from former Examples, in the same Kind. For most Part of *Unions*, and *Plantations*, of *Kingdoms*, have been founded, in the *Effusion* of *Bloud*; But your *Majesty* shall build, in *Solo puro, & in Areâ purâ*, that shall need no *Sacrifices Expiatory*, for *Bloud*; And therefore, (no doubt,) under a Higher, and more Assured, *Blessing*. Wherefore, as I adventured, when I was lesse known, and lesse particularly bound, to your *Majesty*, then since, by your undeserved Favour, I have been, to write somewhat touching the *Union*; which your *Majesty* was pleased to accept; And which since, I have, to my power, seconded by my Travels; Not onely, in *Discourse*, but in *Action*: So I am, thereby, encouraged, to do the like, touching this Matter of *Plantation*; Hoping, that your *Majesty*, will, through the weakness of my Ability, discern the strength of my Affection; And the Honest, and fervent, Desire I have, to see your *Majesties* Person, Name, and Times, Blessed, and Exalted, above those, of your *Royall Progenitours*. And I was, the rather, invited this to do, by the Remembrance, that when the *Lord chief Justice*, deceased, *Popham*, served in the place, wherein I now serve; And afterwards, in the *Atturney's* Place, he laboured greatly, in the last Project, touching the *Plantation* of *Munster*. Which nevertheless, as it seemeth, hath given more light, by the *Errours* thereof, what to *Avoyd*; Then, by the *Direction* of the same, what to *Follow*.

First therefore, I will speak somewhat, of the *Excellency* of the Work; And then, of the *Means* to compass, and effect it. For the *Excellency* of the *Work*, I will divide it, into four Noble, and Worthy, Consequences, that will follow thereupon. The First of the four, is *Honour*; whereof I have spoken enough already,

dy, were it not, that the *Harp* of *Ireland*, puts me in mind, of that Glorious *Embleme*, or *Allegory*, wherein the wiſdome of Antiquity, did figure, and ſhadow out, works of this Nature. For the *Poets feigned*, that *Orpheus* by the vertue, and ſweetneſſe, of his *Harp*, did call, and aſſemble, the *Beaſts*, and *Birds*, of their Nature, *wild*, and *ſavage*, to ſtand about him, as in a *Theater*; Forgetting their Affections, of Fiercenes, of Luſt, and of Prey; and liſtening to the Tunes, and Harmonies, of the *Harp*: and ſoon after, called likewiſe the *Stones*, and the *Woods*, to remove, and ſtand in order about him: which Fable, was anciently interpreted, of the *Reducing*, and *Plantation*, of *Kingdoms*; when *People* of *Barbarous Manners*, are brought, to give over, and diſcontinue, their *Cuſtoms*, of *Revenge*, and Blood, and of diſſolute Life, and of Theft, and of Rapine; And to give Ear, to the wiſdome of *Lawes*, and *Governments*; whereupon, immediately followeth, the *Calling* of *Stones*, for Building, and Habitation; and of Trees, for the ſeats of Houſes, Orchards, and Encloſures, and the like.

This Work, therefore, of all other, moſt Memorable, and Honourable, *your Majeſty* hath now in Hand; ſpecially, if your *Majeſty* joyn, the *Harp* of *David*, in caſting out, the Evill Spirit, of *Superſtition*; with the *Harp* of *Orpheus*, in caſting out *Deſolation*, and *Barbariſme*.

The ſecond *Conſequence*, of this *Enterpriſe*, is the *Avoiding*, of an *Inconvenience*, which commonly attendeth upon Happy Times, and is an evill effect, of a good Cauſe. The Revolution of this preſent Age, ſeemeth to encline to Peace, almoſt generally in theſe Parts; And your *Majeſties*, moſt Chriſtian, and vertuous, affections, do promiſe the ſame, more ſpecially, to theſe your *Kingdomes*. An effect, of *Peace*, in Fruitfull *Kingdoms*, (where the ſtock of *People*, receiving no *Conſumption*, nor *Diminution*, by *warre*, doth continually multiply, and encreaſe;) muſt, in the end, be a *Surcharge*, or *Overflow* of *People*, more then the *Territories* can well maintain; Which, many times, inſinuating a generall Neceſſity, and want of Means, into all eſtates; Doth turn, *Externall Peace*, into *Internall Troubles*, and *Seditions*. Now what an excellent Diverſion, of this Inconvenience, is miniſtred, by *Gods Providence*, to your *Majeſty*, in this *Plantation* of *Ireland*? wherein, ſo many *Families*, may receive, *Suſtentations*, and *Fortunes*; And the Diſcharge of them, alſo, out of *England*, and *Scotland*, may prevent many Seeds of *Future perturbations*? So that it is, as if a Man were troubled, for the Avoidance of water, from the place, where he hath built his *Houſe*; And afterwards, ſhould adviſe with himſelf, to caſt thoſe waters, and to turn them, into Fair Pools, or Streams, for pleaſure, proviſion, or uſe. So ſhall your *Majeſty*, in this *Work*, have a double Commodity; In the *Avoidance* of *People* here, and in *Making uſe* of them there.

The third *Conſequence*, is the great *Safety*, that is like to grow, to your *Majeſties Eſtate*, in generall, by this Act; In diſcomfiting all *Hoſtile Attempts* of *Forreiners*; which the Weakneſſe of that *Kingdome*, hath heretofore invited: Wherein, I ſhall not need, to fetch Reaſons, afar off, either for the generall, or particular. For the generall, becauſe nothing is more evident, then that, which one of the *Romans*, ſaid of *Peloponneſus*; *Teſtudo intra tegumen tuta eſt. The Tortoiſe is ſafe within her ſhell*: But, if ſhe put forth, any part of her Body, then it endangereth, not onely the part that is ſo put forth, but all the Reſt. And ſo, we ſee in *Armour*, if any part be left naked, it puts in hazard the whole Perſon. And, in the *Naturall Body* of *Man*, if there be any weak, or Affected, part, it is enough, to draw Rheums, or Maligne *Humours* unto it, to the Interruption, of the *Health*, of the *whole Body*.

And for the *Particular*, the Example is too Freſh, that the indiſpoſition of that *Kingdome*, hath been a continnall Attractive, of Troubles, and Infeſtations, upon this *Eſtate*; and though *your Majeſties* Greatneſſe, doth, in ſome ſort, diſcharge this Fear, yet with your encreaſe of *Power*, it cannot be, but *Envy* is likewiſe encreaſed.

The fourth, and laſt Conſequence, is the great *Profit*, and *Strength*, which is like to redound, to your *Crown*, by the working, upon this unpoliſhed Part thereof: Whereof, *your Majeſty*, (being in the ſtrength of your years,) are like, by the good pleaſure of *Almighty God*, to receive, more then the *Firſt Fruits*; And your *Poſterity*, a growing, and Springing Veine of Riches, and Power. For this *Iſland*, being another *Britain*; As *Britain* was ſaid, to be another *World*; Is endowed, with ſo many *Dowries* of *Nature*, (conſidering the *Fruitfullneſſe* of the Soil, the *Ports*, the *Rivers*, the *Fiſhings*, the *Quarries*, the Woods, and other *Materialls*; And ſpecially, the *Race*, and *Generation* of *Men*, *valiant*, hard, and active;) As it is not eaſie, no not upon the *Continent*, to find, ſuch Confluence of Commodities, if the *Hand* of *Man*, did joyn with the *Hand* of *Nature*. So then for the *Excellency*, of the work, in point of *Honour*, *Policy*, *Safety*, and *Utility*, here I ceaſe. For the *Means*, to effect this Work; I know your *Majeſty* ſhall not want, the Information of Perſons expert, and induſtrious, which have ſerved you there, and know the *Region*: Nor the Adviſe, of a Grave, and Prudent *Counſell*, here; which know the Pulſes, of the Hearts, of People, and the wayes, and Paſſages, of conducting great Actions: Beſides that, which is above all; which is, that *Fountain*, of Wiſdome, and Univerſality, which is in your ſelf: yet notwithſtanding, in a thing, of ſo publick a Nature, it is not amiſſe, for your *Majeſty*, to hear variety of Opinion. For as *Demoſthenes* ſaith well; *The good Fortune, of a Prince, or State, doth, ſometimes, put a good Motion, into a Fools Mouth*. I do think therefore, the *Means*, of accompliſhing this

Work

Work conſiſteth of two principall Parts. The firſt, the *Invitation*, and *Encouragement*, of *Undertakers*: The ſecond, the *Order*, and *Policy* of the *Project*, it ſelf. For as in all *Engines* of the *Hand*, there is ſomewhat, that giveth the Motion and Force, and the reſt, ſerveth to guide, and govern, the ſame: So it is in theſe *Enterpriſes*, or *Engines*, of Eſtate. As for the former of theſe, there is no doubt, but next unto the *Providence*, and *Finger* of *God*, which writeth theſe Vertuous, and Excellent, Deſires, in the Tables, of your *Majeſties* Heart, your *Authority*, and *Affection*, is *Primus Motor*, in this Cauſe: And therefore, the more ſtrongly, and fully, your *Majeſty* ſhall declare your ſelf in it, the more ſhall you quicken, and animate, the whole proceeding. For this is is an *Action*, which as the worthineſſe of it, doth bear it, ſo the Nature of it requireth it, to be carried in ſome *Heighth* of *Reputation*; And fit, in mine Opinion, for *Pulpits*, and *Parliaments*, and all places, to ring, and reſound of it. For that, which may ſeem Vanity, in ſome Things; (I mean, *Matter* of *Fame*;) is of great efficacy, in this Caſe.

But now, let me deſcend, to the inferiour *Sphears*, and ſpeak, what Cooperation, in the Subjects, or undertakers, may be raiſed, and kindled, and by what *Means*. Therefore, to take plain Grounds, which are the ſureſt; All *Men* are drawn into *Actions*, by three Things, *Pleaſure*, *Honour*, and *Profit*. But before I purſue the three *Motives*, it is fit, in this place, to enterlace, a word, or two, of the *Quality*, of the *Undertakers*; wherein my Opinion ſimply is, that if your *Majeſty*, ſhall make theſe *Portions* of *Land*, which are to be *Planted*, as Rewards, or as Suits, or as Fortunes, for thoſe, that are in want; And are likeſt to ſeek after them; That they will not be able, to go through, with the Charge, of good ſubſtantiall *Plantations*; But will *Deficere*, *in Opere medio*; And then, this *Work* will ſucceed, as *Tacitus* ſaith; *Acribus initiis*, *Fine incurioſo*. So that, this muſt rather be an *Adventure*, for ſuch as are full; Then a *ſetting up*, of thoſe, that are low of Means; For thoſe Men, are fit, indeed, to perform theſe *Undertakings*; Which were fit, to purchaſe dry *Reverſions*, after *Lives*, or years; Or ſuch, as were fit, to put out *Money*, upon long *Returns*.

I do not ſay, but that I think, the *Undertakers* themſelves, will be glad to have ſome *Captains*, or *Men* of *Service*, intermixed among them, for their ſafety; But I ſpeak, of the Generality of *Undertakers*; which, I wiſh, were *Men* of *Eſtate*, and *Plenty*.

Now therefore, it followeth well to ſpeak, of the aforeſaid three *Motives*: For it will appear the more, how neceſſary it is, to allure, by all means, *Undertakers*; Since thoſe Men, will be leaſt fit, which are like to be, moſt in Appetite, of themſelves; And thoſe moſt fit, which are like, leaſt to deſire it.

Firſt therefore, for *Pleaſure*, in this *Region*, or *Tract of Soyl*, there is no *Warm Winters*, nor *Orenge Trees*, nor ſtrange *Beaſts*, or *Birds*, or other Points of *Curioſity*, or *Pleaſure*, as there are in the *Indies*,

and the like; So as, there can be found, no Foundation, made upon Matter of *Pleasure*, otherwise, then that the very *Desire* of *Novelty*, and *Experiment*, in some *stirring Natures*, may work somewhat; And therefore, it is the other two Points, of *Honour*, and *Profit*, whereupon we are wholly to rest.

For *Honour*, or *Countenance*, if I shall mention to your *Majesty*, whether, in wisdome, you shall think convenient, the better to expresse your Affection to the *Enterprise*, and for a Pledge there of, to adde the *Earldome* of *Ulster*, to the *Princes Titles*; I shall, but learn it, out of the practice, of *King Edward* the First; Who first used the like course, as a mean, the better to restrain, the *Countrey* of *Wales*: And, I take it, the *Prince of Spain*, hath the Addition, of a *Province*, in the *Kingdome* of *Naples*; And other *Presidents*, I think, there are, and it is like, to put more life, and Encouragement, into the *Undertakers*.

Also, considering the large *Territories*, which are to be Planted, it is not unlike, your *Majesty* will think, of raising some *Nobility* there; which, if it be done meerly, upon new *Titles*, of *Dignity*, having no manner of Reference to the Old; And if it be done also, without putting, to many *Portions*, into one *Hand*; And lastly, if it be done, without any great *Franchises*, or *Commands*; I do not see, any Perill, can ensue thereof: As, on the other side, it may draw some *Persons*, of great *Estate*, and *Means*, into the Action, to the great Furtherance, and Supply, of the charges thereof.

And lastly, for *Knighthood*, to such Persons, as have not attained it; Or otherwise, *Knighthood*, with some new Difference, and Precedence; It may, no doubt, work with Many. And if any Man think, that these Things, which I propound, are *Aliquid nimis*, for the *Proportion*, of this *Action*; I confesse, plainly, that if your *Majesty*, will have it, really, and effectually, performed; My Opinion is, you cannot bestow too much *Sunshine* upon it. For *Lunæ Radiis non matureſcit Botrus*. Thus much for *Honour*.

For *Profit*, it will consist in Three parts:

First, the *Easie Rates*, that your *Majesty*, shall be pleased, to give, the *Undertakers* of the *Land*, they shall receive.

Secondly, the *Liberties*, which you may be pleased, to confer upon them. When I speak of *Liberties*, I mean not, *Liberties* of *Jurisdiction*; As *Counties palatine*, or the like; (which it seemeth, hath been the Errour, of the ancient *Donations*, and *Plantations*, in that *Country*;) But I mean, only *Liberties*, tending to *Commodity*: As *Liberty*, to transport, any of the *Commodities*, growing upon the *Country*, new *Planted*; *Liberty* to *Import*, from hence, all Things, appertaining to their necessary use, *Custome free*; Liberty, to take *Timber*, or other *Materialls*, in your *Majesties Woods*, there, and the like.

The Third is, *Ease of Charge*; That the whole *Masse*, of

Charge,

Charge, doth not reſt, upon the Private Purſe, of the Undertakers.

For the Two Former of theſe, I will paſs them over; becauſe, in that Project, which with good diligence, and providence, hath been preſented to your *Majeſty*, by your *Miniſters* of that *Kingdome*, they are, in my Opinion, well handled.

For the Third, I will never deſpaire, but that the *Parliament*, of *England*, if it may perceive, that this *Action*, is not a *Flaſh*, but a *Solid*, and *Setled purſuit*, will give aid, to a *Worke*, ſo *Religious*, ſo *Politique*, and ſo *Profitable*. And the Diſtribution of Charge, (if it be obſerved,) falleth, naturally, into Three Kindes of *Charge*; And every, of thoſe *Charges*, reſpectively, ought to have, his proper *Fountain*, and *Iſſue*. For as, there proceedeth, from your *Majeſties Royall Bounty*, and *Munificence*, the *Gift* of the *Land*, And the other *Materialls*; Together with the *Endowment* of *Liberties*; And as the *Charge*, which is *Private*; As *Building* of *Houſes*, *Stocking* of *Grounds*, *Victuall*, and the like, is to reſt upon the *Particular Undertakers*; So whatſoever is *Publicke*; As *Building* of *Churches*, *Walling* of *Townes*, *Town-Houſes*, *Bridges*, *Cawſies*, or *High-wayes*, and the like; Ought not, ſo properly, to lye upon particular *Perſons*, but to come, from the *Publicke Eſtate*, of this, *Kingdom*; To which, this Work, is like to return, ſo great an Addition, of *Glory*, *Strength*, and *Commodity*.

For the *Project* it ſelf, I ſhall need to ſpeak the leſſe, in regard, it is ſo conſiderately digeſted already, for the *County* of *Tyrone*; And Therefore, my Labour ſhall be, but in thoſe Things, wherein, I ſhall either Adde to, or Diſſent from, that which is ſet down; Which will include, Five *Points*, or *Articles*. Firſt, they mention a *Commiſſion*, for this *Plantation*; Which, of all Things, is moſt neceſſary, both to *Direct*, and *Appeaſe*, *Controverſies*, and the like.

To this I adde Two *Propoſitions*. The one, that which, perhaps, is meant, though not expreſſed; That the *Commiſſioners*, ſhould, for certain times, reſide, and abide, in ſome Habitable *Town*, of *Ireland*, near in Diſtance, to the Country, where the Plantation ſhall be; To the end; Both that they may be more at Hand, for the Execution of the *Parts*, of their *Commiſſion*; And withall, it is like, by drawing of *Concourſe* of *People*, and *Trades Men*, to ſuch *Townes*, it will be ſome Help, and Commodity, to the *Undertakers*, for Things, they ſhall ſtand in need of. And likewiſe, it will be a more ſafe place of Receit, and Store, wherein to Unlade, and Depoſite, ſuch Proviſions, as are after to be employed.

The Second is, that your *Majeſty*, would make a *Correſpondency*, between the *Commiſſion* there, and a *Councell* of *Plantation*, here. Wherein I warrant, my ſelf, by the *Preſident*, of the like *Councell*, of *Plantation*, for *Virginia*; An enterpriſe, in my Opinion, differing as much from this, as *Amadis de Gaule*, differs from

Cæſars

Cæſars Commentaries. But when I ſpeak of a *Councell* of *Plantation*, I mean, ſome *Perſons*, choſen, by way of *Reference*; Upon whom the *Labour*, may reſt; To prepare, and report, Things, to the *Councell* of *Eſtate*, here, that concern that *Buſineſſe*. For although, your *Majeſty*, have a grave, and ſufficient, *Councell* in *Ireland*: From whom, and upon whom, the *Commiſſioners*, are to have Aſſiſtance, and Dependance; yet that ſupplies not the Purpoſe, whereof I ſpeak. For conſidering, that upon the *Advertiſements*, as well of the *Commiſſioners*, as of the *Councell* of *Ireland*, it ſelf; There will be many Occaſions, to crave Directions, from your *Majeſty*, and your *Privy Councell* here, which are buſied with a world of Affaires; It cannot but give greater *Expedition*, and ſome better *Perfection*, unto ſome *Directions*, and *Reſolutions*; If the *Matters*, may be conſidered of afore hand, by ſuch, as may have a continuall Care, of the Cauſe. And it will be; likewiſe, a *Comfort*, and *Satisfaction*, to ſome *Principall Undertakers*, if they may be admitted of that *Councell*.

Secondly, there is a *Clauſe*, wherein the *Undertakers*, are reſtrained, that they ſhall execute the *Plantation*, in *Perſon*; from which I muſt diſſent, if I will conſent, with the Grounds, I have already taken. For it is not probable, that *Men*, of great *Meanes*, and *Plentifull Eſtates*, will indure the *Travaile*, *Diſeaſements*, and *Adventures*, of going thither in *Perſon*; But rather, I ſuppoſe, Many will undertake *Portions*, as an *Advancement*, for their *Younger Children*, or *Kinsfolks*; Or for the *Sweetneſſe*, of the *Expectation*, of a great *Bargaine*, in the end, when it is overcome. And therefore, it is like, they will imploy *Sons*, *Kinsfolks*, *Servants*, or *Tenants*; And yet be glad, to have the *Eſtate*, in themſelves. And, it may be, ſome again, will joyn their *Purſes*, together; And make, as it were, a *Partner-ſhip*, or *Joynt-Adventure*; And yet man forth, ſome one Perſon, by conſent, for the Executing of the *Plantation*.

Thirdly, there is a *Main Point*, wherein, I fear, the *Project*, made, hath two much of the Line, and Compaſs; And will not be, ſo naturall, and eaſie, to Execute; Nor yet, ſo Politick, and Convenient: And that is, that the Buildings, ſhould be, *Sparſim*, upon every *Portion*; And the *Caſtle*, or *Principall Houſe*, ſhould draw the *Tenements*, and *Farmes* about it, as it were into *Villages*, *Hamlets*, or *Endſhips*; And that there ſhould be, only, Foure *Corporate Townes*, for the *Artificers*, and *Trades-Men*.

My Opinion is, that the Building, be altogether in *Townes*, to be compounded, as well of *Husbandries*, as of *Arts*. My *Reaſons* are.

Firſt, when *Men* come into a *Country*, *Vaſt*, and Void of all Things neceſſary, for the uſe of *Mans Life*; If they ſet up together, in a Place, one of them, will the better ſupply, the wants of another. *Work Folkes* of all ſorts, will be the more continually on work, without Loſſe of Time; When, if Work faile in one Place,

Place, they may have it faſt by; The *Wages* will be made, more paſſible, for *Carriages*, to thoſe *Seats*, or *Townes*, then they can be, to a Number of diſperſed, Solitary, Places; And infinite other helps, and Eaſements, ſcarcely to be comprehended, in Cogitation, will enſue, in *Vicinity*, and *Society* of *People*; Whereas, if they build ſcattered, (as is projected,) Every Man, muſt have a *Cornu-Copia*, in himſelf, for all Things he muſt uſe; Which cannot but breed, much *Difficulty*, and no leſſe *Waſt*.

Secondly, it will draw out, of the *Inhabited Country*, of *Ireland*, *Proviſions*, and *Victualls*, and many neceſſaries, becauſe they ſhall be ſure of Utterance; Whereas, in the Diſperſed *Habitations*, every Man muſt reckon, onely, upon that, that he brings with him; As they do, in *Proviſions*, of *Ships*.

Thirdly, the Charge of *Bawnes*, as they call them, to be made, about every *Caſtle*, or *Houſe*, may be ſpared, when the *Habitations*, ſhall be *congregated*, onely into *Towns*.

And laſtly, it will be a Means, to ſecure the *Country*, againſt future *Perils*, in caſe, of any *Revolt*, and *Defection*. For, by a ſlight *Fortification*, of no great Charge, the danger of any *Attempts*, of *Kierns*, and *Sword-Men*, may be prevented: The *Omiſſion* of which *Point*, in the laſt *Plantation*, of *Munſter*, made the *Work* of *years*, to be but the *Spoyle* of *Dayes*. And if any *Man* think, it will Draw *People*, too far off, from the Grounds, they are to labour; It is to be underſtood, that the *Number*, of the *Towns*, be encreaſed accordingly; And likewiſe, the *Situation* of them, be, as in the *Center*, in reſpect of the *Portions* aſſigned to them. For in the *Champian Countries* of *England*, where the *Habitation*, uſeth to be in *Towns*, and not diſperſed, it is no new Thing, to go two Miles off, to Plow, part of their *Grounds*: And two *Miles Compaſſe*, will take up a good Deal of *Countrey*.

The fourth *Point*, is a *Point*, wherein, I ſhall differ, from the *Project*, rather in *Quantity*, and *Proportion*, then in *Matter*. There is allowed to the *undertaker*, within the five years of Reſtraint, to alien a third part, in *Fee Farm*; And to *Demiſe*, another for *fourty years*; which, I fear, will mangle the *Portions*; And, will be, but a ſhift, to make money, of two parts: Whereas, I am of Opinion, the more, the firſt undertaker, is forced to keep, in his own Hands, the more the Work is like to proſper. For Firſt, the *Perſon*, liable, to the *State* here, to perform the *Plantation*, is the *Immediate Undertaker*. Secondly, the more, his *Profit* dependeth, upon the *Annuall*, and *Springing Commodity*; The more Sweetneſſe, he will find, in putting forward, *Manurance*, and *Husbanding of the Grounds*; And therefore is like to take more care of it. Thirdly, ſince the *Natives*, are excluded, I do not ſee, that any perſons, are like to be drawn over, of that *Condition*, as are like to give *Fines*, and undertake the *Charge* of *Building*: For I am perſwaded, that the *People tranſported*, will conſiſt of *Gentlemen*, and their *Servants*; And of Labourers, and Hindes; And not of Yeomen, of any wealth;

And

And therefore, the *Charge* of *Building*, as well of the *Tenements*, and *Farmes*, as of the *Capitall Houses*, themselves, is like to rest, upon the *Principall Undertakers*, which will be recompenced, in the end, to the full, and with much advantage, if they make no long *Estates*, or *Leases*.

And therefore this *Article*, to receive some *Qualification*.

Fifthly, I should think it requisite, that *Men* of *Experience*, in that *Kingdome*, should enter, into some particular Consideration, of the *Charges*, and Provisions, of all kindes, that will be incident to the *Plantation*; To the end, that thereupon, some Advise, may be taken, for the Furnishing, and Accommodating them, most conveniently; Aiding private Industry, with publick Care, and Order.

Thus I have expressed to your *Majesty*, those simple, and weak, Cogitations, which I have had in my Self, touching this *Cause*; Wherein, I most humbly desire your pardon, and gracious acceptance, of my good Affection, and Intention. For I hold it for a *Rule*, that there belongeth to great *Monarchs*, from Faithfull Servants, not onely the *Tribute* of *Duty*, but the *Oblations* of *cheerfulnesse* of *Heart*. And so I pray the *Almighty*, to blesse this great *Action*, with your *Majesties Care*; And your *Care*, with *Happy Successe*.

ADVISE

ADVICE
TO THE
KING,
TOUCHING
Mr. SUTTONS ESTATE.

May it please Your MAJESTY;

I Find it, a Positive *Precept*, of the *Old Law*; *That there should be no Sacrifice without Salt.* The *Morall* whereof, (besides the *Ceremony*,) may be; That *God* is not pleased, with the *Body* of a good *Intention*; Except it be *seasoned*, with that *Spirituall Wisedome*, and *Judgement*, as it be not easily Subject, to be *corrupted*, and *perverted*. For *Salt*, in the *Scripture*, is a *Figure*, both of *Wisedome*, and *Lasting*. This commeth into my Mind, upon this Act of Mr. *Sutton*; Which seemeth to me, as a *Sacrifice without Salt*; Having the *Materials*, of a *Good Intention*, but not powdred, with any such *Ordinances*, and *Institutions*, as may preserve the same from turning *Corrupt*; Or, at least, from becomming *Unsavoury*, and of little *Use*. For though, the Choice of the *Feoffees*, be of the best; yet neither can they alwayes live;

And the very Nature, of the Work it self, in the vast, and unfit, Proportions thereof, being apt to provoke a Mis-imployment; It is no Diligence of theirs, (except there be a *Digression* from that *Modell*,) that can excuse it, from running the same way, that *Gifts* of like Condition, have heretofore done. For to change the *Charter-house*, a *Building* fit for a *Princes Habitation*, for an *Hospitall*; Is all one, as if one should give in Almes, a *Rich Embroydered Cloak*, to a *Beggar*. And certainly, a Man may see, *Tanquam quæ Oculis Cernuntur*, that if such an *Edifice*, with *Six Thousand pounds Revenue*, be erected into one *Hospitall*; It will, in small time, degenerate, to be made a preferment, of some great *Person*, to be *Master*, and he to take all the sweet, and the *Poor*, to be stinted, and take but the *Crums*: As it comes to passe, in divers *Hospitals*, of this *Realm*; Which have but the *Names* of *Hospitalls*, and are but wealthy *Benefices*, in respect of the *Masterships*; But the *Poor*, which is the *Propter quid*, little relieved. And the like, hath been the Fortune, of much of the *Almes*, of the *Romun Religion*, in the *Great Foundations*; which being begun in Vain-Glory, and Ostentation, have had their Judgement, upon them, to end in Corruption, and Abuse. This *Meditation*, hath made me presume, to write these few Lines to your *Majesty*; Being no better then good *Wishes*, which your *Majesties* great *Wisedom*, may make some thing, or Nothing, of.

Wherein, I desire, to be thus understood; That if this *Foundation*, (such as it is,) be *perfect*, and *Good* in *Law*; Then I am too well acquainted, with your *Majesties* Disposition, to advise, any Course, of power, or Profit, that is not grounded upon a Right: Nay further, if the *Defects* be such, as a *Court* of *Equity* may Remedy, and Cure; Then I wish, that as Saint *Peters shadow*, did cure *Diseases*; So the very shadow, of a Good Intention, may cure Defects of that Nature. But if there be a Right, and Birth-right, planted in the *Heir*; And not Remediable by *Courts* of *Equity*; And that Right, be submitted to your *Majesty*; Whereby it is both, in your power, and Grace, what to do; Then I do wish, that this rude *Masse*, and *Chaos*, of a *Good Deed*, were directed, rather to a *Solide Merit*, and *Durable Charity*, then to a *Blaze* of *Glory*, that will but crackle, a little, in Talk, and quickly extinguish.

And this may be done, observing the *Species*, of Mr. *Suttons* Intent, though varying in *Individuo*. For it appeares, that he had, in Notion, a Triple Good; An *Hospitall*; And a *Schoole*; And *Maintaining* of a *Preacher*; Which *Individualls*, refer to these Three *Generall Heads*. *Relief of Poore*; *Advancement of Learning*; And *Propagation of Religion*. Now then, if I shall set before your *Majesty*, in every of these Three Kindes, what it is, that is most wanting in your *Kingdome*; And what is like, to be the most Fruitfull, & Effectuall use, of such a *Beneficence*, and least like to be perverted: That I think, shall be no ill Scope of my Labour, how meanly soever performed; For out of *Variety* represented, *Election* may be best grounded.

Con-

Concerning the *Relief* of the *Poore*; I hold ſome *Number*, of *Hoſpitalls*, with Competent *Endowments*, will do far more good, then one *Hoſpitall*, of an *Exorbitant Greatneſſe*. For though the one Courſe, will be the more *Seene*, yet the other will be the more *Felt*. For if your *Majeſty* erect many, beſides the obſerving the *Ordinary Maxime*; *Bonum, quo communius, eo melius*; choice may be made, of thoſe *Townes*, and *Places*, where there is moſt Need; And ſo the *Remedy*, may be *Diſtributed*, as the *Diſeaſe*, is *Diſperſed*. Again, *Greatneſſe* of *Relinſe*, accumulate in one place, doth rather invite a Swarm, and Surcharge, of *Poore*, then relieve thoſe, that are, naturally, bred in that place: Like to ill tempred *Medicines*, that draw more Humour to the Part, then they Evacuate from it. But chiefly, I rely, upon the Reaſon, that I touched in the Beginning; That in theſe *Great Hoſpitalls*, the *Revenues*, will draw the *Uſe*, and not the *Uſe*, the *Revenues*; And ſo, through the *Maſſe* of the *Wealth*, they will ſwiftly tumble down, to a *Diſemployment*. And if any *Man* ſay, that in the Two *Hoſpitalls* in *London*, there is a *Preſident* of *Greatneſſe*, concurring with *Good Employment*; Let him conſider, that thoſe *Hoſpitalls*, have *Annuall Governers*; That they are under the Superiour Care, and Policy, of ſuch a ſtate, as the *City* of *London*; And chiefly, that their *Revenues*, conſiſt not upon *Certainties*, but upon *Caſualties*, and *Free Gifts*; Which Gifts would be with-held, if they appeared once to be perverted: So as, it keepeth them, in a continuall Good Behaviour, and Awe, to employ them aright: None of which Points, do match, with the preſent *Caſe*.

The next *Conſideratiõ* may be, whether this intended *Hoſpital*, as it hath a more ample *Endowment*, then other *Hoſpitals* have, ſhould not likewiſe work, upon a better Subject, then other *Poore*: As that it ſhould be converted, to the *Relief* of *Maimed Souldiers*, *Decayed Merchants*, *Houſeholders Aged*, and *Deſtitute Church-men*, and the like; Whoſe Condition, being of a better ſort, then looſe *People*, & *Beggars*, deſerveth, both a more *Liberal Stipend*, or *Allowance*, and ſome proper place of *Relief*, not intermingled, or coupled, with the Baſeſt Sort of *Poore*. Which *Project*, though Specious, yet, in my Judgement, will not anſwer the *Deſignment*, in the Event, in theſe our Times. For certainly, few Men in any Vocation, which have been ſome Body, and beare a Mind, ſomewhat according to the Conſcience, and Remembrance, of that they have been, will ever deſcend, to that Condition, as to profeſſe, to live upon *Almes*, and to become, a *Corporation*, of *Declared Beggars*; But rather will chooſe, to live *Obſcurely*, and as it were, to hide themſelves, with ſome private Friends: So that the End, of ſuch an *Inſtitution*, will be, that it will make the Place, a *Receptacle* of the Worſt, Idleſt, and moſt diſſolute Perſons, of every Profeſſion; And to become a *Cell* of *Loyterers*, and *Caſt Serving Men*, and *Drunkards*, with Scandall rather then Fruit, to the *Common Wealth*. And of this kinde, I can find but one *Example* with us; Which is,

the *Almes Knights* of *Windsor*; Which particular, would give a Man, small encouragement, to follow that *President*.

Therefore, the best Effect of *Hospitals*, is, to make the *Kingdome*, if it were possible, capable of that *Law*; *That there be no Beggar in Israel*. For it is that kind of People, that is a burthen, an Eye sore, a scandall, and a Seed, of Perill, and Tumult, in the *State*. But chiefly, it were to be wished, that such a *Beneficence*, towards the *Relief* of the *poor*, were so bestowed; As not onely the *Mere*, and *Naked*, *Poore*, should be sustained; But also, that the *Honest Person*, which hath hard means to live, upon whom the *Poore* are now charged, should be in some sort eased. For that were a *Work*, generally acceptable, to the *Kingdome*, if the *Publick Hand*, of *Almes*, might spare, the *Private Hand*, of *Tax*. And therefore, of all other Employments, of that kind, I commend most, *Houses* of *Relief*, and *Correction*, which are *Mixt Hospitalls*, where the *Impotent Person*, is relieved, and the *Sturdy Beggar*, buckled to work; And the unable Person also, not maintained to be Idle, (which is ever joyned with *Drunkennesse*, and *Impurity*,) But is sorted, with such work, as he can mannage, and perform; And where the uses, are not distinguished, as in other *Hospitals*; Whereof some, are for *Aged*, and *Impotent*; and some for *Children*; And some, for *Correction* of *Vagabonds*; But are generall, and promiscuous. So that, they may take, off *Poore*, of every sort, from the *Countrey*, as the *Countrey* breeds them. And thus, the *Poore* themselves, shall find the *Provision*, and other *People* the sweetnesse, of the *Abatement*, of the *Tax*. Now if it be objected, that Houses of Correction, in all places, have not done the good expected; (as it cannot be denied, but in most places, they have done much Good;) It must be remembred, that there is a great Difference, between that, which is done, by the Distracted Government, of *Justices* of *Peace*; And that, which may be done by a setled *Ordinance* subject to a *Regular Visitation*, as this may be; And besides, the Want hath been, commonly, in *Houses* of *Correction*, of a competent, and Certain, *Stock*, for the *Materialls* of the *Labour*, which, in this case, may be likewise supplied.

Concerning the *Advancement* of *Learning*, I do subscribe, to the Opinion, of one, of the Wisest, and Greatest, Men, of your *Kingdome*. That for *Grammar Schools*, there are already too many; and therefore, no Providence, to adde, where there is Excesse. For the great *Number* of *Schools*, which are in your *Highnesse Realm*, doth cause a *Want*, and doth cause likewise an *Overflow*; Both of them, Inconvenient, and one of them Dangerous. For by Means thereof, they find *Want* in the *Countrey*, and *Towns*, both of *Servants* for *Husbandry*, and *Apprentices* for *Trade*; And, on the other side, there being more *Schollers* bred, then the *State*, can prefer, and Employ; And the Active part, of that life, not bearing a proportion, to the *Preparative*; It must needs fall out, that many *Persons*, will be bred, unfit, for other

Vocations;

Vocations; And *unprofitable* for that in which they are brought up; Which fills the *Realm*, full of *Indigent*, *Idle*, and *Wanton* People, which are but *Materia Rerum novarum*.

Therefore, in this Point, I wish, Mr. *Suttons Intention*, were exalted a Degree; That that, which he meant, for *Teachers* of *Children*, your *Majesty* should make for *Teachers* of *Men*; wherein, it hath been, my ancient Opinion, and Observation; That in the *Universities* of this *Realm*, (which I take to be, of the best endowed *Universities* of *Europe*,) there is Nothing more wanting, towards *the flourishing State* of *Learning*, then the Honourable, and plentifull, *Salaries*, of *Readers*, in Arts, and *Professions*. In which Point, as your *Majesties Bounty*, already, hath made a Beginning; So this Occasion, is offered of *God*, to make a *Proceeding*. Surely, *Readers* in the *Chair*, are, as the *Parents* in *Sciences*, and deserve, to enjoy a Condition, not inferiour to their *Children*, that embrace the *Practicall* Part. Els, no Man, will *sit* longer, in the *Chair*; then till he can *walk*, to a better preferment: And it will come to passe, as *Virgil* saith,

Et Patrum invalidi referent Jejunia Nati.

For, if the Principall *Readers*, through the Meanness, of their Entertainment, be but Men, of superficiall *Learning*; And that, they shall take their place, but in passage; It will make the *Masse* of *Sciences*, want the chief, and solid Dimension, which is *Depth*; and to become, but Pretty, and, compendious, *Habits* of *practice*. Therfore, I could wish, that in both the *Universities*, the *Lectures*, as well of the three *Professions*, *Divinity*, *Law*, and *Physick*; As of the three *Heads* of *Science*, *Philosophy*, *Arts* of *Speech*, and the *Mathematicks*, were raised in their *Pensions*, unto a 100 l. *per Annum*, a piece; Which though it be not near so great, as they are in some other Places, where the Greatness of the Reward, doth whistle for the Ablest Men, out of all *Forrain parts*, to supply the *Chair*; yet it may be a Portion, to content a *Worthy*, and *Able*, Man; If he be, likewise, *Contemplative* in *Nature*; As those *spirits* are, that are Fittest for *Lectures*. Thus may *Learning*, in your *Kingdome*, be advanced, to a further *Heighth*; *Learning*, (I say,) which, under your *Majesty*, the most *Learned* of *Kings*, may claim some *Degree*, of *Elevation*.

Concerning *Propagation* of *Religion*, I shall in few words, set before your *Majesty*, three *Propositions*; None of them, Devises, of mine own, otherwise, then that I ever approved them: Two of which, have been in Agitation, of Speech, and The third acted.

The first is, a *Colledge* for *Controversies*; Whereby, we shall not still proceed Single, but shall, as it were, double our *Files*; Which, certainly, will be found, in the Encounter.

The second is, a Receipt, (I like not the word *Seminary*, in respect, *of the Vain Vowes*, *and implicite Obedience*, and other Things

Things, tending to the *perturbation* of States, involved in that Term;) for *Converts* to the *Reformed Religion*, either of Youth, or otherwise; For, I doubt not, but there are in *Spain*, *Italy*, and other *Countries*, of the *Papists*, many, whose Hearts are touched, with a sense of those Corruptions, and an acknowledgment of a better Way; which *Grace*, is, many times, smothered, and choaked, through a worldly Consideration of *Necessity*, and want; Men not knowing, where to have *Succour*, and *Refuge*. This, likewise, I hold a *Work* of great *Piety*, and a *Work*, of great *Consequence*; That we, also, may be *Wise*, *in our Generation*; And that, the *Watchfull*, and *Silent Night*, may be used, as well for *soming of good Seed*, as of *Tares*.

The third is, the *Imitation* of a Memorable, and Religious Act, of *Queen Elizabeth*; Who finding, *a part* of *Lancashire*, to be extreamly Backward, in *Religion*; And the *Benefices*, swallowed up, in *Impropriations*, did, by *Decree*, in the *Dutchy*, erect four *stipends*, of 100 l. *per Annum*, a piece, for *Preachers*, well chosen, to help the *Harvest*; which have done, a great deal of Good, in the Parts, where they have laboured. Neither do there want, other *Corners*, in the *Realm*, that would require, for a time, the like *Extraordinary Help*.

Thus have I, briefly, delivered, unto your *Majesty*, mine Opinion, touching the *Employment*, of this *Charity*: whereby, that Masse of wealth, which was in the Owner, little better, then a Stack, or Heap, of Muck, may be spread, over your *Kingdome*, to many fruitfull purposes; your *Majesty planting*, and *watering*, and *God giving the Encrease*.

A

PROPOSITION,

TO

His Maiesty,

BY

Sir *FRANCIS BACON*, Knight,

HIS

MAIESTIES

ATTURNEY GENERALL;

AND

One of His PRIVY COUNSELL; Touching the *Compiling*, And *Amendment*, Of the *LAWES*, of *ENGLAND*.

TOVR MAIESTY,

IF Your Favour, Having Made me *Privy Councellor*: And Continuing me, in the Place, of your *Atturney Generall*, (which is more then was these hundred years before,) I do not understand it to be, that by putting off, the dealing, in Causes, between party and party, I should keep Holy-day the more: But that, I should dedicate my time, to your Service, with lesse distraction. Wherefore, in this plentifull Accession of Time, which

which I have now gained, I take it, to be my duty; Not onely to ſpeed your *Commandements*, and the *Buſineſſe*, of my *place*; But to meditate, and to excogitate, of my ſelf, wherein I May beſt, by my Travels, derive your *Vertues*, to the Good of your People; And return, their Thanks, and Increaſe of Love, to you again. And after I had thought, of many things, I could find, in my Judgement, none more proper, for your *Majeſty*, as a Maſter; Nor for me, as a Workman, then the *Reducing*, and Recompiling, of the *Lawes* of *England*.

Your *Majeſty* is a *King*, bleſſed with *Poſterity*; And theſe *Kings*, ſort beſt, with Acts of Perpetuity; When they do not leave them, inſtead of Children; but tranſmit, both *Line*, and *Merit*, to Future Generations. You are a great *Maſter*, in *Juſtice*, and *Judicature*: And it were pitty, that the fruit of that Vertue, ſhould dye with you. Your *Majeſty*, alſo Raigneth, in Learned Times; The more, in regard, Of your own perfections, and patronage of Learning; And it hath been the miſhap, of *Works*, of this *Nature*, that the leſſe Learned Time, hath wrought upon the more Learned; Which now will not be ſo. As for my ſelf, the Law is my profeſſion, to which I am a debter. Some little helps I May have, of other Learning, which may give Form to matter; And your *Majeſty* hath ſet me, in an Eminent place, whereby, in a *Work*, which muſt be the *Work* of many, I may the better have *Coadjutors*. Therefore, not to hold your *Majeſty*, with any long preface, in that, which I conceive to be, nothing leſs then Words; I will proceed to the Matter: Which matter, it ſelf, nevertheleſſe, requireth, ſomewhat briefly to be ſaid, both of the Dignity, and likewiſe of the Safety, and Convenience, of this *Work*; And then to go to the main; That is to ſay, to ſhew, how the *work* is to be done: Which incidently, alſo, will beſt Demonſtrate, that it is no vaſt, nor ſpeculative, Thing; But a Reall, and feizable. *Calliſthenes*, that followed *Alexanders Court*, and was grown, in ſome diſpleaſure, with him; Becauſe he could not well brook the *Perſian Adoration*; At a Supper, (which, with the *Gracians*, was, ever, a great part, *Talk*,) was deſired, becauſe he was an *Eloquent Man*, to ſpeak of ſome *Theam*; which he did; And choſe, for his Theam, The praiſe, of the *Macedonian Nation*; which, though it were, but a filling Thing, to praiſe men, to their Faces; yet he did it, with ſuch Advantage of Truth; and avoydance of *Flattery*, and with ſuch life; As the Hearers were ſo raviſhed with it, that they plucked the *Roſes* off from their *Garlands*, and threw them upon him: As the Manner of Applauſes, then, was: *Alexander* was not pleaſed with it, and, by way of Diſcountenance, ſaid, *It was eaſie, to be a good Orator, in a pleaſing Theam. But*, (ſaith he to *Calliſthenes*,) *turn your ſtile, and tell us now of our Faults, that we may, have the profit, and not you onely the praiſe.* Which he preſently did, with ſuch a force, and ſo piquantly, that *Alexander* ſaid; *The Goodneſſe of his Theam had made him Eloquent before: But*

now

now it was the Malice of his heart, that had inſpired him:

1. *Sir*, I ſhall no fall, into either of thoſe two *Extreames*, Concerning the *Lawes* of *England*: They commend themſelves, beſt to them, that underſtand them: And your *Majeſties*, *Chief Juſtice* of your *Bench*, hath, in his Writings, magnified them, not with out Cauſe: Certainly, they are Wiſe, they are Juſt, and Moderate, *Lawes*; They give to *God*; They give to *Cæſar*; They give to the *Subjects*; that which appertaineth. It is true, They are as mixt, as our *Language*, compounded of *Britiſh*, *Roman*, *Saxon*, *Daniſh*, *Norman*, Cuſtomes. And as our *Language*, is ſo much the Richer, ſo the *Lawes*, are the more compleat; Neither doth this attribute leſſe to them, then thoſe, that would have them, to have ſtood out the ſame, in all *Mutations*; For no *Tree*, is ſo good, firſt ſet, as by *Tranſplanting*.

2. As for the Second *Extream*; I have nothing to do with it, by way, of *Taxing* the *Lawes*. I ſpeak, only, by way of *Perfitting* them: Which is eaſieſt in the beſt things; For that, which is farr amiſſe, hardly receiveth Amendment; But that, which hath already; To that, more may be *Given*. Beſides, what I ſhall propound, is not, to the *Matter* of the *Lawes*, but to the *Manner*, of their *Regiſtry*, *Expreſſion*, and *Tradition*: So that, it giveth them rather *Light*, then any new *Nature*. This being ſo, for the *Dignity*, of the *Worke*, I know, ſcarcely, where to find the like; For, ſurely, that *Scale*, and thoſe *Degrees*, of *Soveraign Honour*, are true, and rightly marſhalled. Firſt, the *Founders* of *Eſtates*; Then the *Law givers*; Then the *Deliverers*, and *Saviours*, after long Calamities; Then the *Fathers* of their *Countries*; Which are Juſt, and Prudent, *Princes*; And Laſtly, Conquerors, which Honour, is not to be received, amongſt the reſt; Except it be, where there is an addition of more Country, and Territory, to a better Government, then that was of the *Conquered*. Of theſe in my Judgement, your *Majeſty*, may, with more truth, then flattery, be intituled, to the firſt; becauſe of your *Uniting* of *Britain*, & *Planting Ireland*; Both which ſavour of the *Founder*. That, wch I now propound to you, may adopt you, alſo, into the Second: *Law-givers*, have Been called, *Principes Perpetui*; Becauſe, as *Biſhop Gardner* ſaid, in a bad Senſe, that he would be *Biſhop*, an hundred years, after his death, in reſpect of the Long *Leaſes* he made: So *Law-givers*, are ſtill *Kings*, and *Rulers*, after their *Deceaſe*, in their *Lawes*. But this *Worke*, ſhining ſo in it ſelf, needes no Taper. For the ſafety, and convenience, thereof; It is good to conſider, and to anſwer thoſe *Objections*, or *Scruples*, which may ariſe, or be made, againſt this *Worke*.

Obj. 1. That it is a Thing needleſſe; And that the *Law*, as it now is, is in good Eſtate; Comparable to any *Forrain Law*; And that, it is not poſſible, for the Wit of Man, in reſpect of the Frailty thereof, to provide, againſt the Incertainties, and Evaſions, or Omiſſions, of *Law*.

which I have now gained, I take it, to be my duty; Not onely to ſpeed your *Commandements*, and the *Buſineſſe*, of my *place*; But to meditate, and to excogitate, of my ſelf, wherein I May beſt, by my Travels, derive your *Vertues* to the Good of your People; And return, their Thanks, and Increaſe of Love, to you again. And after I had thought, of many things, I could find, in my Judgement, none more proper, for your *Majeſty*, as a Maſter; Nor for me, as a Workman, then the *Reducing*, and Recompiling, of the *Lawes* of *England*.

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now

now it was the Malice of his heart, that had inſpired him:

1. *Sir*, I ſhall no fall, into either of thoſe two *Extreames*, Concerning the *Lawes* of *England*: They commend themſelves, beſt to them, that underſtand them: And your *Majeſties*, *Chief Juſtice* of your *Bench*, hath, in his Writings, magnified them, not with out Cauſe: Certainly, they are Wiſe, they are Juſt, and Moderate, *Lawes*; They give to *God*; They give to *Cæſar*; They give to the *Subjects*; that which appertaineth. It is true, They are as mixt, as our *Language*, compounded of *Brittiſh*, *Roman*, *Saxon*, *Daniſh*, *Norman*, Cuſtomes. And as our *Language*, is ſo much the Richer, ſo the *Lawes*, are the more compleat; Neither doth this attribute leſſe to them, then thoſe, that would have them, to have ſtood out the ſame, in all *Mutations*; For no *Tree*, is ſo good, firſt ſet, as by *Tranſplanting*.

2. As for the Second *Extream*; I have nothing to do with it, by way, of *Taxing* the *Lawes*. I ſpeak, only, by way of *Perfitting* them: Which is eaſieſt in the beſt things; For that, which is farr amiſſe, hardly receiveth Amendment; But that, which hath already; To that, more may be *Given*. Beſides, what I ſhall propound, is not, to the *Matter* of the *Lawes*, but to the *Manner*, of their *Regiſtry*, *Expreſſion*, and *Tradition*: So that, it giveth them rather *Light*, then any new *Nature*. This being ſo, for the *Dignity*, of the *Worke*, I know, ſcarcely, where to find the like; For, ſurely, that *Scale*, and thoſe *Degrees*, of *Soveraign Honour*, are true, and rightly marſhalled. Firſt, the *Founders* of *Eſtates*; Then the *Law givers*; Then the *Deliverers*, and *Saviours*, after long Calamities; Then the *Fathers* of their *Countries*; Which are Juſt, and Prudent, *Princes*; And Laſtly, Conquerors, which Honour, is not to be received, amongſt the reſt; Except it be, where there is an addition of more Country, and Territory, to a better Government, then that was of the *Conquered*. Of theſe in my Judgement, your *Majeſty*, may, with more truth, then flattery, be intituled, to the firſt; becauſe of your *Uniting* of *Britain*, & *Planting Ireland*; Both which ſavour of the *Founder*. That, wch I now propound to you, may adopt you, alſo, into the Second: *Law-givers*, have Been called, *Principes Perpetui*; Becauſe, as *Biſhop Gardner* ſaid, in a bad Senſe, that he would be *Biſhop*, an hundred years, after his death, in reſpect of the Long *Leaſes* he made: So *Law-givers*, are ſtill *Kings*, and *Rulers*, after their *Deceaſe*, in their *Lawes*. But this *Worke*, ſhining ſo in it ſelf, needes no Taper. For the ſafety, and convenience, thereof; It is good to conſider, and to anſwer thoſe *Objections*, or *Scruples*, which may ariſe, or be made, againſt this *Worke*.

Obj. 1. That it is a Thing needleſſe; And that the *Law*, as it now is, is in good Eſtate; Comparable to any *Forrain Law*; And that, it is not poſſible, for the Wit of Man, in reſpect of the Frailty thereof, to provide, againſt the Incertainties, and Evaſions, or Omiſſions, of *Law*.

Reſp. For the Compariſon, with *Forraine Lawes*, it is in vaine, to ſpeak of it; For men will never agree about it. Our *Lawyers*, will maintain, for our *Municipall Lawes*; *Civilians*, *Schollars*, *Travaillers*, will be of the other Opinion.

But Certain it is, that our *Lawes*, as they now ſtand, are ſubject to great Incertainties, and variety of Opinion, Delayes, and Evaſions; Whereof enſueth.

1. That the *Multiplicity*, and length of Suites, is great.

2. That the Contentious Perſon, is armed, and the Honeſt Subject, Wearied, and Oppreſſed.

3. That the *Judge*, is more *Abſolute*; Who, in doubtfull Caſes, hath a greater ſtroak, and Liberty.

4. That the *Chancery Courts*, are more filled, the Remedy of *Law*, being often obſcure, and doubtfull.

5. That the ignorant *Lawyer*, ſhrowdeth his Ignorance of *Law*, in that, doubts are ſo frequent, and many.

6. That Mens *Aſſurances*, of their *Lands*, and *Eſtates*, by *Patents*, *Deedes*, *Wills*, are often ſubject to queſtion, and hollow; And many the like Inconveniencies.

It is a good Rule, and Direction, (For that all *Lawes*, *Secundum Magis & Minus*, do participate of Incertainties,) That followeth: Mark, whether the Doubts, that ariſe, are, only, in Caſes of Ordinary Experience, Or, which happen not every day? If in the firſt, Only, impute it to frailty, of Mans foreſight, that cannot reach, by *Law*, to all *Caſes*: But if in the Latter; be aſſured, there is a fault in the Law. Of this, I ſay no more, but, that, (To give every Man his Due,) Had it not been, for Sr. *Edward Cookes Reports*, (which, though they may have Errors, and ſome peremptory, and Extrajudiciall Reſolutions, more then are warranted: Yet they containe, infinite good *Deciſions*, and *Rulings* over, of *Caſes*.)

The *Law*, by this Time, had been, almoſt, like a Ship, without ballaſt; For that the *Caſes*, of Modern Experience, are fled from thoſe, that are adjudged, and ruled, in Former time. But the *Neceſſity*, of this *Worke*, is yet greater, in the *Statute Law*. For Firſt, there are a number, of *Enſnaring*, *Penall Lawes*, which lay upon the *Subject*; And if, in bad times, they ſhould be awaked, and put in Execution, would grinde them to powder.

There is a learned *Civilian*, that expoundeth, the *Curſe* of the *Prophet*: *Pluet ſuper eos Laqueos*, of Multitude, of *Penall Lawes*: Which are worſe, then ſhowres of Hayle, or Tempeſt, upon Cattle; for they fall upon *Men*.

There are ſome *Penall Lawes*, fit to be retained, but their *Penalty* too great, And it is ever a Rule, that any over great *Penalty*, (beſides the *Acerbity* of it,) deads the *Execution* of the *Law*.

There is a further Inconvenience, of *Penall Lawes*, *Obſolete*, and *out of Uſe*; For that it brings a *Gangrene*, *Neglect*, and *Habite* of *Diſobedience*,

bedience, upon other wholesome *Lawes*, that are fit to be continued, in *Practise*, and *Execution*: So that our *Lawes*, endure the *Torment* of *Mezentius*.

The living die in the Armes of the dead.

Lastly, there is, such an *Accumulation*, of *Statutes*, concerning one matter; And they so crosse, and intricate, as the *Certainty* of *Law*, is lost in the *Heape*; As your *Majesty*, had Experience, last day, upon the *Point*: Whether the *Incendiary* of *New-market*, should have the benefit, of his *Clergy*.

Obj. 1. That it is a great *Innovation*; And *Innovations*, are *dangerous*, beyond foresight.

Resp. All *Purgings*, and *Medecines*, either in the *Civile*, or *Naturall*, Body, are *Innovations*. So as that *Argument*, is a *Common place*, against all *Noble Reformations*. But the troth is, that this work, ought not to be termed, or held, for any Innovation, in the suspected sense. For those are the *Innovations*, which are quarrelled, and spoken against, that concern the Consciences, Estates, and Fortunes, of particular persons: But this of General Ordinance, pricketh not particulars, but passeth *Sine Strepitu*. Besides, it is on the favourable part: For it easeth, it presseth not: And lastly, it is, rather, matter, of *Order*, and explanation, then of Alteration. Neither is this, without President, in former *Governments*.

The *Romans*, by their *Decemvirs*, did make their *Twelve Tables*; But that was, indeed, a new *Enacting*, or *Constituting*, of *Lawes*, Not a *Registring*, or *Recompiling*: And they were made, out of the *Lawes*, of the *Græcians*, not out of their own *Customes*.

In *Athens*, they had *Sexvir*, which were standing *Commissioners*, to watch, and to discern, what *Lawes*, waxed unproper, for the *Time*; And what new *Law*, did, in any branch, crosse, a former *Law*, and so, *Ex Officio*, propounded their Repeales.

King Lewis, the 11th. of *France*, had it in his intention, to have made, one perfite, and uniform, *Law*, out of the *Civil Law Roman*, and the *Povinciall Customes*, of *France*.

Justinian, the *Emperour*, by Commissions, directed, to divers persons, *Learned* in the *Lawes*, reduced the *Roman Lawes*, from *Vastnes* of Volume, and a *Labyrinth* of incertainties, Unto that course, of the *Civill Law*, which is now in use. I find, here at home, of late years, That *King Henry* the 8th. in the Twenty seventh of his *Raign*, was authorized, by Parliament, to nominate Thirty two *Commissioners*, part *Ecclesiasticall*, part Temporall, to purge the *Canon Law*, and to make it agreeable, to the *Law* of *God*, and the *Law*, of the Realm; And the same was revived, in the Fourth year, of *Edward* the 6th. though neither took effect.

For the *Lawes* of *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Ninos*, and others, of ancient time, they are not the worse, because *Grammer Schollars*, speak of them. But things too ancient, wax *Children*, with us again.

Edgar, the *Saxon King*, collected, the *Lawes* of this *Kingdome*, and gave them the Strength, of a Faggot bound, which formerly were diſperſed.

The *Statutes*, of *King Edward*, the Firſt, were fundamentall; But I doubt I err, in producing ſo many *Examples*; For, as *Cicero* ſaith to *Cæſar*, ſo may I ſay, to your *Majeſty:*

Nil Vulgare te Dignum Videri poſſit.

Obj. 3. In this purging, of the courſe, of the *Common Lawes*, and *Statutes*, much good may be taken away.

Reſp. In all Purging, ſome good *Humours*, may paſs away; But that, is largely recompenſed, by Lightning, the Body, of much bad.

Obj. 4. Labour were better beſtowed, in bringing the *Common Lawes*, of *England*, to a *Text Law*, as the *Statutes* are; And ſetting, both of them down, in *Method*, and by *Titles*.

Reſp. It is too long a Buſineſſe, to debate, whether *Lex Scripta, aut non Scripta*, A *Text* Law, or *Cuſtomes* well regiſtred, with received, and approved *Grounds*, and *Maximes*, and Acts, and Reſolutions Judiciall, from Time to Time, duely entred, and reported; Be the better Form, of Declaring, and Authorizing, *Lawes:* It was the principall Reaſon, or *Oracle*, of *Lycurgus*; That none, of his *Lawes*, ſhould be written. *Cuſtomes*, are *Lawes* written, in *Living Tables*: And ſome *Traditions*, the *Church* doth not diſauthorize. In all Sciences, they are the ſoundeſt, that keep cloſe to *Particulars*; And ſure I am, there are more *Doubts*, that riſe upon our *Statutes*, which are a *Text Law*, then upon the *Common Law*, which is no *Text Law*. But, howſoever that Queſtion be determined, I dare not adviſe to caſt the *Law*, into a new *Mould*. The work, which I propound, tendeth to proyning, and Grafting, the *Law*; And not, to *Plow up* and *Planting it again*: for ſuch a Remove, I ſhould hold, indeed, for a perillous *Innovation*.

Obj. 5. It will turn the *Iudges*, *Counſellors* of *Law*, and *Students* of *Law*, to ſchoole again; And make them, to ſeek, what they ſhall hold, and adviſe for *Law*; And, it will impoſe, a new charge, upon all *Lawyers*, to furniſh themſelves, with new Bookes of *Law*.

Reſp. For the Former of thoſe, touching the new Labour; It is true, it would follow, if the *Law*, were new moulded, into a *Text Law*; For then, Men muſt be new to begin: And that is one of the Reaſons, for which, I diſallow that Courſe.

But in the way, that I ſhall now propound, the *entire Body*, and *Subſtance* of *Law*, ſhall remain; Onely diſcharged, of Idle, and Unprofitable, or Hurtfull, Matter: and Illuſtrated, by Order, and other Helps, towards the better Underſtanding of it, and Judgement thereupon.

For

For the Latter, touching the *new charge*, it is not worth the ſpeaking of, in a matter, of ſo high importance; It mought have been uſed, of the *New Tranſlation*, of the *Bible*, and ſuch like *Workes*. *Bookes* muſt follow *Sciences*, and not *Sciences*, *Bookes*.

The Work *it Self*; *And the* Way *to* Reduce, *And* Recompile, *the* Lawes *of* England.

THIS Work, is to be done, (to uſe ſome few words, which is the *Language* of *Action*, and *Effect*,) in this manner.

It conſiſteth of two parts: The *Digeſt*, or *Recompiling*, of the *Common Lawes*: And that of the *Statutes*.

In the firſt of theſe, Three Things are to be done.

1. The *Compiling* of a *Booke*, De *Antiquitatibus Juris*.

2. The *Reducing*, or *Perfecting*, of the *Courſe*, or *Corps*, of the *Common Lawes*.

3. The Compoſing, of certain *Introductive*, and *Auxiliary Bookes*, touching the Study, of the *Lawes*.

For the firſt of theſe. All *Auncient Records*, in your *Tower*, or elſe where, Containing Acts of *Parliament*, *Lords Patents*, *Commiſſions*, and *Judgements*, and the like, are to be Searched, Peruſed, and Weighed. And out of theſe, are to be ſelected, thoſe that are of moſt Worth, and Weight; And in order of *Time*, not of *Titles*, (for the more *Conformity*, with the *Teare-Bookes*;) to be ſet Down, and Regiſtred; Rarely, in *hæc Verba*; But ſummed with Judgement, not omitting any materiall part: Theſe are to be uſed, for *Reverend Preſidents*, but not for *Binding Authorities*.

For the Second, which is the Maine; There is to be made, a perfect *Courſe*, of the *Law*, in *Serie Temporis*, or *Teare-Bookes*, (As we call them,) from *Edward* the Firſt, to this Day; In the *Compiling*, of this *Courſe*, of *Law*, or *Teare-Bookes*, The points following, are to be obſerved.

Firſt, all *Caſes*, which are, at this Day, clearely, no *Law*; but conſtantly ruled, to the contrary, are to be left out: They do but fill the *Volumes*, and ſeaſon the Wits of *Students*, in a contrary ſenſe of *Law*. And ſo likewiſe, all *Caſes*, wherein that is ſolemnly, and long debated, whereof there is now no Queſtion at all, are to be entred, as *Judgements only*, and *Reſolutions*; But without the *Arguments*, which are now become but frivolous: Yet for the Obſervation, of the deeper ſort of *Lawyers*, that they may ſee, how the *Law* hath altered, out of which they may pick ſometimes good uſe; I do adviſe; That upon the firſt in time, of theſe *Obſolete Caſes*, there were a *Memorandum* ſet; That, at that time, the

Law

Law, was thus taken, untill ſuch a time, *&c.*

Secondly, *Homonymiæ*, (as *Juſtinian* calleth them;) That is *Caſes meerly*, of *Iteration*, and *Repetition*, are to be purged away; And the *Caſes*, of *Identity*, which are beſt *Reported*, and *Argued*, to be retained, inſtead of the Reſt; The *Judgements*, nevertheleſſe, to be ſet down, every one, in time, as they are; But with a Quotation, or Reference, to the *Caſe*, where the *Point*, is argued at large; but if the Caſe, conſiſt, part of *Repetition*, part of new *Matter*, The *Repetition*, is, onely, to be omitted.

Thirdly, as to the *Antinomiæ*, Caſes Judged to the Contrary; It were too great a truſt, to refer, to the Judgement, of the *Compoſers*, of this *work*; to decide the Law either way; except there be, a currant ſtream, of Judgements, of later times: and then, I reckon the *Contrary Caſes*, amongſt *Caſes Obſolete*; of which I have ſpoken before: Nevertheleſſe, this diligence would be uſed, that ſuch *Caſes* of *Contradiction*, be ſpecially noted, and collected; to the end, thoſe *Doubts*, that have been ſo long *Militant*, May either, by aſſembling, All the *Judges*, in the *Exchequer Chamber*, or by *Parliament*, be put into certainty. For to do it, by bringing them in queſtion, under fained parties, is to be diſliked. *Nil habeat Forum ex ſcenâ.*

Fourthly, All *Idle Quæries*, which are but *Seminaries*, of *Doubts*, and *Incertainties*, are to be left out, and omitted, and no *Quæries* ſet down, but of great *Doubts*, well debated, and left undecided, for difficulty; But no *doubting*, or *upſtarting*, *Quæries*: Which, though they be touched in Argument, for Explanation; yet were better to die, then to be put into the *Bookes*.

Laſtly, *Caſes Reported*, with too great prolixity, would be drawn, into a more Compendious *Report*; Not in the Nature of an *Abridgement*, but *Tautologies*, and Impertinences, to be cut off: As for *Miſprinting*, and *Inſenſible Reporting*, which, many times, confound the *Students*, that will be, *Obiter*, amended; But more principally, if there be any thing in the *Report*, which is is not well warranted, by the *Record*, that is alſo to be rectified; The Courſe being thus Compiled, Then it reſteth, but for your *Majeſty*, to appoint ſome grave, and ſound, *Lawyers*, with ſome honourable ſtipend, to be *Reporters*, for the Time to come; And then, this is ſetled, for all times.

This *Conſtitution*, of *Reporters*, I obtained of the *King*, after I was *Chancellour*, and there are two, appointed, with a 100. l. a year, a peece, ſtipend.

FOR the *Auxiliary Books*, that Conduce, to the Study, and *Science*, of the *Law*, they are three: *Inſtitutions*; A Treatiſe, *de Regulis Juris*; And a better *Book*, *De verborum ſignificationibus*, or *Terms* of the *Law*. For the *Inſtitutions*, I know well there be *Books* of *Introductions*, (wherewith *Students* begin) of good worth,

worth; Specially *Littleton*, and *Fitzherbert*; *Natura Brevium*, But theyare, no wayes, of the Nature, of an *Inſtitutions*; The Office whereof, is, to be a *Key*, and generall preparation, to the *Reading*, of the *Courſe*. And principally, it ought to have, two Properties; The one, a perſpicuous, and clear, *Order*, or *Method*; And, the other, an *Univerſall Latitude, or Comprehenſion*; That the *Students*, may have a little *Præ-Notion*, of every Thing, Like a *Modell*, towards a great *Building*. For the Treatiſe, *de Regulis Juris*, I hold it, of all other Things, the moſt important, to the Health, (as I may term it,) and good *Inſtitutions*, of any *Laws*. It is, indeed, like the ballaſt of a Ship, to keep, all upright, and ſtable: But I have ſeen little, in this kind, either in our *Law*, or other *Lawes*, that ſatisfieth me. The *naked Rule*, or *Maxime*, doth not the Effect. It muſt be made uſefull, by good *Differences*, *Ampliations*, and *Limitations*, warranted by good Authorities; And this, not by Raiſing up, of Quotations, and References, but by Diſcourſe, and Deducement, in a *Juſt Tractate*. In this, I have travelled my ſelf, at the firſt, more curſorily; ſince, with more Diligence; And will go on with it, if *God*, and your *Majeſty*, will give me leave. And I do aſſure your *Majeſty*, I am in good hope, that when, Sir *Edward Cookes* Reports, and my Rules, and *Deciſions*, ſhall come to *Poſterity*, there will be, (whatſoever is now thought,) Queſtion, who was the greater *Lawyer?* For the *Bookes*, of the *Termes*, of the *Law*, There is a poore one; But I wiſh, a Diligent one, wherein, ſhould be compriſed, not onely, the *Expoſition*, of the *Termes*, of *Law*; but of the *Words*, of all auncient Records, and *Preſidents*.

For the *Abridgements*, I could wiſh, if it were poſſible, that none mought uſe them, but ſuch, as had read the *Courſe*; Firſt, that they mought ſerve, for Repertories, to Learned Lawyers, and not, to make a Lawyer, in haſt; But ſince, that cannot be, I wiſh there were a good Abridgement, compoſed, of the Two that are exſtant, and in better order. So much for the *Common Law*.

Statute Law.

FOR the *Reforming*, and *Recompiling*, of the *Statute Law*, It conſiſteth of Foure parts.

1. The Firſt, to diſcharge, the *Bookes*, of thoſe *Statutes*, whereas, the *Caſe*, by *Alteration* of time, is vaniſhed; As *Lombards Jewes*, *Gauls* halfe Pence; &c. Thoſe may, nevertheleſſe, remaine, in the *Libraries*, for Antiquities, but no *Reprinting* of them. The like, of *Statutes*, long ſince expired, and clearly repealed; For if the

the *Repeale* be doubtfull, it muſt be ſo propounded to the *Parliament*.

2. The next is, to repeale all *Statutes*, which are *Sleeping*, and not of *uſe*, but yet *ſnaring*, and in *Force*; In ſome of thoſe, it will, perhaps, be requiſite, to ſubſtitute, ſome more Reaſonable *Law*, inſtead of them, agreeable to the time; In others, a ſimple *Repeale* may ſuffice.

3. The Third, that the Grievouſneſſe, of the *Penalty*, in many *Statutes*, be mitigated, though the *Ordinance* ſtand.

4. The laſt is, the Reducing, of *Concurrent Statutes*, heaped one upon another, to one clear, and uniform, *Law*. Towards this, there hath been, already, upon my motion, and your *Majeſties* Direction, a great deal, of good paines taken: My *Lord Hobert*, My *Self*, *Sergant Finch*, Mr. *Hennage Finch*, Mr. *Noye*, Mr. *Hackwell*, and others: Whoſe Labours, being of a great bulk, it is not fit, now, to trouble your *Majeſty*, with any further particularity, therein: Onely, by this, you may perceive, the *Worke*, is already advanced: But becauſe, this part of the *Worke*, which concerneth the *Statute Lawes*, muſt of neceſſity, come to *Parliament*; And the *Houſes*, will beſt like that, which themſelves guide; And the Perſons, that themſelves imploy; The way were, to Imitate, the preſident, of the *Commiſſioners*, for the *Canon Lawes*, in 27. *Hen.* 8. and 4. *Edw.* 6. And the *Commiſſioners*, for the *Union*, of the two Realmes. *Prime*, of your *Majeſty*; And ſo, to have the *Commiſſioners*, named, by both *Houſes*; but not, with a precedent power, to Conclude; But only, to prepare, and propound to Parliament: This is the beſt way, I conceive, to accompliſh, this Excellent *Worke*, of *Honour*, to your *Majeſties Times*, and of *Good* to all Times: Which I ſubmit, to your *Majeſties* better Judgement.

A FRAGMENT, OF AN ESSAY, OF FAME.

THe *Poets* make *Fame* a *Monſter*. They deſcribe her, in Part, finely, and elegantly; and, in part, gravely, and ſententiouſly. They ſay, look how many *Feathers* ſhe hath, ſo many *Eyes* ſhe hath underneath: So many Tongues; So many Voyces; She pricks up ſo many Ears.

This is a *flouriſh*: There follow excellent *Parables*; As that, ſhe gathereth ſtrength in going; That ſhe goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That, in the day time, ſhe ſitteth in a *Watch Tower*, and flyeth, moſt, by night: That ſhe mingleth Things done, with things not done: And that ſhe is a Terrour to great *Cities*: But that, which paſſeth all the reſt, is: They do recount, that the *Earth*, *Mother* of the *Gyants*, that made War againſt *Jupiter*, and were by him deſtroyed, thereupon, in an anger, brought forth *Fame*: For certain it is, That *Rebels*, figured by the *Gyants*, and *Seditious Fames*, and *Libels*, are but *Brothers*, and *Siſters*; *Maſculine*, and *Feminine*. But now, if a Man can tame this *Monſter*, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowle, and kill them, it is ſomewhat worth. But we are infected, with the ſtile of the

Poets. To ſpeak now, in a ſad, and ſerious manner: There is not, in all the Politiques, a *Place*, leſſe handled, and more worthy to be handled, then this of *Fame.* We will, therefore, ſpeak of theſe *points.* What are falſe *Fames*; And what are true *Fames*; And how they may be beſt diſcerned; How *Fames*, may be ſown, and raiſed; How they may be ſpread, and multiplyed; And how they may be checked, and layed dead. And other Things; concerning the *Nature* of *Fame.* *Fame*, is of that force, as there is, ſcarcely, any great Action wherein, it hath not, a great part; Eſpecially, in the *War.* *Mucianus* undid *Vitellius* by a *Fame*, that he ſcattered; That *Vitellius* had in purpoſe, to remove the *Legions* of *Syria*, into *Germany*; And the Legions of *Germany*, into *Syria:* whereupon the *Legions* of *Syria* were infinitely inflamed. *Julius Cæſar*, took *Pompey* unprovided, and layed aſleep his induſtry, and preparations, by a *Fame* that he cunningly gave out; How *Cæſars* own Souldiers loved him not; And being wearied with the Wars, and Laden with the ſpoyles of Gaul, would forſake him, as ſoon as he came into *Italy.* *Livia*, ſetled all things, for the Succeſſion, of her Son *Tiberius*, by continuall giving out, that her husband *Auguſtus*, was upon Recovery, and amendment. And it is an uſuall thing, with the *Baſſhawes*, to conceale the Death of the great *Turk* from the *Jannizaries*, and men of War, to ſave the Sacking of *Conſtantinople*, and other *Towns*, as their Manner is. *Themiſtocles*, made *Zerxes*, King of *Perſia* poaſt apace out of *Græcia*, by giving out, that the *Græcians*, had a purpoſe, to break his *Bridge*, of Ships, which he had made athwart *Helleſpont.* There be a thouſand ſuch like *Examples*; And the more they are, the leſſe they need to be repeated; Becauſe a Man, meeteth with them, every where: Therefore, let all Wiſe *Governers*, have as great a watch, and care, over *Fames*, as they have, of the *Actions*, and Deſignes themſelves.

The reſt was not Finiſhed.

LETTERS

A CIVIL CHARACTER OF *IVLIVS CÆSAR.*

Written in Latine by his Lordſhip, but Engliſhed by the Publiſher.

IVLIVS CÆSAR was partaker, at firſt, of an exerciſed Fortune; which turned to his benefit: For it abated the Haughtineſs of his ſpirit, and whetted his Induſtry. He had a Minde, *Turbulent* in his Deſires and Affections; but in his judgement and underſtanding very *ſerene*, and *placide*: And this appears, by his eaſy deliverances of Himſelf, both in his Tranſactions, and in his Speech. For no Man, ever reſolved more ſwiftly, or ſpake more perſpicuouſly, and plainly. There was nothing forced, or difficult, in his Expreſſions. But in his will, and appetite, he was of that Condition, that he never reſted in thoſe things he had gotten; but ſtill thirſted, and purſued after new; yet ſo, that he would not ruſh into new Affairs raſhly, but ſettle and make an end of the former, before he attempted freſh Actions. So that, he would put a ſeaſonable period to all his Undertakings. And therefore, though he won many Battels in *Spain*, and weakned their *Forces* by degrees; yet he would not give over, nor deſpiſe the Reliques of the *Civill War* there, till he had ſeen all Things compoſed: But then, aſſoon as that was done, and the State ſetled, inſtantly he advanced in his Expedition againſt the *Parthians*.

He was, no doubt, of a very noble Minde; but yet ſuch, as

aimed more at his *particular Advancement*, then at any *Merits* for the *Common Good*. For he referred all things to *Himselfe*; and was the true, and perfect *Center* of all his Actions. By which meanes, being so fast tyed to his Ends, he was still prosperous, and prevailed in his Purposes: Insomuch, that neither *Countrey*, nor *Religion*, nor good *Turns* done him, nor *Kindred*, nor *Friendship*, diverted his Appetite, or bridled him from pursuing his own Ends. Neither was he much enclined to *workes* of *Perpetuity*; For he establisshed nothing for the future; He founded no sumptuous *Buildings*; He procured to be enacted no wholsom *Lawes*, but still minded himselfe: and so his Thoughts were confined within the Circle of his own Life. He sought indeed after *Fame* and *Reputation*, becaus he thought they might be profitable to his Designes. Otherwise, in his inward Thoughts, he propounded to himself, rather *Absoluteness* of *Power*, then *Honour*, and *Fame*. For as for *Honour*, and *Fame*, he pursued not after them, for themselves; But because they were the Instruments of *Power* and *Greatness*. And therefore, he was carried on, through a Naturall Inclination, not by any Rules that he had learned, to affect the sole *Regiment*; and rather to *enjoy* the same, then to *seem worthy* of it. And by this means he won much Reputation amongst the *People*, who are no valuers of true Worth: But amongst the *Nobility*, and great Men, who were tender of their own Honours, it procured him no more then this, that he incurred the Brand of an *Ambitious*, and *Daring* Man.

Neither did they much err from the Truth, who thought him so; For he was, by Nature, exceeding *Bold*; And did never put on any shew of *Modesty*, except it were for some purposes. Yet notwithstanding, he so attempered his *Boldness*, that it neither impeached him of Rashness; nor was burthensome to men; nor rendred his Nature suspected, but was conceived to flow out of an Innate Sincerity, and freeness of Behaviour; and the *Nobility* of his *Birth*: And in all other Things he passed; Not for a *Crafty*, and *Deceitfull* Person; But for an *open-Hearted*, and *plain-Dealing* Man. And whereas he was indeed an *Arch Politician*, that could counterfeit, and dissemble, sufficiently well; And was wholly compounded, of *Frauds*, and *Deceits*; so that there was nothing *sincere* in Him, but all *Artificiall*; yet he covered, and disguised Himself so, that no such Vices appeared to the Eyes of the World; But he was generally reputed, to proceed, plainly and uprightly, with all Men. Howbeit, He did not stoop to any petty and mean *Artifices*; As they do, which are ignorant, in State-Employments; And depend not so much upon the strength of their owne Wits, as upon the Counsels, and Brains of others, to support their Authority: For he was skilled in the Turnings of all Humane Affairs; and transacted all Matters, especially those of High Consequence, by Himself, and not by others.

He

He was singularly skilfull, to avoid *Envy*; And found it not impertinent, to his Ends, to decline that, though it were, with some diminution of his *Dignity*. For aiming at a *Reall power*, He was content to pass by all vain Pompe, and outward shews of Power, throughout his whole Life; Till at the last, whether High-flown, with the continuall *Exercise* of *Power*, or corrupted with *Flatteries*, He affected the *Ensignes* of *Power*, (The *Stile* and *Diadem* of a *King*,) which was the Bait that wrought his overthrow.

This is true, that he harboured the Thoughts, of a *Kingdome*, from his very youth: And hereunto, the *Example* of *Sylla*, and the *Kindred* of *Marius*, and his *Emulation* of *Pompey*, and the *Corruption* and *Ambition* of the *Times*, did prick him forward: But then, he paved his way to a *Kingdome*, after a wonderfull, and strange Manner. As first, by a *Popular* and *Seditious* power; Afwards by a *Military power*, and that of a *Generall in War*. For there was required, to effect his Ends; First, that he should break the *Power*, and *Authority* of the *Senate*; which, as long, as it stood firme, was adverse, and an Hinderance, that no Man could climbe to *Soveraignty*, and *Imperiall Command*. Then the *Power*, of *Crassus*, and *Pompey*, was to be subdued, and quelled, which could not be done otherwise, than by *Armes*. And therefore, (as the most *Cunning Contriver*, of his own *Fortune*,) he laid his first Foundation by *Bribes*; By corrupting the *Courts* of *Justice*; By renewing the *Memory*, of *Caius Marius*, and his party; For most of the *Senatours*, and *Nobility*, were of *Sylla's Faction*: By the *Lawes*, of *Distributing* the *Fields*, amongst the *Common people*; By the *Sedition* of the *Tribunes*, whereof he was the *Author*: By the *Madnesse*, and *Fury*, of *Cataline*, and the *Conspirators*, unto which Action, He secretly blew the Coals! By the *Banishment* of *Cicero*, which was the greatest Blow, to the Authority, of the *Senate*, as might be; And severall other, the like *Arts*; But most of all, by the *Conjunction*, of *Crassus*, and *Pompey*, both betwixt themselves, and with Him; which was the thing that finished the work.

Having accomplished this part, He betook Himselfe to the other; which was to *make use* of, and to *enjoy* his *power*. For being made *Proconsul* of *France*, for five years; And afterwards continuing it for five years more; He furnished himselfe, with *Armes*, and *Legions*, and the power of a Warlike, and Opulent *Province*; And was formidable to *Italy*.

Neither was he ignorant, that after he had strengthened Himself with *Armes*, and a *Military power*, neither *Crassus* nor *Pompey*, could ever be able, to bear up against him; whereof the one trusted, to his great Riches; The other to his Fame, & Reputation; The one decayed through age; The other, in power, and authority: And neither of them were grounded, upon true and lasting

Foundations. And the rather, for that He had obliged, all the *Senatorss*, and *Magistrates*: And, in a word, all those that had any power, in the *Common-wealth*, so firmly to Himself, with private Benefits; That he was fearless, of any Combination, or Opposition, against his Designes, till he had openly invaded the *Imperiall power*.

Which thing, though he always bare in his Mind; And, at the last, acted it; yet he did not lay nown his former person: But coloured things so; That what with the reasonableness of his Demands; What with his pretences of Peace; and what with the Moderate use of his Successes; He turned all the *Envy* of the *Adverse party*; and seemed to take up *Armes* upon necessity for his own preservation, and safety. But the falseness of this pretence manifestly appeared; Inasmuch as soon after, having obtained the *Regall Power*, all *Civill Wars* being appeased; and all his *Rivals*, and *Opposites*, which might put him to any fear, being removed out out of the way by the stroke of *Death*; Notwithstanding he never thought of *resigning* the *Republicke*; No, nor ever made any shew, or offer of *resigning* the same. Which shewed plainly, that his ambition of being a *King*, was setled in him, and remained with him unto his last breath. For he did not lay hold upon Occasions, as they happened, but moulded, and formed the Occasions, as himself pleased.

His chief *Abilities* consisted in *Martiall Knowledge*; In which he so excelled, that he could not onely *lead* an Army, but *mould* an Army, to his owne liking. For he was not more skilfull in managing Affairs, than in *winning* of Hearts. Neither did he affect this by any ordinary Discipline, as by inuring them to fulfill all his commands; or by striking a shame into them to disobey, or by carrying a severe Hand over them: But by such a way, as did wonderfully stirre up an alacrity, and cheerfulness in them: and did in a sort assure him of the Victory aforehand, and which did oblige the Souldier to him, more than was fit, for a *Free Estate*. Now whereas he was versed in all kinds of *Martiall knowledge*, and joyned *Civill Arts*, with the *Arts* of *War*; Nothing came so suddenly, or so unlooked for upon him; for which he had not a remedy ready at hand: And nothing was so adverse, but that he could pick something for his Turne, and Benefit out of it.

He *stood* sufficiently upon his *State*, & *Greatness*. For in great Battails, he would sit at home, in the *Head Quarter*, and manage all Things by *Messages*, which wrought him a double benefit. First, that it secured his *Person* more, and exposed him the less to *Danger*. Secondly, that if at any time his *Army* was worsted, he could put new spirit into them with his own presence, and the *Addition* of *fresh Forces*, and turn the *Fortune* of the *Day*. In the conducting of his *Wars*, he would not onely follow former *Precedents*, but he was able to devise, and pursue new *Stratagems*,

gems, according as the accidents, and occasions required.

He was constant, and singularly kinde, and indulgent in his *Friendships* contracted. Notwithstanding, he made choise of such *Friends*, as a man might easily see, that he chose them rather to be *Instruments* to his *Ends*, then for any *Good will* towards them. And whereas, by Nature, and out of a firme Resolution, he adhered to this Principle; not to be eminent amongst *Great*, and *Deserving* Men; but to be chief amongst *Inferiours*, and *Vassals*; He chose onely mean, and active men, and such as to whom Himselfe might be all in all. And hereupon grew that saying; *So let* Cæsar *live, though I dye*, and other speeches of that kinde. As for the *Nobility*, and those that were his *Peers*, He contracted Friendship, with such of them, as might be usefull to Him; And admitted none to his *Cabinet Counsell*, but those that had their Fortunes, wholy depending upon Him.

He was moderately furnished, with good *Literature*, and the *Arts*; But in such sort, as he applyed his skill therein, to *Civill Policy*. For He was well read in *History*: And was expert in *Rhetorique*, and the *Art* of *Speaking*. And becaus he attributed much, to his good *Starrs*, He would pretend, more then an ordinary Knowledge, in *Astronomy*. As for *Eloquence*, and a prompt *Elocution*, that was *Naturall* to Him, and *pure*.

He was dissolute, and propense, to *Voluptuousness*, and *Pleasures*; Which served well, at first, for a Cover, to his *Ambition*. For no Man would imagine, that a Man so loosely given, could harbour any Ambitious, and Vast Thoughts, in his Heart. Notwithstanding, He so governed his *Pleasures*, that they were no Hinderance, either to his profit, or to his Business: And they did, rather whet, then dull, the vigour of his Minde. He was *Temperate*, at his *Meales*; *Free* from *Niceness*, and *Curiosity*, in his *Lusts*; pleasant and *Magnificent* at *publick Interludes*.

Thus being accomplished, the same Thing, was the Meanes, of his *Downefall*, at last; which, in his Beginnings, was a step, to his *Rise*; I meane, His *Affectation* of *Popularity*. For nothing is more *popular*, than to *forgive our Enemies*. Through which, either *Vertue*, or *Cunning*, He lost his life.

A CIVIL CHARACTER OF *AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.*

Written in Latine by his Lordship, but Englished by the Publisher.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, (if ever any *Mortal Man*,) was endued with a *Greatness* of *Minde*, *undisturbed* with *passions*, *clear* and well *ordered*; Which is evidenced, by the High Achievements, which he performed, in his early youth. For those persons which are of a turbulent Nature, or Appetite, do commonly pass their youth, in many *Errours*; And about their Middle And then and not before, they shew forth their *Perfections*; But those that are of a Sedate, and calme Nature, may be ripe, for great, and glorious Actions, in their youth. And whereas, the *Faculties* of the *Minde*; no lesse then the *Parts*, and *Members* of the *Body*, do consist, and flourish, in a good Temper, of *Health*, and *Beauty*, and *Strength*; So he was, in the *strength*, of the *Minde*, inferiour to his Uncle *Julius*; But in the *Health*, and *Beauty*, of the *Minde*, superiour. For *Julius*, being of an unquiet, and uncomposed Spirit; (As those, who are troubled with the *Falling Sickness*. for the most part, are;) Notwithstanding, He carried on his owne Ends, with much Moderation, and Discretion; But He did not order his Ends well; propounding to Himself, vast and high Designes, above the Reach of a *Mortall Man*. But *Augustus*, as a Man sober, and mindfull of his *Mortality*, seemed to propound, no other Ends to Himself, then such, as were Orderly, and well weighed, and governed by *Reason*. For first, he was desirous, indeed, to have the *Rule*, and *Principality*, in his Hands; Then, He sought to appear, *worthy* of that *Power*, which He should acquire: Next, to *enjoy* an *High Place*, He accounted but a *Transitory Thing*: Lastly, He endeavoured to do such *Actions*, as might continue his *Memory*, and leave an *Impression*, of his *Good Government*, to *After Ages*. And therefore, in the *Beginning*, of his *Age*, He affected *Power*; In the *Middle*, of his *Age*, *Honour* and *Dignity*; In the *Decline*, of his *yeares*, *Ease* and *Pleasure*; And, in the *End* of his *Life*, He was wholly bent, to *Memory*, and *Posterity*.

A

COLLECTION

OF

APOTHEGMES

NEW and OLD.

BY THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

FRANCIS BACON

BARON OF

VERULAM,

Vis-count St. *ALBAN.*



LONDON,

Printed by *Sarah Griffin* for *William Lee*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the signe of the Turkes head, neer the Mitre Tavern in *Fleet street*, 1661.

COLLECTION
APOTHEGMES

His Lordſhips Preface.

Julius Cæſar did write, a *Collection* of *Apophthegms*, as appears in an *Epiſtle* of *Cicero* ſo did *Macrobius*, a *Conſular Man*. I need ſay no more, for the worth, of a *Writing*, of that Nature. It is pity *Cæſars Book* is loſt: For I imagine, they were collected, with judgement, & choiſe: whereas that of *Plutarch*, and *Stobæus*; And much more, the *Modern ones*, draw much of the Dregs. Certainly, they are of excellent uſe. They are *Mucrones verborum*, *Pointed Speeches*. *The words of the wiſe, are as Goads*, ſaith *Solomon*. *Cicero* prettily calleth them, *Salinas*, *Saltpits*, that you may extract *Salt* out of, and ſprinkle it where you will. They ſerve to be interlaced, in *Continued ſpeech*. They ſerve, to be recited, upon *Occaſion* of themſelves. They ſerve, if you take out the *Kernell* of them, and make them your own. I have, for my Recreation, amongſt more ſerious ſtudies, collected ſome few of them: Therein fanning the old; Not omitting any, becauſe they are *vulgar*; (For many *vulgar* ones are excellent good;) Nor for the *Meanneſs* of the *Perſon*; But becauſe they are *Dull*, and *Flat*; And adding many *New*, that otherwiſe would have died.

This collection his L^p made, out of his Memory, without turning any Book.

A COLLECTION OF *APOPHTHEGMES* New and Old.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, the morrow of her *Coronation*; (It being the Custome, to release *prisoners*, at the *Inauguration* of a *Prince*,) went to the *Chappel*; And in the *Great Chamber*, one of her *Courtiers*, who was well known to her; either out of his own Motion, or by the Instigation, of a wiser Man, presented her with a *petition*; And before a great number of *Courtiers*, besought her with a loud voice; *That now this good time, there might be four, or five, principal prisoners more, released; Those were the four Evangelists, and the Apostle Saint Paul, who had been long shut up, in an unknown tongue as it were, in prison; so as they could not converse, with the Common people.* The Queen answered very gravely; *That it was best first to enquire of them, whether they would be released, or no?*

2. *Queen ANN BULLEN*, at the time, when she was led to be beheaded in the *Tower*, called one of the *Kings privy Chamber* to her, and said unto him; *Commend me to the King; And tell him, that he hath been ever constant in his course of advancing me; From a private Gentlewoman, he made me a Marchioness; And from a Marchioness a Queen; And now that he hath left no higher degree, of Earthly Honour, He intends to Crown my Innocency, with the Glory of Martyrdome.*

3. His *Majesty*, *JAMES the First*, *King* of *Great Britain*, having made unto his *Parliament*, an excellent, and large Declaration, concluded thus, *I have now given you a clear Mirrour, of my mind; Use it therefore like a Mirrour; And take heed how you let it fall; Or how you soyle it, with your Breath.*

5. His *Majesty* said to his *Parliament*, at another Time, finding there were some causeless *Jealousies*, sown amongst them; *That the King, and his people*, (whereof the *Parliament* is the *Representative Body*,) *were as Husband and wife; And therefore, that of all other things, Jealousy was between them, most pernicious.*

6. His *Majesty*, when he thought his *Counsel*, mought note in him, some *variety* in *Easinesses*, though indeed he remained constant, would say; *That the Sun, many times, shineth watry; But it is not the Sun, which causeth it; But some Cloud Rising, betwixt us, and the Sun: And when that is scattered, the Sun is as it was, and comes to his former Brightness.*

7. His *Majesty*, in his *Answer*, to the *Book*, of the *Cardinal of Everaux* (who had, in a grave *Argument of Divinity*, sprinkled many witty *Ornaments*, of *Poesy*, and *Humanity*,) saith; *That these Flowers, were like Blew and Yellow, and red Flowers, in the Corn, which make a pleasant shew, to those that looks on, but they Hurt the Corn.*

8. *Sir Edward Cook*, being vehement, against the two *Provincial Counsels*, of *Wales*, and the *North*, said to the *King*; *There was nothing there, but a kind of Confusion, and Hotch-potch of Justice: One while they were a Starr-Chamber; Another while, a Kings-Bench Another, a Common place; Another, a Commission, of Oyer and Terminer. His Majesty* answered; *Why, Sir Edward Cook, they be like Houses in progress, where I have not, nor can have, such distinct Rooms of State, as I have here, at White-Hall, or at Hampton Court.*

9. The *Commissioners* of the *Treasure*, moved the *King*, for the *Reliefe* of his *Estate*, to *disafforest* some *Forests* of his; expliaining themselves, of such *Forests*, as lay out of the way, Not near any of the *Kings Houses*; Nor in the Course, of his *Progress*; Whereof he should never have use, nor pleasure. *Why*, (saith the *King*,) *do you think, that Salomon, had use, and pleasure, of all his* 300. *Concubines.*

10. His *Majestie*, when the *Committees*, of both *Houses* of *Parliamen*, presented unto him the *Instrument* of *union*, of *England*, and *Scotland*, was merry with them; And amongst, other pleasant speeches shewed unto them the *Laird* of *Lamreston*, a *Scotchman*; Who was the Tallest and Greatest Man, that was to be seen; and said: *Well, now we are all one, yet none of you will say, but here is one Scotchman, greater then any English Man*, which was an ambiguous Speech; But it was thought, he meant it of Himself.

11. His *Majesty* would say, to the *Lords* of his *Counsel*, when they sate, upon any great *Matter*; And came from *Counsel*, in to him *Well you have sitt but what have you Hatch?*

12 When the *Arch-Duke* did raise his *siege* from the *Grave*, the then *Secretary* came to *Queen Elizabeth*; The *Queen*, (having first Intelligence thereof;) said to the *Secretary*; *Wote you what? The Arch-Duke is risen from the Grave*: He answered; *What, without the Trumpet, of the Arch-Angel?* The *Queen* replyed. *yes, without the sound of Trumpet:*

Queen

15. Queen *Elizabeth*, was importuned much by my Lord of *Essex*, to supply divers great *Offices*, that had been long void: The *Queen* answered nothing to the Matter; But rose up, on the suddain, and said; *I am sure, my Office will not be long void.* And yet at that time, there was much speech, of *Troubles*, and *Divisions*, about the *Crown*, to be after her *Decease*: But they all vanished: And *King James* came in, in a profound peace.

16. The *Council* did make Remonstrance, unto *Queen Elizabeth*, of the continual *Conspiracies*, against her *Life*; And namely, that a *Man* was lately taken, who stood ready, in a very dangerous, and suspicious manner, to do the Deed: And they shewed her, the *weapon*, *wherewith* he thought to have acted it: And therefore they advised her, that she should go less abroad, to take the Aire, weakly attended, as she used. But the *Queen* answered; *That she had rather be dead, then put in Custody.*

17. The *Lady Paget*, that was very private with *Queen Elizabeth*, declared her self much, against the *Match* with *Monsieur*. After *Monsieurs Death*, the *Queen* took extream Grief, (at least as she made shew,) and kept in, within her *Bed Chamber*, and one *Ante-Chamber* for 3. weeks space, in token of mourning: At last she came forth, into the *Privy Chamber*, and admitted her *Ladies*, to have Access unto her; And amongst the rest, my *Lady Paget* presented her self, and came to her, with a *smiling Countenance*. The *Queen* bent her Browes, and seemed to be highly displeased, and said to her; *Madam, you are not ignorant of my extream Grief, and do you come to me, with a Countenance of Joy?* My *Lady Paget* answered; *Alas if it please your Majestie, it is impossible for me to be absent from you 3 weeks, but that when I see you, I must look cheerfully. No, no,* (said the *Queen*, not forgetting her former *Averseness* to the *Match*,) *you have some other conceit in it, tell me plainly.* My *Lady answered*; *I must obey you; it is this. I was thinking how happy your Majestie was, you married not Monsieur; For seeing you take such thought for his Death, being but your friend; If he had been your Husband sure it would have cost you your life.*

18. *Henry* the 4*th.* of *France* his *Queen* was young with Child; *Count Soisons*, that had his expectation upon the *Crown*, when it it was twice or thrice thought, that the *Queen* was with Child before, said to some of his Friends; *That it was but with a pillow.* This had some waies come to the *Kings* Eare; who kept it, till such time, as the *Queen* waxed great: Then he called the *Count* of *Soisons* to him, and said; laying his hand upon the *Queens* Belly; *Come, Cousin, is this a pillow?* The *Count of Soisons* answered; *Yes, Sir, it is a pillow, for all France to sleep upon.*

19. *King Henry* the 4*th.* of *France*, was so punctuall of his word, after it was once passed, that they called him, the *King of the Faith.*

20. The said *King Henry* the 4*th.* was moved by his *Parliament*, to a

Warr

Warr againſt the *Proteſtants*: He anſwered; *Yes, I mean it: I will make every one of you Captains; you ſhall have Companies aſſigned you.* The *Parliament* obſerving whereunto his ſpeach tended, gave over, and deſerted the motion.

19. *Queen Elizabeth* was wont to ſay, upon the *Commiſſion of ſales*; That the *Commiſſioners* uſed her, like *Strawberry wives*, that layed two or three great *ſtrawberries*, at the mouth of their pot, and all the reſt were little ones: ſo they made her two or three good priſes, of the firſt particulars, but ſell ſtreightwayes.

20. *Queen Elizabeth* uſed to ſay, of her Inſtructions, to great *Officers*; *That they were like to Garments, ſtreight at the firſt putting on, but did by and by, weare looſe enough.*

21. A great *Officer*, at *Court*, when my *Lord* of *Eſſex* was firſt in trouble; And that He, and thoſe that dealt for him, would talk much, of my *Lords Friends*; and of his *Enemies*, anſwered to one of them; *I will tell you, I know but one Friend, and one Enemy, my Lord hath; And that one friend is the Queen, and that one Enemy is Himſelf.*

22. The *book* of *Depoſing King Richard* the ſecond, and the comming in of *Henry the* 4th. ſuppoſed to be written, by *Doctour Hayward*, who was committed to the *Tower* for it, had much incenſed *Queen Eliſabeth*; And ſhe asked Mr. *Bacon*, being then of her *Counſel learned*, whether there were any *Treaſon*, contained in it? who, intending to do him a pleaſure, and to take off the *Queens* bitterneſs, with a merry conceit, anſwered; *No, Madame, for Treaſon, I cannot deliver opinion, that there is any, but very much Felony*: The *Queen* apprehending it gladly, asked, *How? And wherein? Mr. Bacon* anſwered; *Becauſe he had ſtollen, many of his ſentences and conceits, out of Cornelius Tacitus.*

23. *Queen Elizabeth*, being to reſolve upon a great *Officer*, and being by ſome, that canvaſed for others, put in ſome doubt of that perſon, whom ſhe meant to advance, called for Mr. *Bacon*; And told him, *ſhe was like one, with a Lanthorn, ſeeking a man*; And ſeemed unſatisfyed, in the choice ſhe had, of a man, for that place. Mr. *Bacon* anſwered her, That he had heard that in old time, there was uſually painted, in the *Church walls*, the *Day of Doom*, and *God* ſitting in *Judgement*, and *Saint Michael* by him, with a *pair* of *Ballances*; And the *ſoul*, and the *Good Deeds*, in the one *Ballance*; And the *Faults*, and the *evil Deeds*, in the other; and the *ſouls Ballance*, went up farr too light: Then was our *Lady* painted, with a great pair of *Beads*; who caſt them into the light *Ballance*, and brought down the *skale*: ſo he ſaid; *place and Authority, which were in her Majeſties hands to give, were like our Ladies Beads which though men, through any imperfections, were too light before, yet, when they were caſt in, made weight competent.*

24. *Queen Elizabeth* was dilatory enough in ſuits, of her own Nature And the *Lord Treaſurer Burleigh*, being a wiſe Man, and willing therein to feed her humour, would ſay to her; *Madam you do well*

to

to let ſuiters ſtay; For I ſhall tell you; Bis dat, qui citò dat; If you grant them ſpeedily, they will come again the ſooner.

24. *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, who was *Keeper* of the *Great Seal* of *England*, when *Queen Elizabeth*, in her *Progreſs*, came to his Houſe at *Gorhambury*; and ſaid to him; *My Lord, what a little Houſe have you gotten?* Anſwered her; *Madam, my Houſe is well, but it is you, that have made me, too great for my Houſe.*

26. There was a conference in *Parliament*, between the *Lords Houſe*, and the *Houſe* of *Commons*, about a *Bill* of *Accountants*, which came down, from the *Lords*, to the *Commons*; which *Bill* prayed; *That the Lands of Accountants, whereof they were ſeized, when they entred upon their Office, mought be liable, to their Arrears, to the Queen.* But the *Commons* deſired, that the *Bill* mought not look back, to *Accountants* that were already, but extend only to *Accountants* hereafter. But the *Lord Treaſurer* ſaid; *Why, I pray you, if you had loſt your purſe, by the way; would you look forwards, or would you look back? The Queen hath loſt her purſe.*

27. The *Lord Keeper*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, was asked his Opinion, by my *Lord of Leiceſter*, *concerning two perſons, whom the Queen* ſeemed to think well of: *By my Troth my Lord*; (ſaid he,) *the one is a grave Counſeller; The other, is a proper young Man; And ſo he will be as long as he lives.*

28. *My* Lord of *Leiceſter*, *Favorite* to *Queen Elizabeth*, was making a large *Chace*, about *Cornbury Parke*; Meaning to encloſe it, with *Poſts*, and *Railes*, and one day, was caſting up his charge what it would come to. Mr. *Goldingham*, a free-ſpoken Man, ſtood by, and ſaid to my Lord; *Methinks your Lordſhip goeth not the cheapeſt way to work.* Why, *Goldingham*, ſaid my *Lord? Marry my Lord*, ſaid *Goldingham*; *Count you but upon the poſts, for the Countrey will find you railing.*

29. The *Lord Keeper*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, was asked his Opinion, by *Queen Elizabeth*, of one of theſe *Monopoly licences?* And he anſwered; *Madam, will you have me ſpeak the Truth? Licentiâ omnes deteriores ſumus: We are all the worſe, for Licences.*

29. My *Lord of Eſſex*, at the *Succour* of *Rhoane*, made 24. Kts. which, at that time, was a great number. Divers of thoſe *Gentlemen*, were of weak, and ſmall means; which when *Queen Elizabeth* heard, ſhe ſaid; *My Lord mought have done well, to have built his Almes-houſe, before he made his Knights.*

31. The *Deputies*, of the *Reformed Religion*, after the *maſſacre* which was at *Paris*, upon *Saint Bartholomews Day*, treated with the *King*, and *Queen Mother*, and ſome other, of the *Counſel*, for a peace. Both ſides were agreed upon the *Articles*. The queſtion was, upon the *ſecurity*, for the *performance*. After ſome particulars, propounded, and rejected, the *Queen Mother* ſaid, *why; is not the word, of a King, ſufficient ſecurity?* One of the *Deputies* anſwered; *No by Saint Bartholomew, Madam.*

32. There was a *French Gentleman*, ſpeaking with an *Engliſh* of

of the *Law Salique*, That *Women* were excluded, from inheriting the *Crown* of *France*. The *Engliſh*, ſaid; *yes, but that was meant of the women themſelves, not of ſuch Males, as claimed by Women.* The *French Gentleman* ſaid, *where do you find that gloſs?* The *Engliſh* anſwered, *Ile tell you, Sir; Look on the back ſide of the Record, of the Law Salique, and there you ſhall find it indorſed:* Implying there was no ſuch thing, as the *Law Salique*, but that it is a *meer Fiction.*

33. A *Fryar* of *France*, being in an earneſt Diſpute, about the *Law Salique*, would needs prove it by *Scripture*; citing that verſe of the *Goſpell*; *Lilia Agri, non laborant, neque nent*; *The lilies of the Field do neither labour nor ſpin:* Applying it thus; *That the Flower de Luces, of France, cannot deſcend, neither to the diſtaff, nor to the ſpade; That is, not to a woman, nor to a peaſant.*

34. When *Peace* was renewed, with the *French* in *England*, divers of the great *Counſellers*, were preſented, from the *French*, with *Jewels*: The *Lord Henry Howard*, being then *Earl* of *Northampton*, and a *Counſeller*, was omitted. Whereupon the *King*, ſaid to him, *My Lord, how happens it, that you have not a jewel as well as the reſt?* *my Lord* anſwered, according to the *Fable* in *Aeſope*; *Non ſum Gallus, itaque non reperi Gemmam.*

35. The ſame *Earl* of *Northampton*, then *Lord privie Seal*, was askt, by *King James*, openly at the Table, Where Commonly he entertained the *King* with diſcourſe; the *King* askt him, upon the ſuddain; *my Lord have you not a deſire to ſee Rome?* my *Lord privie Seal* anſwered; *yes indeed*, Sir: The *King* ſaid, *And why?* My *Lord* anſwered; *Becauſe if it pleaſe your Majeſty, it was the ſeat of the greateſt Monarchy and the ſeminary of the Braveſt men, of the world, whileſt it was Heathen: And then ſecondly, becauſe afterwards it was the ſea, of ſo many holy Biſhops, in the primitive Church, moſt of them Martyrs.* The *King* would not give it over, but ſaid; *And for nothing els?* My *Lord* anſwered; *yes, if it pleaſe your Majeſtie, for two things more: The one, to ſee him, who they ſay, hath ſo great a power, to forgive other men, their ſins, to confeſs his own ſins, upon his knees, before a chaplain, or Prieſt: And the other, to hear Antichriſt ſay his Creed.*

36. There were Fiſher men, drawing the River at *Chelſey*, *Mr. Bacon* came thither, by chance, in the After-noon, and offered, to buy their *Draught*: they were willing. He asked them, *what they would take?* They asked, *Thirty ſhillings.* Mr. *Bacon* offered them *ten*: They refuſed it. *Why then*, ſaith *Mr. Bacon, I will be only a looker on.* They drew and catched nothing. ſaith *Mr. Bacon*; *Are not you mad fellows now that might have had an Angel in your purſe, to have made merry withall, and to have warmed you thorowly, and now you muſt go home with nothing.* *But*, ſaid the *fiſher men, we had hope then to make a better gain of it.* ſaith *Mr Bacon well my Maiſters, then Ile tell you; hope is a good Breakfaſt, but it is a Bad ſupper.*

36. A *Lady* walking with Mr. *Bacon*, in *Grayes-Inne walks*, asked him, *whose that piece of ground, lying next under the walls*, was; He answered, *Theirs*. Then she asked him, if those *Fields*, beyond the *Walks*, were theirs too? He answered; *Yes Madame, those are ours, as you are ours, to look on, and no more.*

37. His *Lordship*, when he was newly made *Lord Keeper*, was in *Grayes-Inne walks*, with Sir *Walter Rawleigh*. One came, and told him, that the *Earl* of *Exeter* was above, He continued, upon occasion, still walking a good while. At last when he came up, my *Lord* of *Exeter* met him, and said; *My Lord, I have made a great venture, to come up so high stairs, being a gowty man. His Lordship answered; pardon me, my Lord; I have made the greatest Venture of all; For I have ventured upon your Patience.*

38 When Sir *Francis Bacon*, was made the *Kings Atturney*, Sir *Edward Cooke*, was put up, from being *Lord chief Justice*, of the *Common Pleas*, to be *Lord chief Justice*, of the *Kings Bench*; which is a place of Greater Honour, but of lesse profit; And withall was made *Privy Counsellor*. After a few Dayes, the *Lord Cooke* meeting the *Kings Atturney*, said unto him; *Mr. Atturney, this is all your Doing; It is you, that have made, this great stir. Mr. Atturney* answered; *Ah my Lord! your Lord-ship all this while hath grown in Bredth; You must needs now, grow in Height, or else you would be a Monster.*

39 One day, Queen *Elizabeth* told Mr. *Bacon*, that my *Lord* of *Essex*, after great Protestation of Penitence, and affection, fell, in the End, but upon the Suit, of *Renewing* his *Farme*, of *Sweet Wines:* He answered; *I read, that in Nature, there be two kinds of Motions, or Appetites, in Sympathy; The One, as of Iron, to the Adamant, for perfection; The other, as of the Vine, to the Stake, for sustentation: That her Majestie was the one, and his Suit the other.*

40 *Mr. Bacon*, after he had been vehement, in *Parliament*, against *Depopulation*, and *Enclosures*; And that soon after the *Queen* told him, that she had referred the Hearing of *Mr. Mills* Cause, to certain *Counsellors*, and *Judges*; and asked him, how he liked of it? Answered; *Oh Madame! my Minde is known: I am against all Enclosures, and especially against Enclosed Justice.*

41 When Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, the *Lord Keeper*, lived, every Room in *Gorhambury*, was served, with a *Pipe* of *Water*, from the *Ponds*, distant about a Mile off. In the life-time of *Mr. Anthony Bacon*, the Water ceased. After whose Death, his *Lordship* coming to the Inheritance, could not recover the *Water*, without infinite charge: When he was *Lord Chancellor*, he built *Verulam House*, close by the *Pond-yard*, for a place of privacy, when he was called upon, to dispatch any urgent Business: And being asked, *Why he built that house there*, His *Lordship* answered; *That since he could not carry the Water to his House, He would carry his House to the Water.*

42 When my *Lord President* of the *Councel*, came first to be *Lord Treasurer*, he complained to my *Lord Chancellor*, of the Troublesomness, of the place, for that the *Exchequer* was so empty. The *Lord Chancellor* answered; *My Lord, Be of good cheer, for now you shall see, the Bottome, of your Business, at the first.*

43 When his *Lordship* was newly advanced, to the *Great Seal*, *Gondomar* came to visit him: *My Lord* said; *That he was, to thanke God, and the King, for that Honour; But yet, so he might be rid of the burthen, he could very willingly, forbear the Honour. And that he formerly had a desire, and the same continued with him still, to lead a private life. Gondomar* answered, That he would tell him a Tale; *Of an old Rat, that would needs leave the World: And acquainted the young Rats, that he would retire into his Hole; and spend his dayes soilitarily; And would enjoy no more comfort: And commanded them upon his high displeasure, not to offer, to come in unto him. They forbore two or three dayes: At last, one that was more hardy, then the rest, incited some of his Fellowes to go in with him, and he would venture to see, how his Father did: For he might be dead. They went in, and found the old Rat, sitting in the midst of a Rich Parmizan cheese.* So he applyed the *Fable*, after his witty manner.

44 *Rablais* tells a *Tale* of one, that was very Fortunate, in compounding differences. His son undertook the said Course, but could never compound any. Whereupon he came to his *Father*, and asked him, *What art he had, to reconcile Differences?* He answered; *He had no other but this: To watch, when the two Parties were much wearied; And their Hearts, were too great, to seeke Reconcilement at one anothers Hands; Then to be a Meanes betwixt them, and upon no other Termes.* After which, the *Son* went home, and prospered, in the same undertakings.

45 *Alonso Cartilio*, was informed by his *Steward*, of the greatness of his Expence, being such as he could not hold out therewith. The *Bishop* asked him, *wherein it chiefly arose?* His *Steward* told him; *In the multitude of his Servants*: The *Bishop* bad him, to make him a *Note*, of those that were *necessary*, and those that mought be *spared*. Which he did. And the *Bishop*, taking occasion to read it, before most of his servants, said to his *Steward*; *Well, let these remain, because I have need of them; And these other also, because they have need of me.*

46 Mr. *Marbury* the *Preacher*, would say; *That God was fain to do, with wicked Men, as Men do, with Fritking Jades, in a pasture, that cannot take them up, till they get them, at a Gate.* So *wicked Men*, will not be taken up, till the *Hour* of *Death*.

47 *Pope Xystus* the *5th*, who was a very *poor Mans Son*; And his *Fathers* House ill thatched, so that the *Sun* came in, in many places, would sport with his Ignobility, and say; *That he was Nato di casa illustre; Son of an Illustrious House.*

48 When the *King* of *Spain* conquered *Portugll*, he gave special charge, to his *Lieutenant*, that the *Souldiers* should not spoil, lest

leſt he ſhould alienate the Hearts of the *People*: The *Army* alſo ſuffered much ſcarcity of Victual. Whereupon the *Spaniſh Souldiers*, would afterwards ſay; *That they had won the King, a Kingdome on Earth; As the Kingdome of Heaven, uſeth to be won; By Faſting, and abſtaining from that, which is another Mans.*

49 They feigned a *Tale*, of *Sixtus Quintus*, whom they called *Size-Ace*; That after his *Death*, he went to *Hell*; And the *Porter* of *Hell* ſaid to him; *You have ſome reaſon, to offer your ſelfe, to this place, becauſe you were a wicked man; But yet, becauſe you were a Pope, I have Order, not to receive you: You have a place, of your owne, Purgatory, you may go thither.* So he went away, and ſought about, a great while, for *Purgatory*, and cou'd finde no ſuch place. Upon that, He took Heart, and went to *Heaven*, and knocked; And St. *Peter* asked, *who was there?* He ſaid, *Sixtus Pope.* Whereunto *St. Peter* ſaid; *why do you knocke? you have the Keyes* *Sixtus* anſwered; *It is true, but it is ſo long, ſince they were given, as I doubt, the wards of the lock be altered.*

50 *Charles* King of *Swede*, a great *Enemy* of the *Jeſuites*; when he took any of their *Colledges*, he would hang the old *Jeſuites*, and put the young, to his *Mynes*, ſaying; *That ſince, they wrought ſo hard above ground, he would try, how they could worke under ground.*

51. In *Chancery* at one time, when the *Counſell* of the *Parties*, ſet forth the *Boundaries*, of the *Land* in *Queſtion*, by the *Plot*: And the *Counſell*, of one *part*, ſaid; *We lye on this ſide, my Lord*: And the *Counſell*, of the other part ſaid; *And we lye, on this ſide*; The *Lord Chancellor Hatton*, ſtood up, and ſaid; *If you lye, on both ſides, whom will you have me to believe.*

52. Sir *Edw. Cooke*, was wont to ſay, when a *great Man* came to *Dinner* to him, and gave him no knowledge, of his coming; *Sir, ſince you ſent me no word, of your comming, you muſt dine with me*; *But if I had known of it, in due time, I would have dined with you.*

53. *William, Earle* of *Pembrook*, upon the Complaint made of a *ſervant* of his, layd a *Citizen*, by the Heels; Thinking to bend him, to his *Servants* deſire: But the Fellow being ſtubborn, the *Servant* came to his *Lord*, and told him; *Your Lordſhip, I know, hath gone, as farr as well you may, but it works not; For yonder fellow is more perverſe, then before.* Said my *Lord*; *Let's forget him a while, and then he will remember himſelf.*

54. *Pope Julius* the 3d, when he was made *Pope*, gave his *Hatt* unto a *Youth*, a *Favourite* of his, with great ſcandall. Whereupon, at one time, a *Cardinall*, that might be free with him, ſaid modeſtly to him; *What did your Holineſs ſee, in that young Man, to make him Cardinall? Julius* anſwered, *What did you ſee in me, to make me Pope?*

55. The ſame *Julius*, upon like occaſion of ſpeech, why he ſhould bear ſo great affection, to the ſame *young Man*, would ſay; That he found by *Aſtrology*, that it was the *Youths* Deſtiny, to be

a great *Prelate*; which was impossible, except himself were *Pope*. And therefore that he did raise him, as the *Driver* on, of his own *Fortune*.

56. Sir *Thomas Moor*, had onely *Daughters*, at the first; And his *Wife* did ever pray for a *Boy*. At last she had a *Boy*; which being come to Mans Estate, proved but simple. Sir *Thomas* said to his *Wife*; *Thou prayedst so long for a Boy, that he will be a Boy as long as he lives.*

57. Sir *Fulke Grevill*, afterward Lord *Brooke*, in *Parliament*, when the *House* of *Commons*, in a *great Business*, stood much upon *Precedents*, said unto them; *Why do you stand so much upon precedents? The Times hereafter will be good or bad. If good, precedents will do no harm; If bad, power will make a way, where it findes none.*

58. Sir *Tho. Moor*, on the Day, that he was beheaded, had a *Barber*, sent to him, because his *Haire* was long; which was thought, would make him more *commiserated*, with the *People*. The *Barbe* came to him, and asked him, *whether he would be pleased*, to be trim'd? *In good faith, honest Fellow*, (said Sir *Thomas*,) *the King, and I, have a suit for my Head; And till the Title be cleared, I will do no cost upon it.*

59. *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, a great *Champion* of the *Popish Religion*, was wont to say, of the *Protestants*, who ground upon the *Scripture*; *That they were like Posts, that bring Truth in their Letters; And Lies in their Mouths.*

60. The former Sir *Thomas Moor*, had sent him, by a *Suiter* in *Chancery*, two *silver Flagons*. When they were presented, by the *Gentlemans servant*, he said to one of his Men; *Have him to the Cellar; And let him have of my best wine:* And turning to the *Servant*, said; *Tell thy Mr. if he like it, let him not spare it.*

61. *Michael Angelo*, the famous *Painter*, painting in the *Popes Chappell*, the *Pourtraicture* of *Hell*, and *Damned Souls*; Made one of the *Damned Souls*, so like a *Cardinall*, that was his Enemy, as every Body, at first sight, knew it. Whereupon the *Cardinal* complained to *Pope Clement*, humbly praying, *It mought be defaced?* The *Pope* said unto him; *VVhy, you know very well, I have power, to deliver a Soule, out of Purgatory, but not out of Hell.*

62. There was an *Agent* here, for the *Dutch*, called *Caroon*; And when he used to move the *Queen*, for further *Succours*, and more *Men*; My Lord *Henry Howard* would say; *That he Agreed well, with the Name of Charon, Ferry-Man, of Hell; For he came still, for more Men, to encrease Regnum umbrarum.*

63. They were wont to call, *Referring* to the *Masters* in *Chancery*, *Committing*. My *Lord Keeper Egerton*, when he was *Master* of the *Rolls*, was wont to aske; *VVhat the Cause had done, that it should be committed?*

64. They feigned a *Tale*, principally, against *Doctours Reports*, in the *Chancery*; That Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, when he came, to *Heaven Gate*, was opposed, touching an *unjust Decree*; which had

had been made, in the *Chancery*. Sir *Nicholas* desired to see the *Order*; whereupon the *Decree* was drawn up; And finding it, to begin, *Veneris*, &c. *Why.* (saith he,) *I was then sitting in the Star Chamber; This concerns the Master of the Rolls, let him answer it.* Soon after came the *Master* of the *Rolls*, *Cordall*; who died indeed, a small time, after Sir *Nicholas Bacon*; and he was likewise staid upon it: And looking into the *Order*, he found, that upon the *Reading* of a *Certificate*, of *Doctor Gibson*, it was *Ordered*; *That his Report should be decreed.* And so he put it upon *Doctor Gibson*, and there it stuck.

65. Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, when a certain nimble-witted *Counsellour*, at the Barr, who was forward to speak, did interrupt him often, said unto him; *There's a great Difference betwixt you and me: A paine to me to speake; And a paine to you, to hold your peace.*

66. The same Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, upon *Bills* exhibited, to discover, where *Lands* lay; upon proof, that they had a certain *Quantity* of *Land*, but could not set it forth; was wont to say; *And if you cannot finde your Land in the Countrey, how will you have me finde it in the Chancery?*

67. Mr. *Houland*, in conference, with a *young Student*, arguing a *Case*; happened to say; *I would aske you but this Question.* The *Student* presently interrupted him, to give him an *Answer.* Whereunto Mr. *Houland* gravely said; *Nay, though I aske you a Question, yet I did not meane, you should answer me, I meane to answer my self.*

68. Pope *Adrian* the *sixth*, was talking with the Duke of *Sesa*, that *Pasquill* gave great scandall; and that he would have him thrown into the *River*: But *Sesa* answered; *Do it not, Holy Father, for then he will turn Frogg; And whereas now, he chants but by day, he will then chant, both by day, and by night.*

69. There was a *Gentleman* in *Italy*, that writ to a great *Friend* of his, whom the *Pope* had newly advanced, to be *Cardinall*; *That he was very glad, of his Advancement, for the Cardinals owne sake; But he was sorry, that Himself had lost, a good Friend.*

70. There was a *King* of *Hungary*, took a *Bishop* in *Battel*, and kept him *Prisoner*: Whereupon the *Pope* writ a *Monitory* to him; For that he had broken the *priviledge* of *Holy Church*, and taken his *Son.* The *King* sent an *Embassage* to him; And sent withall the *Armour*, wherein the *Bishop* was taken; and this only in writing; *Vide, num hæc sit Vestis Filii tui? Know now, whether this be thy Sons Coat?*

71. Sir *Amyas Pawlet*, when he saw too much Hast, made in any Matter, was wont to say; *Stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner.*

72. A *Master* of the *Requests* to Queen *Elizabeth*, had diverse times, moved for audience, and been put off. At last, he came to the *Queen*, in a *Progresse*, and had on, a new pair of *Boots*. The

Queen

Queen who loved not the *ſmell of New Leather*, ſaid to him; *Fye, ſlovен, thy new Boots ſtinke. Madam*, ſaid he, *it is not my New Boots that ſtink; But it is the ſtale Bills, that I have kept ſo long.*

73. At an *Act* of the *Commencement*, the *Anſwerer* gave for his *queſtion*; *That an Ariſtocracy was better then a Monarchy.* The *Replyer*, who was a Diſſolute Man, did tax him, that being a private bred Man, he would give a *queſtion* of *State*. The *Anſwerer* ſaid that the *Replyer* did much wrong the *priviledge* of *Schollars*; who would be much ſtreightned, if they ſhould give *queſtions* of Nothing, but ſuch things, wherein they are practiſed; and added *we have heard your ſelf diſpute of vertue, which no man will ſay you put much in practiſe.*

74. *Queen Iſabella* of *Spain*, uſed to ſay; *whoſoever hath a good preſence, and a good faſhion, carries continual Letters of Recommendation.*

75. *Alonſo* of *Aragon*, was wont to ſay, in commendation of *Age*, that *Age* appeared to be beſt in 4 things: *Old wood beſt to burn, Old Wine to drinke, Old Friends to truſt, and old Authors to read.*

76. It was ſaid of *Auguſtus*; And afterward, the like was ſaid of *Septimius Severus*: Both which did infinite *miſchiefe*, in their *Beginnings*; And infinite *Good*, towards their Ends; *That they ſhould either have never been born, or never died.*

77. *Conſtantine* the *Great*, in a kind of *Envy*, himſelf being a great *Builder*, as *Trajan* likewiſe was; would call *Traian*, *Parietaria*, *Wall-flower*, becauſe his name was upon ſo many *Walls*.

78. *Alonſo* of *Aragon*, was wont to ſay of himſelf; *That he was a great Necromancer, for that he uſed to ask Counſel of the dead: meaning of Books.*

79. *Ethelwold*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in a *Famine*, ſold all the *rich Veſſels*, and *Ornaments*, of the *Church*, to relieve the poor with *Bread*; and ſaid; *There was no reaſon, that the Dead Temples of God ſhould be ſumptuouſly furniſhed; And the living Temples ſuffer penury.*

80. Many *Men*, eſpecially ſuch as affect *gravity*, have a manner after other mens ſpeech, to *ſhake* their heads. *A great Officer* of this *Land* would ſay, *It was, as men ſhake a bottle, to ſee if there were any wit, in their Heads, or no?*

81. After a great *Fight*, there came to the *Camp of Conſalvo* the *great Captain*, a *gentleman*, proudly horſed, and armed: *Diego de Mendoza*, asked the *great Captain*; *who's this?* who anſwered; *It is Saint Erwin, who never appears but after the ſtorm.*

82. There was one, that *dyed* greatly in *Debt*: when it was reported in ſome Company, where divers of his *Creditors*, caſually were, that he was dead; One began to ſay; *Well if he be gone, then he hath carried, 500. Duckets of mine with him into the other world.* And another ſaid; *and 200 of mine*: And a third ſpake, of great *ſums* of his. Whereupon, one that was amongſt them, ſaid; *I perceive now, that though a Man, cannot carry, any of his*

own

own with him, into the next world, yet he may carry away that, which is another Mans.

83. *Francis Carvajal*, that was the great *Captain*, of the *Rebels*, of *Peru*, had often given the Chace, to *Diego Centeno*, a *principal Commander*, of the *Emperours party:* He was afterwards taken, by the *Emperours Lieutenant*, *Gasca*; And committed to the Custody, of *Diego Centeno*; who used him with all possible curtesy; Insomuch as *Carvajal* asked him; *I pray Sir who are you that use me with this courtesy?* *Centeno* said; *Do you not know Diego Centeno?* *Carvajal* answered; *Truely Sir; I have been so used to see your back, as I knew not your Face.*

84. *Gondomar* would say; *Love without ends, hath no end: Meaning*, that if it were begun, not upon particular ends, it would last.

85. There was a *Merchant* died, that was very farr in *Debt*: his *goods*, and *houshold stuff* were set forth to *sale*. A *stranger* would needs buy a *pillow* there, saying; *This pillow, sure, is good to sleep upon, since he could sleep, that owed so many Debts.*

86. A *Lover* met his *Lady*, in a *close Chair*, she thinking to have gone unknown. he came and spake to her: she asked him, *how did you know me?* He said; *Because my wounds bleed afresh*, Alluding, to the common *Tradition*, that the *wounds* of a *Body slain*, will bleed a fresh, upon the approach of the *murtherer.*

87. A *Gentleman* brought *Musick* to his Ladies *window.* She hated him, and had warned him often away: And when he would not desist, she threw *stones at him:* whereupon, a *Gentleman* said unto him, that was in his company; *what greater Honour can you have to your Musick, then that stones come about you, as they did to Orpheus?*

88. *Coranus*, the *Spaniard*, at a *Table*, at *Dinner*, fell into an extolling of his own Father; saying: *If he could have wished of God, he could not have chosen amongst men, a better Father* Sir *Henry Savill* said, *what not Abraham?* Now *Coranus* was doubted to descend, of a *Race*, of Jewes.

89. *Consalvo* would say, that the *Honour*, of a *Souldier*, ought to be of a good *strong Webb:* meaning that it should not be so fine, and curious, as for every small disgrace, to catch, and stick, in it.

90. *Bresquet*, *Iester to Francis* the first. of *France*, did keep, a *Kalender*, of *Fools*, wherewith he did use, to make the *King* sport; telling him ever the Reason, why he put any one, into his *Kalender.* When *Charles the 5th. Emperour*, upon Confidence, of the noble Nature of *Francis*, passed through *France*, for the appeasing, of the Rebellion, of *Gaunt*, *Brisquet* put him into his *Kalender.* The *King* asked him the cause? He answered; *Because you, having suffered, at the Hands, of Charles, the greatest bitterness, that ever prince did from another, nevertheless he would trust his person, into your hands. Why Brisquet*, said the *King*, *what wilt thou*

thou ſay, if thou ſeeſt him paſs back, in as great ſafety, as if he marched through the middeſt of Spain? ſaith Breſquet; why then I will put him out, and put in you.

91. Arch-Biſhop Grindall was wont to ſay; That the Phyſicians here in England, were not good, at the Cure of particular Diſeaſes; but had only, the power of the Church, to bind and looſe.

92. Coſmus Duke of Florence, was wont to ſay of perfidious friends; That we read, that we ought to forgive our Enemies; But we do not read that we ought to forgive our friends.

93. A Papiſt, being oppoſed by a Proteſtant, that they had no Scripture for Images, anſwered, yes; For you read, that the people layd their ſick in the ſtreets, that the ſhadow, of Saint Peter mought come upon them: And that a ſhadowe was an Image; and the obſcureſt of all Images.

94. Sir Edward Dyer; a grave and wiſe Gentleman, did much believe, in Kelley the Alchymiſt; That he did indeed the work, and did make Gold, inſomuch, that he went into Germany, where Kelley then was, to inform himſelf fully thereof. After his return he dined with my Lord of Canterbury: where, at that time, was, at the Table, Dr. Brown the Phyſician. They fell in talk of Kelley. Sir Edward Dyer, turning to the Arch-Biſhop, ſaid. I do aſſure your Grace, that that I ſhall tel you, is Truth: I am an eye witneſs thereof; And if I had not ſeen it, I ſhould not have beleeved it, I ſaw Mr. Kelley, put of the Baſe Mettal into the Chryſible; And after it was ſet a little, upon the fire; And a very ſmall quantity, of the Medicine, put in; And ſtirred with a ſtick of wood; It came forth, in great proportion, perfect gold; To the Touch, To the Hammer; and to the Teſt. My Lord Arch-Biſhop ſaid; you had need take heed, what you ſay, Sir Edward Dyer; for here is an Infidel, at the board. Sir Edward Dyer ſaid again pleaſantly; I ſhould have looked, for an Infidell, ſooner in any place, then at your Graces Table. what ſay you, Dr. Browne, ſaid the Arch-Biſhop? Dr. Brown anſwered, after his blunt, and hudling maner; The gentleman hath ſpoken enough for me. Why, ſaith the Arch-Biſhop, what hath he ſaid? Marry, ſaith Dr. Brown, he ſaid, He would not have beleeved it, except he had ſeen it; And no more will I.

95. Doctor Johnſon ſaid; That in ſickneſs, there were three things, that were material, the Phyſician, the Diſeaſe, and the Patients: And if any two of theſe joyned, then they get the victory; For, Ne, Hercules quidem contra duos. If the Phyſician and the Patient joine, then down goes the Diſeaſe; For then the Patient recovers; If the Phyſician and the Diſeaſe joyne; that is a ſtrong Diſeaſe; and Phyſician miſtaking the cure, then down goes the Patient, if the Patient and the Diſeaſe joyne, then down goes the Phyſician, for he is diſcredited.

96. Mr Bettenham ſaid; that vertuous men, were like ſome herbs, and ſpices that give not out their ſweet ſmell, tell they be broken or cruſhed.

97. The Lord Arch-Biſhop Laud ſaid; That ſome Hypocrites, and ſeeming

ſeeming mortified Men, which held down their heads, were like the little Images, in the Vaults, or Roofs, of Churches; which look, and bow down, as if they held up the Church, when as they beare no weight at all.

98. There was a *Painter* became a *Phyſician*: whereupon, one ſaid to him; *You have done well; For before, the faults of your work, were ſeen; But now they are unſeen.*

99. There was a *Gentleman*, that came to the *Tilt*, all in *Orenge tawney*, and rann very ill. The next day, he came again, all in *Green*, and ran worſe. There was one, of the *Lookers* on, asked another; *What is the reaſon, that this Gentleman, changeth his colours?* The other anſwered; *ſure, becauſe it may be reported; That the Gentleman in the green, ran worſe, than the Gentleman in the Orenge-tawny.*

100. *Mr. Whitehead*, a grave *Divine*, was much eſteemed, by *Queen Elizabeth*, but not preferred, becauſe he was againſt the *Government* of *Biſhops*. He came, one day, to the *Queen*, and the *Queen* chanced, to ſay to him; *I like thee, the better, Whitehead, becauſe thou liveſt unmarried.* He anſwered again; *In troth, Madam, I like you the worſe, for the ſame cauſe.*

101. *Zelim* was the firſt of the *Ottomans*, that did ſhave his *Beard*, whereas his *Predeceſſors*, wore it long. One of his *Baſhaws* askt him; *Why he altered the Cuſtome of his Predeceſſors?* He anſwered *Becauſe you Baſhawes, may not lead me by the Beard, as you did them.*

102. *Æneas Sylvius*, that was *Pope Pius ſecundus*, was wont to ſay; *That the former Popes did wiſely, to ſet the Lawyers awork, to debate; Whether the Donation, of Conſtantine the great, to Sylveſter, of* St. *Peters patrimony, were good, or valid, in Law, or no? The better to skip over, the Matter in Fact, whether there was ever any ſuch thing, at all, or no?*

103. The *Lord Biſhop Andrews*, was asked, at the firſt coming over, of the *Arch. Biſhop of Spalato, whether he were a proteſtant, or no?* He anſwered; *Truly, I know not*; But *I think he is a Deteſtant*; That was, of moſt of the *Opinions of Rome.*

104. It was ſaid, amongſt ſome of the grave *Prelates*, of the *Counſel of Trent*, in which the *School-Divines*, bare the Sway; *that the Schoolemen, were like the Aſtronomers, who to ſave the Phænomena, framed, to their conceit, eccentricks, and Epicycles, and a wonderfull Engine of Orbes; Though no ſuch things were*: ſo they to ſave the practiſe of the *Church*, had deviſed a great number of *ſtrange poſitions.*

105. *Æneas Sylvius* would ſay; that the *Chriſtian Faith*, and *Law*, though it had not been confirmed by *Miracles*, yet was worthy to be received, for the *Honeſty* thereof.

106. *Mr. Bacon* would ſay; that it was in *Buſineſs*, as it is frequently in *wayes*: *That the next way, is commonly the fouleſt; And that, if a man will go, the faireſt way, he muſt go ſomewhat about.*

107. *Mr. Bettenham*, Reader of *Grayes Inn*, uſed to ſay; *That Riches were like muck; when it lay upon an Heape, it gave but a ſtench and ill Odour; But when it was ſpread, upon the ground, then it was cauſe of much Fruit.*

108. *Cicero* married his *Daughter* to *Dolabella*, that held *Cæſars party*: *Pompey* had married *Julia*, that was *Cæſars Daughter*. After, when *Cæſar*, and *Pompey*, tooke Arms, one againſt the other; And *Pompey* had paſſed the Seas, and *Cæſar* poſſeſſed *Italy*; *Cicero* ſtaid ſomewhat long in *Italy*; But at laſt ſayled over, to joyn with *Pompey*. Who when he came to him, *Pompey* ſaid; *you are welcome, but where left you your ſon in Law? Cicero* anſwered, *with your Father in Law*

109. *Veſpaſian*, and *Titus* his eldeſt *Son*, were both abſent from *Rome*, when the *Empire* was caſt upon *Veſpaſian*; *Domitian* his younger *Son*, was at *Rome*, who took upon him the *Affaires*; And being of a *Turbulent* ſpirit, made many changes; And diſplaced divers officers, and Governours *of Provinces*, ſending them *ſucceſſors*. So when *Veſpaſian* returned to *Rome*; And *Domitian* came into his preſence, *Veſpaſian* ſaid to him; *Son I looked, when you would have ſent me a ſucceſſor.*

110. *Nero* loved a beautifull *Youth*, whom he uſed vitiouſly, and called him *Wife*. There was a *Senator* of *Rome*, that ſaid ſecretly to his *Friend*, It *was pitty, Nero's Father, had not ſuch a Wife.*

111. *Galba* ſucceeded *Nero*, and his Age being deſpiſed, there was much licence and Confuſion, in *Rome*, during his *Empire*: whereupon, a *Senator* ſaid in full *Senate*; It *were better to live, where nothing is Lawfull, than were all things are Lawfull.*

112. *Auguſtus Cæſar*, did write to *Livia*, who was over-ſenſible, of ſome ill words, that had been ſpoken, of them both: *Let it not trouble thee, my Lvia, if any Man ſpeak ill of us; For we have enough that no man, can do ill unto us.*

113. *Chilon* ſaid, that *Kings Friends*, and *Favorites*, were like *Caſting Counters*; That ſometimes ſtood for *one*, ſometimes for ten ſometimes for an *Hundred.*

114. *Theodoſius.* when he was preſſed by a *Suitor*, and denyed him, The *Suitor* ſaid; *Why ſir you promiſed it.* He anſwered; *I ſaid it, but I did not promiſe it, if it be unjuſt.*

115. The *Romans*, when they ſpake, to the *people*, were wont to ſtile them, ye *Romans*: When *Commanders* in *warr*, ſpake to their *Army*, they ſtiled them *my Souldiers*. There was a *Mutiny* in *Cæſars Army*, and ſomewhat the *Souldiers* would have had, but they would not declare themſelves in it; But only demanded a *Miſſion*, or *Diſcharge*; Though with no intention, it ſhould be graunted: But knowing; that *Cæſar* had at that time, great need of their ſervice, *thought* by that means, to wrench him to their other deſires: whereupon, with one Cry, they asked *Miſſion. Cæſar* after ſilence made, ſaid: *I for my part ye Romans*, this *Title* did actually ſpeak them to be *diſmiſſed*: wch. voice they had no ſoo-

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ner heard, but they mutinied again; And would not ſuffer him, to go on with his *ſpeech*, until he had called hem, by the Name, of his *Souldiers*, And ſo, with that one *word* the appeaſed the *Sedition*.

116. *Cæſar* would ſay of *Sylla*, for that he did reſign his *Dictatourſhip*; *Sylla was ignorant of Letters, He could not dictate.*

117. *Seneca* ſaid of *Cæſar*; *That he did quickly ſhew, the ſword, but never leave it off.*

118. *Diogenes* begging, as divers *Philoſophers* then uſed, did begg more of a *Prodigall Man*, than of the *Reſt*, which were preſent. Whereupon, one ſaid to him: *See your Baſeneſs, that when you find a liberall Mind, you wil take moſt of him: No*, ſaid *Diogenes, but I mean to begg, of the Reſt, again.*

119. *Themiſtocles*, when an *Embaſſadour*, from a *mean State*, did ſpeak great *matters*; ſaid to him; *friēd, thy words would require a City*

120. *Iphicrates*, the *Athenian*, in a *Treaty*, that he had, with the *Lacedemonians*, for peace; And that *Queſtion* was made, about *ſecurity*, for obſerving the ſame *peace*, ſaid; *The Athenians would not accept of any ſecurity, except the Lacedemonians, do yield up unto them, thoſe Things, whereby it mought be manifeſt, that they could not hurt them, though they would.*

121. They would ſay, of the *Duke* of *Guiſe*, *Henry*; *That he was the greateſt uſurer in France, for that he had turned all his Eſtate into Obligations.* Meaning; That he had ſold, and oppignerated, all his *Patrimony*, to give large donatives, to other men.

122. *Cæſar Borgia*, after long Diviſion, between him, and the *Lords* of *Romagna*, fell to accord with them. In this Accord, there was an *Article*, that he ſhould not call them, at any time, all together, in perſon. The Meaning was, that knowing his dangerous Nature, if he meant them *Treaſon*, He mought have Opportunity, to oppreſs them, altogether at once. Neverthelesſe, he uſed, ſuch fine Art, and fair Carriage, that he wonn their Confidence, to meet altogether, in Counſel, at *Cinigalia*; where he murthered them all. This *Act*, when it was related, unto *Pope Alexander*, his *Father*, by a *Cardinal*, as a Thing *Happy*, but very *Perfidious*; The *Pope* ſaid: *It was they, that had broke, their Covenant firſt, in coming all together.*

123. *Titus Quinctius*, was in the *Counſell*, of the *Achaians*, what time they deliberated, whether in the *Warr*, then to follow, between the *Romans*, and *King Antiochus*, they ſhould confederate themſelves with the *Romans*, or with *King Antiochus*? In that *Counſell*, the *Ætolians*, who incited the *Achaians*, againſt the *Romans*, to diſable their *Forces*, gave great words, as if the late victory, the *Romans* had obtained, againſt *Philip*, *King* of *Macedon*, had been chiefly, by the ſtrength, and *Forces*, of the *Ætolians* themſelves: And on the other ſide, the *Embaſſadour* of *Antiochus*, did extol the *Forces*, of his *Maſter*; ſounding, what an Innumerable Company, he brought in his Army; And gave the *Nations* ſtrange *Names*; As *Elymeans*, *Caducians*, and others. After both their

their *Harangues*, *Titus Quinctius*, when he roſe up, ſaid; *It was an eaſie Matter to perceive, what it was, that had joyned Antiochus, and the Ætolians together; That it appeared to be, by reciprocal lying of each, touching the others Forces.*

124. *Plato* was amorous, of a young *Gentleman*, whoſe Name was *Stella*, that ſtudied *Aſtronomy*; and went oft, in the clear Nights, to look upon the *Starrs*. Whereupon *Plato* wiſhed himſelf *Heaven*, *that he mought look upon Stella, with a* 1000. *Eyes.*

125. The *Lacedemonians*, were beſieged, by the *Athenians*, in the *Port* of *Peile*, which was wonn, and ſome ſlain, and ſome taken. There was one ſaid, to one of them, that was taken, by way of ſcorne; *Were not they brave Men that loſt their Lives, at the Port of Peile?* He anſwered; *Certainly, a Perſian Arrow, is much to be ſet by, if it can chuſe out, a Brave Man.*

126. *Clodius* was acquit by a corrupt *Jury*, that had palpably taken ſhares of *Monie*, before they gave up their *Verdict*, they prayed, of the *Senate*, a *Guard*; That they might do their *Conſciences*, for that *Clodius* was a very *ſeditious young Nobleman.* Whereupon all the World gave him for *Condemned.* But acquitted he was: *Catulus*, the next day, ſeeing ſome of them, that had acquitted him, together, ſaid to them; *What made you ask of us a Guard? Were you afraid, your Monie ſhould have been taken from you.*

127. At the ſame *Judgement*, *Cicero* gave in *Evidence*, upon *Oath*: And when the *Jury*, which conſiſted of 57. had paſſed againſt his *Evidence*, one day, in the *Senate*, *Cicero* and *Clodius* being in Altercation, *Clodius* upbraided him, and ſaid; *The Jury gave you no credit: Cicero* anſwered; *Five and Twenty gave me credit; But there were two and thirty, that gave you no credit; For they had their Monie before hand.*

128. Sir *Henry Savill*, was aſked, by my *Lord of Eſſex*, his Opinion touching *Poets?* He anſwered my Lord; *That he thought them the beſt Writers, next to them, that writ Proſe.*

129. *Diogenes* having ſeen that the *Kingdom* of *Macedon*, which before was Contemptible, and low, began to come aloft, when he dyed, was aſked; *How he would be buried?* He Anſwered; *With my Face downward: For within a while, the world will be turned upſide down, and then I ſhall lie right.*

130. *Cato* the *Elder*, was wont to ſay; *That the Romans, were like ſheep: A Man were better drive a Flock of them, than one of them.*

131. When *Lycurgus* was to reform, and alter, the *State* of *Sparta*; In *Conſultation* one adviſed, that it ſhould be reduced, to an Abſolute *Popular Equality:* But *Lycurgus* ſaid to him; *Sir, begin it in your own Houſe.*

132. *Bion*, that was an *Atheiſt*, was ſhewed in a *Port City*, in a *Temple* of *Neptune*, many *Tables* of *Pictures*, of ſuch, as had, in *Tem-*

peſts,

peſts made their *Vowes* to *Neptune*, and were ſaved from *Shipwrack:* And was aſkt: *How ſay you now? Do you not acknowledge, the power of the Gods?* But ſaid he; *I but where are they painted, that have been drowned, after their Vowes.*

133. *Cicero* was at Dinner, where there was an *Ancient Lady*, that ſpake of her own years; And ſaid; *She was but Forty years old.* One that ſat by *Cicero*, rounded him in the ear, and ſaid; *She talkes of Forty year old; But ſhe is far more, out of Queſtion* Cicero anſwered him again; *I muſt beleeve her, for I have heard her ſay ſo, any time theſe ten years.*

134. There was a *Souldier* that vaunted before *Julius Cæſar*, of the Hurts, he had received in his *Face. Julius Cæſar* knowing him, to be but a Coward, told him; *you were beſt take heed, next time you run away, how you look back.*

135. There was *a Suitor* to *Veſpaſian*, who to lay his *Suit fairer*, ſaid it was for his *Brother*; Whereas indeed it was for a *piece* of *Mony.* Some about *Veſpaſian* told the *Emperour*, to croſs him; That the party, his *Servant* ſpake for, was not his *Brother*; But that he did it upon a *Bargain. Veſpaſian* ſent for the *Party intereſſed*, and aſked him; *Whether his Mean, employed by him, was his Brother, or no?* He durſt not tell untruth to the *Emperour*, and confeſſed, He was not his *Brother.* Whereupon, the *Emperour* ſaid, *This do, Fetch me the Mony, and you ſhall have your Suit diſpatched:* Which he did. The *Courtier*, which was the *Mean*, ſollicited *Veſpaſian*, ſoon after, about his *Suit: Why, (ſaith Veſpaſian,) I gave it, laſt day, to a Brother of mine.*

136. *Veſpaſian* aſked of *Apollonius*; *What was the cauſe of Nero's Ruine?* Who anſwered, *Nero could tune the Harp well; But in Government, he did alwayes wind up the ſtrings too high; or lett them down too low.*

137. *Dionyſius* the *Tyrant*, after he was depoſed, and brought to *Corinth*, kept *a Schoole.* Many uſed to viſit him; And amongſt others, one, when he came in, opened his *Mantle*, and *ſhooke* his *Cloathes*; Thinking to give *Dionyſius* a gentle ſcorn; Becauſe it was the manner to do ſo, for them that came in to ſee him, while he was *Tyrant.* But *Dionyſius* ſaid to him; *I prethee, do ſo, rather when thou goeſt out, that we may ſee, thou ſtealeſt nothing away.*

138. *Diogines*, one terrible froſty Morning, came into the *Market-place*; And ſtood *Naked* ſhaking, to ſhew his *Tolerance.* Many of the People, came about him, pittying him: *Plato* paſſing by, and knowing, He did it to be ſeen, ſaid to the *People* as he went by; *If you pitty him indeed leave him alone.*

139. *Ariſtippus*, was earneſt Suiter, to *Dionyſius*, for ſome Grant; who would give no Eare to his Suite. *Ariſtippus* fell at his feet, and then *Dionyſius* granted it. One that ſtood by, ſaid afterwards to *Ariſtippus*; *You a Philoſopher, and be ſo baſe, as to throw your ſelf, at the Tyrants Feet, to get a Suite: Ariſtippus* anſwered; *The fault is not*

mine,

mine, but the fault is in Dionyſius, that carries his Ears in his Feet.

140. *Solon*, when he wept, for his *Sons Death*, and one ſaid to him; *Weeping will not help*, anſwered; *Alaſs, therefore I weep, becauſe weeping will not help.*

141. The ſame *Solon* being aſked; *Whether he had given the Athenians the beſt Lawes?* Anſwered; *The beſt of thoſe that they would have received.*

142. One ſaid to *Ariſtippus*, *'Tis a ſtrange Thing, why ſhould Men, rather give to the poor, then to Philoſophers*: He anſwered; *Becauſe they think, themſelves may ſooner come to be poor, than to be Philoſophers.*

143. *Trajan* would ſay, of the *Vain Jealouſie* of *Princes*, that ſeek to make away, thoſe that aſpire to their *ſucceſſion*; *That there was never King, that did put to death his Succeſſour.*

144. When it was repreſented to *Alexander*, to the Advantage, of *Antipater*, who was a ſtern and Imperious Man; *That he onely of all his Lieutenants, wore no Purple, but kept, the Macedonian Habit, of Black*; *Alexander* ſaid; *yea, but Antipater is all Purple within.*

145. *Alexander* uſed to ſay, of his two *Friends*, *Craterus* and *Epheſtion*; *That Epheſtion loved Alexander, and Craterus loved the King.*

146. It fell out ſo, that as *Livia* went abroad in *Rome*, there met her *Naked Young Men*, that were ſporting in the ſtreets; which *Auguſtus* went about ſeverely to puniſh in them: But *Livia* ſpake for them, and ſaid; *It was no more, to chaſte Women, then ſo many Statua's.*

147. *Philip* of *Macedon*, was wiſhed to baniſh one, for ſpeaking ill of him: But *Philip* anſwered; *Better he ſpeak, where we are both known, then where we are both unknown.*

148. *Lucullus* entertained *Pompey*, in one of his *Magnificent Houſes*: *Pompey* ſaid, *This is a marvellous Faire, and ſtately Houſe, for the Summer*; *But methinks, it ſhould be very cold for Winter*: *Lucullus* anſwered; *Do you not think me, as wiſe, as divers Foules are, to change my habitation, in the winter ſeaſon.*

149. *Plato* entertained, ſome of his Friends, at a *Dinner*; And had, in the chamber, a *Bed*, or *Couch*, neatly aud coſtly furniſhed. *Diogenes* came in, and got up upon the Bed, and trampled it; ſaying; *I trample upon the Pride of Plato*: *Plato* mildly anſwered; *But with greater Pride Diogenes.*

150. *Pompey* being *Commiſſioner*, for ſending *Grain* to *Rome*, in time of *Dearth*, When He came to the Sea, found it, very tempeſtuous, and dangerous; Inſomuch as thoſe about him, adviſed him, by no means to embarque; But *Pompey* ſaid; *It is of neceſſity, that I go, not that I live.*

151. *Demoſthenes* was upbraided by *Æſchines*, *That his ſpeeches did ſmell of the Lamp*: But *Demoſthenes* ſaid; *Indeed, there is a great deal*

of

of Difference, between that, which you, and I do by Lamp-light.

152. *Demades* the *Oratour*, in his Age, was *Talkative*; and would *eate hard*: *Antipater* would say of him; *That he was like a Sacrifice, that Nothing was left of it, but the Tongue, and the Paunch*

153 *Themistocles*, after he was banished, and had wrought Himself into great Favour, afterwards; so that He was honoured, and sumptuously served; seeing his present Glory; said unto one of his *Friends*; *If I had not been undone, I had beene undone.*

154. *Philo Judæus* saith; *That the sense, is like the Sun*; *For the Sun seales up, the Globe of Heaven, and opens the Globe of Earth: So the sense doth obscure Heavenly Things, and reveales Earthly Things.*

155. *Alexander*, after the *Battell* of *Granicum*, had very great Offers, made him by *Darius*: Consulting with his *Captains*, concerning them, *Parmenio* said; *Sure, I would accept of these Offers, if I were as* Alexander: *Alexander* answered; *so would I, if I were as* Parmenio.

156. *Alexander* was wont to say; *He knew Himself to be Mortal, chiefly by two Things*; *Sleep, and Lust.*

157. *Augustus Cæsar* would say; *That he wondred, that* Alexander *feared, he should want worke, having no more worlds to conquer: As if it were not, as hard a matter, to keep, as to conquer.*

158. *Antigonus*, when it was told him, that the *Enemie*, had such *Volleys*, of *Arrows*, that they did hide the *Sun*, said; *That falls out well*; *For it is hot weather, and so we shall fight, in the shade.*

159. *Cato* the *Elder*, being aged, buried his *Wife*, and married a *young woman.* His *sonne* came to him, and said; *Sir, what have I offended, that you have brought a step-Mother, into your house?* The old man answered; *Nay, quite contrary, sonne*; *Thou pleasest me so well, as I would be glad, to have more such.*

160. *Crassus* the *Oratour* had a *Fish*, which the *Romans* call *Murena*, that he made very tame, and fond of him; The *fish* died, and *Crassus* wept for it. One day, falling in contention with *Domitius*, in the *Senate*, *Domitius* said; *Foolish* Crassus, *you wept for your* Murena. *Crassus* replied; *That's more then you did, for both your wives.*

161. *Philip, Alexanders Father*, gave *sentence* against a *prisoner*, what time he was drowsie, and seemed to give small attention. The *Prisoner*, after *sentence* was pronounced, said, *I appeal.* The *King*, somewhat stirred, said; *To whom do you appeal?* The *prisoner* answered; *From* Philip, *when he gave no eare, to* Philip, *when he shall give eare.*

162. There was a *Philosopher*, that disputed with *Adrian* the *Emperour*, and did it but weakly. One of his Friends, that had been by, afterwards said unto him: *Methinks, you were not like your*

your ſelfe, laſt day, in Argument with the Emperour; I could have anſwered better my ſelf: Why, ſaid *the Philoſopher*; *Would you have me contend with him, that commands thirty Legions?*

163. When *Alexander* paſs'd into *Aſia*, he gave large *Donatives*, to his *Captains*, and other *principall Men* of *Vertue*: Inſomuch as *Parmenio* asked him; *Sir, what do you keep for your ſelfe?* he anſwered, *Hope.*

164. *Veſpaſian* ſet a *Tribute* upon *Urine*: *Titus*, his ſon, emboldened himſelf, to ſpeak to his *Father* of it: And repreſented it, as a Thing, indigne and ſordid. *Veſpaſian* ſaid nothing, for the time; But a while after, when it was forgotten, ſent for a piece of *Silver*, out of the *Tribute-money*; And called to his *ſon, bidding him, to ſmell to it*; and asked him, *whether he found any offence?* who ſaid, *No: Why ſo*, ſaith *Veſpaſian* again; *Yet this comes out of Urine.*

165. *Nerva*, the *Emperour*, ſucceeded *Domitian*, who had been *Tyrannicall*; And in his time, many *Noble Houſes* were overthrown, by falſe Accuſations; The Inſtruments whereof, were chiefly, *Marcellus* and *Regulus*. The *Emperour Nerva*, one night ſup'd privately, with ſome ſixe, or ſeven: Amongſt which there was one, that was a Dangerous Man; And began to take the like courſes, as *Marcellus*, and *Regulus*, had done. The *Emperour* fell into Diſcourſe, of the *Injuſtice*, and *Tyranny* of the former *Time*; And by Name, of the two *Accuſers*; And ſaid; *What ſhould we do with them, if we had them now?* One of them, that was at Supper, and was a free-ſpoken *Senatour*, ſaid; *Marry, they ſhould ſup with us.*

166. There was one, that found a great *Maſs* of *Money*, digged under Ground, in his *Grand-fathers Houſe*; And being ſomewhat doubtfull, of the *Caſe*, ſignified it to the *Emperour*, that he had found ſuch *Treaſure*. The *Emperour* made a *Reſcript* thus; *Uſe it.* He writ back again; That the *ſumme* was greater, then his *Eſtate*, or *Condition*, could uſe. The *Emperour* writ, a new *Reſcript*, thus; *Abuſe it.*

167. *Julius Cæſar*, as he paſſed by, was by *Acclamation*, of ſome, that ſtood in the way, termed *King*; to try how the *People* would take it. The *People* ſhewed great murmure and diſtaſt at it. *Cæſar* finding, where the winde ſtood, ſlighted it, and ſaid; *I am not King, but Cæſar*: As if they had miſtaken his Name. For *Rex* was a *ſurname* amongſt the *Romans*, as *King* is with us.

168. When *Cræſus*, for his glory, ſhewed *Solon*, his great *Treaſures*, of *Gold*; *Solon* ſaid to him; *If another KING come, that hath better iron, than you, he will be Maſter, of all this Gold.*

169. *Ariſtippus*, being reprehended of *Luxury*, by one that was not rich; for that he gave *ſixe Crownes* for a ſmall *Fiſh*; anſwered; *What, what would you have given?* The other ſaid, ſome *Twelve pence*. *Ariſtippus* ſaid again; *And ſixe crowns is no more with me.*

170. *Plato*

170. *Plato* reprehended ſeverely, a *young man*, for entring into a *diſſolute Houſe*. The *young man* ſaid to him; *why do you reprehend ſo ſharply, for ſo ſmall a matter? Plato* replyed; *But cuſtom is no ſmall matter.*

171. *Archidamus*, *King* of *Lacedemon*, having received from *Philip*, *King* of *Macedon*; (After *Philip* had won the *victory* of *Cheronea*, upon the *Athenians*) proud *Letters*; writ back to him; *That if he meaſured his own ſhadow, he ſhould find it no longer then it was before his victory.*

172. *Pyrrhus*, when his Friends congratulated to him, his victory over the *Romans*, under the *Conduct* of *Fabritius*, but with great ſlaughter, of his own ſide, ſaid to them again; *yes, but if we have ſuch another Victory, we are undone.*

173. *Cineas* was an excellent *Orator*, and *Statesman*; And principal *Friend*, and *Counſeller*, to *Pyrrhus*; And falling in inward talk with him; And diſcerning the *Kings* endleſs ambition, when *Pyrrhus* opened himſelf to him; *That he intended, firſt a Warr upon Sicely; And hoped to atchieve it. Cineas* asked him; *Sir what will you do then? Then*, ſaith He, *we will attempt Italy, and Rome. Cineas*, ſaid; *Well Sir, what then?* (*Then ſaith Pyrrhus*,) *if the Gods ſuccour us, we may conquer the Kingdome of Carthage. What then*, Sir, ſaith *Cineas? Nay then*, ſaith, *Pyrrhus, we may take our Reſt, and ſacrifice, and feaſt every day, and make merry with our friends. Alas, Sir*, ſaid, *Cineas, may we not do ſo now, without all this ado*;

175. *Plato* was wont to ſay, of his *Maſter Socrates*; *That he was like the Apothecaries Galley pots*; *That had, on the Outſide, Apes, and Owles, and Satyres*; *But within precious Druggs.*

175. *Alexander* ſent to *Phocyon*, a great *preſent* of *Money*. *Phocyon* ſaid to the *Meſſenger*; *Why doth the King ſend to me, and to none elſe?* The *Meſſenger* anſwered *Becauſe he takes you to be the only good man in Athens. Phocyon* replyed; *If he think ſo, pray let him ſuffer me, to be ſo ſtill.*

176. At a *Banquet* where thoſe that were called the *ſeven wiſe men* of *Greece*, were invited, by the *Embaſſadour*, of a *Barbarous King*; The *Embaſſadour* related; That there was a *Neighbour mighty* then his *Maſter*, pict quarrels with him, by making *impoſſible Demands*, otherwiſe threatning *warr*, and now, at that preſent, had demanded of him; *to drink up the Sea.* Whereunto one of the *wiſe men ſaid*; *I would have him undertake it. Why* ſaith the *Embaſſadour*) *how ſhall he come off? Thus*, (ſaith the *wiſeman*,) *let that King, firſt ſtop the Rivers, which run into the Sea*; *which are no part of the bargain*; *and then your Maſter will perform it.*

177. At the ſame *Banquet*, the *Embaſſadour* deſired the *ſeven*, and ſome other *wiſe men*, that were at the *Banquet*, to deliver, every one of them, ſome *ſentence*, or *parable*, that he mought report to his *King*, the wiſedome of *Grecia*, which they did: only one was ſilen: which the *Embaſſadour* perceiving, ſaid to him;

Sir, let it not displease you; why do not you say somewhat, that I may report? He answered; *Report to your Lord, that there are of the Grecians that can hold their peace.*

178. The *Lacedemonians* had in custome, to speak very short; which being an *Empire*, they mought do at pleasure: But after their *defeat* at *Leuctra*, in an *assembly* of the *Græcians*, they made a long *invective* against *Epaminondas*; Who stood up, and said no more but this; *I am glad, we have brought you to speak long.*

179. *Fabius Maximus*, being resolved to draw the *warr* in length still waited upon *Hannibals* progress, to curbe him: And for that purpose, he *encamped*, upon the *High Ground*: But *Terentius*, his *Colleague*, fought with *Hannibal*, & was in great peril of overthrow: But then *Fabius*, came down from the *High grounds*, and got the Day. Whereupon *Hannibal* said; *That he did ever think, that that same cloud, that hanged upon the Hills, would at one time, or other, give a Tempest.*

180. *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, was sent *Commissioner*, by the *state*, after the *second Carthaginian warr*, to supplicate for *peace*; And in the end, obtain'd it: yet one, of the sharper *Senators* said; *you have often broken with us, the peaces, whereunto you have been sworn; I pray, by what Gods will you sweare?* *Hanno* answered; *by the same Gods that have punished, the former perjury, so severely.*

181. *Cæsar* when he had first possessed *Rome*, *Pompey* being fled, offered to enter the *sacred Treasury*, to take the *moneys*, that were ther stored: And *Metellus*, *Tribune of the People*, did forbid him; And when *Metellus* was violent in it, and would not desist; *Cæsar* turned to him, and said; *presume no further, or I will lay you dead* And when *Metellus*, was, with those words, somewhat astonished, *Cæsar* added; *young man, it had been easier for me, to do this, than to speak it.*

182. *Caius Marius*, was *General* of the *Romans* against the *Cimbers*, who came with such a sea, of *people*, upon *Italy*. In the *fight*, there was a *Band*, of the *Cadurcians*, of a thousand, that did notable service, whereupon, after the Fight, *Marius* did *denison* them all, for *Citizens* of *Rome*, though there was no Law to warrant it. One of his *Friends*, did present it unto him; *That he had transgressed the Law, because that priviledge, was not to be graunted, but by the people.* Whereunto *Marius* answered; *That for the Noyse of Arms, he could not hear the Laws.*

183. *Pompey* did consummate the *Warr* against *Sertorius*, when *Metellus* had brought the Enemy somewhat low. He did also consummate the *warr*, against the *Fugitives*, whom *Crassus* had befored defeated, in a great Battaile. So when *Lucullus* had had great and glorious *Victories*, against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*; yet *Pompey* by means his friends made, was sent to put an end, to that war. Whereupon *Lucullus* taking indignation, as a disgrace offered to himself, said; *That Pompey was a Carrion Crow*

when

when others had ſtrucken down the bodies, then Pompey came and preyed upon them.

184. *Antiſthenes*, being asked of one *what learning was moſt neceſſary, for Mans life?* Anſwered; To unlearn that which is nought.

185. *Alexander* viſited *Diogenes*, in his *Tubb*; And when he asked him; *what he would deſire of him?* *Diogenes* anſwered, *That you would ſtand, a little aſide, that the ſun, may come to me.*

186. The ſame *Diogenes*, when *Mice* came about him, as he was eating, ſaid; *I ſee, that even Diogenes, nouriſheth Parasites.*

187. *Hiero* viſited by *Pythagoras*, askt him; *Of what condition he was?* *Pythagoras* anſwered; *Sir I know, you have been, at the Olympian Games: yes,* ſaith *Hiero. Thither* (ſaith *Pythagoras,*) *come ſome, to win the prizes. Some come to ſell their Merchandize, becauſe it is, a kinde of Mart, of all Greece. Some come to meet their Friends to & make merry; Becauſe of the great confluence, of all ſorts. Others come onely, to look on. I am one of them, that come to look on;* meaning it; of *Philoſophy*, and the *contemplative life.*

188. *Heraclitus* the *obſcure*, ſaid; *The dry light, is the beſt Soul:* meaning when the *faculties intellectual*, are in vigour; not *drenched, or, as it were, blouded*, by the *affections.*

189. One of the *Philoſophers* was asked; *what a wiſe man differed from a foole?* He anſwered; *ſend them both Naked, to thoſe that know them not, and you ſhall perceive.*

190. There was a *Law*, made by the *Romans*, againſt the *Bribery* and *Extortion*, of the *Governers of provinces*. *Cicero* ſaith in a ſpeech of his to the *people*; *That he thought the provinces would petition, to the ſtate of Rome, to have that Law repealed. For,* (ſaith he,) *before the Governour did bribe and extort, as much as was ſufficient for themſelves: But now they bribe, and extort as much, as may be enough, not only for themſelves, but for the Judges, and Jurors, and Magiſtrates.*

191. *Ariſtippus* ſayling in a *Tempeſt*, ſhewed ſignes of fear. One of the Seamen, ſaid to him, in an inſulting manner; *we that are plebeians, are not troubled; you that are a philoſopher, are afraid. Ariſtippus* anſwered; *There is not the like wager upon it, for you to periſh and for me.*

192. There was an *Orator*, that defended a *cauſe of Ariſtippus*, and prevailed. Afterwards, he asked *Ariſtippus*; *Now, in your diſtreſs, what did Socrates do you good? Ariſtippus* anſwered; *Thus; In making that, which you ſaid of me, to be true.*

193. There was an *Epicurean* vaunted, that divers of other *ſects* of *Philoſophers*, did after turn *Epicureans*; But there was never any *Epicurean*, that turned to any other *ſect*. Whereupon a *Philoſopher that was of another* ſect, *ſaid*; *The reaſon was ſtin, for that Cocks may be made* Capons; *but* Capons *could never be made Cocks*

194. *Chilon would ſay*; *That Gold was tryed with the touchſtone*; *And men with Gold.*

195. *Simonides* being askt of *Hiero*, what he thought of *God?* asked a seven-nights time to consider of it: And at the seven-nights end, he asked a Fourthnights time: At the Forth-nights end, a Moneth. At which *Hiero* marvelling, *Simonides* answered; *That the longer he thought upon the matter, the more difficult he found it.*

196. *Socrates*, when there was shewed unto him, the *Book* of *Heraclitus*, the *obscure*; And was asked his opinion of it; answered; *Those things, that I understood, were excellent; I imagine, so were those that I understood not; But they require a Diver of Delos.*

197. *Socrates* was pronounced, by the *Oracle* of *Delphos*, to be the *wisest man* of *Greece*; which he would put from himself, In *modesty*, saying; *There could be nothing in himself, to verify the Oracle except this; That he was not wise, and knew it; And others were not wise, and knew it not.*

198. A *Spaniard* was censuring to a *French Gentleman*, the want of *Devotion*, amongst the *French*; In that, whereas in *Spain*, when the *Sacrament* goes to the *sick*, any that meets with it, turns back and waits upon it, to the house, whether it goes; But in *France*, they only do *Reverence*, and pass by. But the *French Gentleman* answered him; *There is Reason for it; For here with us, Christ is secure, amongst his Friends; But in Spain, there be so many Jewes, and Marano's, that it is not amiss for him, to have a Convoy.*

199. *Mr. Popham*, (afterwards, Lord chief Justice *Popham*,) when he was Speaker; And the *House* of *Commons* had sate long and done, in effect, nothing; Comming one day to *Queen Elizabeth*, she said to him; *Now Mr. Speaker; what hath passed, in the Commons House?* He answered; *If it please your Majesty seven weeks.*

200. *Agathocles*, after he had taken *Syracusa*, the men whereof, during the siege, had in a bravery, spoken of them, all the *Villany*, that mought be; sold the *Syracusans* for *slaves*, And said; *Now, if you use, such words, of me, I will tell your Masters of you.*

201. *Themistocles*, in his *lower Fortune*, was in love with a young gentleman, who scorned him; But when he grew, to his *Greatness*, which was soon after, he sought him; *Themistocles* said; *we are both grown wise, but too late.*

202. *Bion* was sayling, and there fell out a great Tempest; And the *Mariners*, that were wicked, and dissolute fellows, called upon the *Gods*; But *Bion* said to them, *peace, let them not know you are here.*

203. The Turks made an *expedition* into *Persia*; And because of the *strait Jawes*, of the *Mountains* of *Armenia*, the *Bashaws* consulted, which way they should get in? One that heard the *Debate* said; *here's much adoe, how you shall get in; But I hear no Body take care how you should get out.*

204. *Philip King of Macedon*, maintained arguments with a *Musician* in points of his Art, somewhat peremptorily; But the *Musician*

cian ſaid to him; *God forbid Sir, your Fortune, were ſo hard, that you ſhould know theſe things, better then my ſelf.*

205. *Antalcidas*, when an *Athenian* ſaid to him, *ye Spartans are unlearned*; ſaid again; *True*; *For we have learned no evil, nor vice, of you.*

206. *Pace* the bitter *Fool*, was not ſuffered to come, at *Queen Elizabeth*, becauſe of his bitter Humour. Yet at one time, ſome perſwaded the *Queen*, that he ſhould come to her; undertaking for him, that he ſhould keep within compaſs, ſo he was brought to her, and the *Queen* ſaid; *come on Pace, now we ſhall hear of our faults*, ſaith *Pace*; *I do not uſe to talk of that, that all the Towne talkes of.*

207. *Biſhop Latimer* ſaid, in a Sermon at Court; *That he heard great ſpeach, that the King was poor*; *And many wayes were propounded to make him rich: For his part, he had thought of one way, which was*; *That they ſhould help the King, to ſome good Office*; *for all his Officers were rich.*

208. After the defeat of *Cyrus* the younger, *Falinus* was ſent, by the King, to the Grecians, (who had, for their part rather victory, than otherwiſe,) to command them, to yield their arms; which when it was denied, *Falinus* ſaid to *Clearchus*; *Well then, the King lets you know, that if you remove, from the place where you are now encamped, it is war: if you ſtay it is Truce: What ſhall I ſay you will do?* Clearchus anſwered; *It pleaſeth us, as it pleaſeth the King. How is that?* ſaith Falinus; ſaith Clearchus; *If we remove, War*; *If we ſtay, Truce*; and ſo would not diſcloſe his purpoſe.

209. *Alcibiades* came to *Pericles*, and ſtayed a while, ere he was admitted. When he came in, *Pericles* civilly excuſed it, and ſaid; *I was ſtudying, how to give mine account.* But *Alcibiades* ſaid to him *If you will be ruled by me, ſtudy rather how to give no account.*

210. *Mendoza*, that was Vice-Roy of *Peru*, was wont to ſay; *That the goverment of Peru, was the beſt place, that the King of Spain gave, ſave that it was ſomewhat too near Madrid.*

211. When *Veſpaſian* paſſed from Jury, to take upon him, the Empire, he went by *Alexandria*, where remained two famous Philoſophers; *Apollonius and Euphrates.* The Emperour heard the diſcourſe, touching matter of State, in the preſence of many. And when he was weary of them, he brake off, and in a ſecret deriſion, finding their Diſcourſes but ſpeculative, and not to be put in practiſe, ſaid; *Oh that I might govern wiſe men, and wiſe men govern me.*

212. Cardinal *Ximenes*, upon a Muſter, which was taken againſt the Moors was ſpoken to, by a Servant of his to ſtand a little out of the ſmoake, of the Harquebuze but he ſaid again, *That that was his incenſe.*

213. *Nero* was wont to ſay, of his Maſter *Seneca*; *That his ſtile was like mortar without lime.*

214. A certain Countrey man, being at an Aſſiſes, and ſeeing the

the Prisoners, holding up their hands, at the the Barr, related to some of his acquaintance: *That the Judges were good Fortune tellers: For if they did but look upon a mans hand, they could tell, whether he should live or dye.*

215. *Augustus Cæsar*, out of great indignation, against his two Daughters; and *Posthumus Agrippa*, his Grand-Child, whereof the two first were infamous; and the last otherwise unworthy, would say: *That they were not his seed, but some imposthumes, that had broken from him.*

216. A Sea-man coming before the Judges of the Admiralty, for admittance into an Office, of a Ship, bound for the Indies, was by one of the Judges much slighted, as an insufficient person, for that office, he sought to obtain; The Judge telling him; *That he believed, he could not say, the points of his Compass.* The Sea-man answered; *That he could say them, under favour, better then he could say his Pater-Noster.* The Judge replyed; *That he would wager Twenty shillings with him upon that.* The Sea-man taking him up, it came to tryall: And the Sea-man began, and said all the points of his Compass very exactly: The Judge likewise said his Pater-Noster: and when he had finished it, he required the wager, according to agreement; *Because the Sea man was to say his Compass better, than he his Pater-Noster; which he had not performed. Nay, I pray, Sir, hold,* (quoth the Seaman;) *The wager is not finished; For I have but halfe done.* And so he immediately said his Compasse backward very exactly; which the Judge failing of in his Pater-Noster, the Sea-man carryed away the Prize.

217. There was a Conspiracy against the Emperour *Claudius*, by *Scribonianus*, examined in the Senate; where *Claudius* sate in his Chair, and one of his Freed servants, stood at the Backe of his Chair. In the Examination, that Freed servant, who had much power with *Claudius*, very sawcily, had almost all the words: And amongst other things, he asked in scorne, one of the Examinates, who was likewise Freed servant of *Scribonianus*; *I pray, Sir, if* Scribonianus *had been Emperour, what would you have done?* He answered; *I would have stood behind his Chair, and held my peace.*

218. One was saying; *That his great Grand-father, and Grand-father, and Father, died at Sea*: Said another, that heard him; *And I were as you, I would never come at Sea. Why,* (saith he,) *where did your great Grand-father, and Grand-father, and Father, dye.* He answered; *Where, but in their Beds?* He answered; *And I were as you, I would never come in Bed.*

219. There was a Dispute, whether great Heads, or little Heads, had the better Wit? And one said; *It must needs be, the little; For that it is a Maxime; Omne majus continet in se minus.*

220. Sir *Thomas Moor*, when the Counsell of the party, pressed

led him, for a longer day, to perform the Decree, said; *Take St.* Barnabies *day, which is the longest day, in the year.* Now St. *Barnabies Day, was within few dayes following.*

221. One of the Fathers saith; *That there is, but this Difference, between the Death of old Men, and young Men; That old Men, go to Death; And Death comes to young men.*

222. *Cassius*, after the Defeat of *Crassus*, by the Parthians; whose weapons were chiefly Arrows; Fled to the City of *Carras*; where he dust not stay any time, doubting to be pursued, and besieged, He had with him an *Astrologer*, who said to him: *Sir, I would not have you go hence, while the Moon is in the signe, of Scorpio* Cassius answered, *I am more afraid of that of Sagittarius,*

223. *Jason* the *Thessalian*, was wont to say; *That some things must be done unjustly, that many Things may be done justly.*

224. There was an Harbinger, had lodged a Gentleman, in a very ill Room, who expostulated with him, somewhat rudely: But the Harbinger carelesly said; *you will take pleasure in it, when you are out of it.*

225. *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, would, at times, retire himself, from Business, and give himself wholy to pleasures. One of those his retirings, giving out that he was sick, his Father, *Antigonus*, came on the suddain, to visit him; And met a fair dainty youth, coming out of his chamber. When *Antigonus* came in, *Demetrius* said; *Sir the Feaver left me right now.* Antigonus replyed; *I think, it was He, that I met at the doore.*

226. *Cato Major* would say, *That wise men learned more by Fooles, than fools by wise men.*

227. When it was said to *Anaxagoras*; *The Athenians have condemned you to dye*; He said again; *And nature them.*

228. *Alexander* when his Father wished him, to run, for the prize, of the Race, at the Olympian Games; (For he was very swift;) answered; *He would if he might run with Kings.*

229. *Antigonus* used often to go disguised, and to listen at the Tents, of his Souldiers; And, at a time, heard some, that spoke, very ill of him. Whereupon he opened the Tent a little, and said to them; *If you would speak ill of me, you should go a little further off.*

238. *Aristippus* said; *That those that studied particular Sciences, and neglected Philosophy; Were like Penelopes wooers, that made love, to the waiting woman.*

231. The Embassadors of Asia Minor, came to *Antonius*, after he had imposed upon them a double tax; and said plainly to him; *That if he would have, two tributes in one year; He must give them, two seed times, and two Harvests.*

332. An Orator of *Athens*, said to Demosthenes; *the Athenians will kill you, if they wax mad:* Demosthenes replyed, *And they will kill you if they be in good sense.*

233. *Epicletus* used to say; *That one of the vulgar, in any ill that hap-*

happens to him, blames others; A Novice in Philosophy blames himself: And a Philosopher blames, neither the one, nor the other.

234. *Cæsar*, in his Book, that he made against *Cato*, (which is lost,) did write, to shew the force of opinion, and reverence, of a Man, that had once obtained, a popular Reputation; *That there were some, that found Cato drunk, and were ashamed, instead of Cato*

235. There was a Noble man said of a great Counseller; *That he would have made, the worst Farrier in the world; for he never shod Horse, but he cloyed him: For he never commended, any Man to the King, for service, or upon occasion of sute, or otherwise, but that he would come in, in the end, with a But; And drive in a Nayle, to his Disadvantage.*

236. Diogenes called an ill Musician, *Cock. Why?* (saith he) Diogenes answered; *Because when you Crow, men use to rise.*

237. There was a Gentleman fell very sick, and a Friend of his, said to him; *surely you are in danger; I pray send for a Physician:* But the sick man answered; *It is no matter, for if I dye I will dye at leisure.*

238. *Cato* the Elder, what time many of the *Romans*, had statua's erected, in their honour; was asked, by one, in a kind of wonder, *why he had none?* He answered, *he had much rather, men should ask, and wonder, why he had no statua, then why he had a statua.*

239. A certain friend of Sir *Thomas Moores*, taking great pains, about a Book, which he intended to publish; (being well conceited, of his own wit, which no man els thought worthy of commendation,) brought it to Sir *Thomas Moor*, to peruse it, and pass his judgement upon it; which he did: And finding nothing therein worthy the Press; He said to him, with a grave Countenance; *That if it were in verse, it would be more worthy.* Upon which words, he went immediately, and turned it into verse; and then brought it, to *Sir Thomas* again, who looking thereon said soberly; *yes marry, now it is somewhat; for now it is Rhime; whereas before it was neither Rhime nor Reason.*

240. *Sir Henry Wotton* used to say: *That Criticks, were like Brushers, of Noble Mens Cloaths.*

241. *Hannibal*, said of *Fabius Maximus*, and of *Marcellus*; (whereof the former waited upon him, that he could make no progress: And the latter had many sharp fights with him) *That he feared Fabius like a Tutor: And Marcellus like an Enemy.*

242. When *King Edward the second*, was amongst his Torturers, who hurried him too and fro, That no man should know wher he was, they let him down upon a Banke: And one time the more to disguise his Face, shaved him, and washed him with cold water of a Ditch by: *The King* said: *Well, yet, I will have warm water for my Beard:* And so shed abundance of Tears.

243. One of the seaven was wont to say: *That Lawes were like Cop-webs: where the small Flyes were caught, and the great brake through.*

Lewis

245. *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, having much abated, the greatneſs, and power, of the Peeres, Nobility, and Court of Parliament, would ſay; *That he had brought the Crown out of ward.*

246. There was a cowardly Spaniſh Souldier, that in a Defeat the *Moores* gave, ran away with the foremoſt. Afterwards when the Army generally fled, this Souldier was miſſing. Whereupon it was ſaid by ſome, *that he was ſlain: No ſure* (ſaith one,) *He is alive; For the Moores eate no Hares Fleſh.*

247. A Gentleman, that was punctual of his word, and loved the ſame in others: when he heard, that two perſons, had agreed upon a meeting, about ſerious affaires, at a certain time, and place; And that the one party failed in the performance, or neglected his Hour: would uſually ſay of him; *He is a young man then.*

248. *Anacharſis* would ſay, concerning the popular Eſtates, of *Græcia. That he wondred, how at Athens, Wiſe men did propoſe, and Fooles did diſpoſe.*

249. His Lordſhip, when he had finiſhed, this Collection of Apophthegmes, concluded thus; *Come now, all is well: They ſay; He is not a wiſe man, that will looſe his friend, for his wit: But he is leſs a wiſe man, that will looſe his friend, for another mans wit.*

Faults Eſcaped in the Printing

PAge 16. *linea.* 4. for *Gu'cis lege Du'cis* p. 32. *l.* 34. moſt *lege* moſt, p. 37. *l.* 33. *fit l. fiat* p. 55. *l.* 18. *vel. l. Duel.* p. 55. *l. ult Thunaus l. Thuanus* p. 137 *l.* 38. Ferrain *l.* Forrain, *Ead. l.* 41. *mene l. meant* p. 138. *l* 46. there *l.* their, p. 144. *l. ult.* be *l.* he: It linht. *l.* light. p. 147. *l.* 37. Lord *l.* Lordſh p. p. 164. *l.* 12. *non is repetit Conditionibus Diſſidiis, l. Non repetitis Conditionibus Diſſidii.* p. 208. *l.* 43. Meſty *l.* Majeſty p 212. *l.* 14. roe *l.* true p. 221. *l.* 9. Mad *l.* Man p. 241 *l.* 16 *a l. as* p. 246. *l.* 10 if *l.* of p. 266. *l.* 5. *deſig l.* deſigne p. 275. *l.* 28. *Sexuir l Sexuiri Ead. l.* 45. Ninas *l Minos* p. 286. *l.* 8. nown *l.* down *Ead. l.* 11. of *l.* on. *Ead. l.* 27. affect *l.* effect p. 287. *l.* 30. Free *l.* Far p. 288 *l.* 13. middle And *l.* middle Age. p. 300. *l.* 13. Soiltarily *l.* Solitarily p. 302. *l.* Barbe *l.* Barber p. 306. *lin.* 38. Patients *l.* patient. p. 317. *l.* 16. to and *l.* and to *ead. l.* 46. ſlain *l.* plain p. 318. *l.* 31. Them *l. Him.* p. 319. *l.* 37. the *l.* them.

SEVERAL

LETTERS,

WRITTEN BY THIS

Honourable Authour,

TO

QUEEN ELIZABETH,

KING IAMES,

DIVERS LORDS,

AND OTHERS.



LONDON,
Printed by *F. L.* for *William Lee*, at the sign of the *Turks-Head*, in *Fleetstreet*, 1657.

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AND OTHERS.

A LETTER

To the LORD TREASURER,

BVRGHLEY,

In Excuſe of his SPEECH, in

PARLIAMENT;

Againſt the

TRIPLE SUBSIDIE.

It may pleaſe your Lordſhip,



Was ſorry, to find, by your *Lordſhips Speech*, yeſterday, that my laſt *Speech*, in *Parliament*, delivered, in diſcharge of my Conſcience, and Duty to *God*, her *Majeſty*, and my *Countrey*, was offenſive. If it were miſreported, I would be glad, to attend your *Lordſhip*, to diſavow any thing, I ſaid not; If it were miſconſtrued, I would be glad, to expound my ſelf, to exclude any ſenſe, I meant not. If my Heart be misjudged, by Imputation of Popularity, or Oppoſition, by any envious, or officious Informer, I have great wrong; And the greater, becauſe the Manner of my *Speech*, did moſt evidently ſhew, that I ſpake ſimply; And onely, to ſatisfie my Conſcience, and not with any Advantage, or Policy, to ſway the Cauſe: And my Terms, carried all ſignification, of Duty, and Zeal, towards her *Majeſty*, and her Service. It is true, that from the Beginning, whatſoever was above a *Double Subſidy*, I did wiſh, might, (for preſident ſake) appear to be extraordinary; And, (for Diſcontents ſake,) mought not have been

levied, upon the Poorer sort: Though otherwise, I wished it as Rising, as I think she will prove, and more. This was my mind, I confesse it. And therefore, I most humbly pray, your good Lordship; First, to continue me in your own good Opinion; And then, to perform the part, of an *Honourable Friend*, towards your poor *Servant*, and *Allowe*; In drawing her *Majesty*, to accept, of the Sincerity, and Simplicity, of my Heart; And to bear with the rest, and restore me, to her *Majesties* Favour.

A Letter to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, recommending his first Sute, touching the Sollicitors place.

After the remembrance of my most humble Duty,

THough I know, by late Experience, how mindfull your *Lordship* voutsafeth to be of me, and my poor Fortunes; since it pleased your *Lordship*, during your Indisposition, when her *Majesty* came, to visit your *Lordship*, to make mention of me, for my Employment, and preferment; yet being now in the Countrey, I do presume, that your *Lordship*, who of your Self, had so Honourable care of the matter, will not think it a Trouble, to be sollicited therein. My hope is, that whereas your *Lordship* told me, her *Majesty* was somewhat gravelled, upon the Offence, she took, at my *Speech* in *Parliament*, your *Lordships* favourable, and good word, (who hath assured me, that for your own part, you construed, that I spake, to the best,) will be as a good *Tide*, to remove her from that *Shelf*. And it is not unknown to your *Lordship*, that I was the first, of the Ordinary Sort, of the *Lower House*, of *Parliament*, that spake for the *Subsidy*; And that, which I after spake in difference, was but in Circumstances of Time, and Manner, which me thinks should be no great Matter, since there is Variety allowed in *Counsel*, as a Discord in *Musicke*, to make it more perfect. But I may justly doubt, not so much her *Majesties* Impression, upon this particular, as her Conceit, otherwise, of my Insufficiency; which though I acknowledge to be great, yet it will be the lesse, because I purpose, not to divide my self, between her *Majesty*, and the *Causes* of other Men, (as others have done,) but to attend her Businesse only; Hoping, that a whole Man, meanly able, may doe as well as Half a Man, better able. And if her *Majesty* think, that she shall make an Adventure, in using one, that is rather a Man of Study, than of Practice, and Experience; Surely, I may remember, to have heard, that my *Father*, (an Example, I confesse, rather Ready, than Like;) was made *Sollicitor*, of the *Augmentation*, (a *Court* of much Businesse,) when he had never practiced, and was but 27 years old: And Mr. *Bograve*, was now, in my time, called to be *Attorney* of the *Dutchy*, when he had

practised,

practised, little, or nothing: And yet discharged his place, with great Sufficiency. But those Things, and the like, are, as her Majesty shall be made capable of them: wherein, knowing what Authority, your *Lordships* Commendation, hath with her *Majesty*, I conclude with my Self, that the Substance of Strength, which I may receive, will be from your *Lordship*. It is true, my Life hath been so private, as I have had no means, to do your *Lordship* service; but yet, as your *Lordship* knoweth, I have made offer, of such, as I could yield: For as *God*, hath given me a mind, to love the *Publick*; so incidently, I have ever had your *Lordship*, in singular Admiration; whose happy Ability, her *Majesty* hath so long used, to her great Honour, and yours. Besides, that Amendment, of State, or Countenance, which I have received, hath been from your *Lordship*. And therefore, if your *Lordship* shall stand, a good Friend, to your poor *Allie*, you shall but *Facere Opus proprium*, which you have begun. And your *Lordship*, shall bestow your benefit upon one, that hath more sense of Obligation, than of Self-love. Thus humbly desiring pardon, of so long a *Letter*, I wish your *Lordship* all Happiness. This 7th of *June*, 1595.

A Letter to Queen Elizabeth, upon the sending of a New-years Gift.

It may please your Majesty,

ACcording to the Ceremony, of the Time, I would not forget, in all humbleness, to present your *Majesty*, with a small *New-years Gift*: Nothing to my Mind. And therefore to supply it, I can but pray to *God*, to give your *Majesty*, his *New-years Gift*; that is, a *New year*, that shall be, as no *year*, to your *Body*; And as a *year*, with 2. *Harvests* to your *Coffers*; And every other way, prosperous, and gladsom. And so I remain.

A Letter to Queen Elizabeth, upon the sending of a New-years Gift.

Most excellent Soveraign Mistris,

THe onely *New-years Gift*, which I can give your *Majestie*, is that, which *God* hath given to me: which is, a Mind, in all Humbleness, to wait upon your Commandements, and Business: Wherein I would to *God*, that I were troubled, that I saw less; Or, that I could perform more: For now I am like a *Hawk*, that *bates*, when I see occasion of service, but cannot fly, because I am tyed

tyed to anothers Fist. But mean while, I continue my presumption, of making to your *Majesty*, my poor Oblation, of a *Garment*, as unworthy the Wearing, as his service that sends it: But the Approach, to your Excellent *Person*, may give Worth to both: which is all the Happinesse I aspire unto.

A Letter, of Advice, to the Earl of Essex, to take upon him, the Care, of Irish Causes, when Mr. Secretary Cecill was in Fraunce.

My singular good Lord,

I Doe write, because I had no time, fully to expresse my Conceit, to your *Lordship*, touching *Irish* Affairs; considering them, as they may concern, your *Lordship*; Knowing, that you will consider them, as they may concern the *State*. That it is one of the aptest particulars, that hath come, or can come upon the *Stage*, for your *Lordship*, to purchase Honour upon, I am moved to think, for 3. Reasons. Because, it is ingenerate, in your *House*, in respect of my *Lord*, your *Fathers*, Noble Attempts: Because, of all the *Actions*, of *State*, on foot, at this time, the Labour resteth most, in that particular; And because, the *World*, will make a kinde of Comparison, between those, that set it out of Frame, and those that bring it into Frame: which kind of *Honour*, giveth the quickest kind of *Reflection*. The Transferring this Honour, upon your self, consisteth in 2. *points*: The one, if the *Principal Persons* employ'd, come in by you, and depend upon you: The other, if your *Lordship*, declare your self, and profess to undertake, a Care of that *Kingdom*. For the *Persons*, it falleth out well, that your *Lordship*, hath had no Interest, in the *Persons* of *Imputation*: For neither, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, nor Sir *John Norrice*, was yours. Sir *William Russell*, was conceived yours, but was curbed. Sir *Conyers Clifford*, (as I conceive it,) dependeth on you, who is said to do well. And if my *Lord* of *Ormond*, in this Interim, doth accommodate things well, (as it is said he doth,) I take it, he hath, alwayes, had good Understanding, with your *Lordship*: So as all Things, hitherto, are not only whole, and entire, but of favourable Aspect, towards your *Lordship*, if hereafter you choose well. Concerning the Care of *Businesse*, the general, and popular Conceit hath been, that *Irish Causes* have been much neglected; whereby, the Reputation, of better Care, will put Life into them. But for a Beginning, and Key, to that which shall follow; It were good, your *Lordship*, would have, some large, and serious, Conference, with Sir *William Russell*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, the *Earl of Tounond*, and Mr. *Wilbraham*; To know their *Relation* of the past; Their *Opinion* of the present; and Their *Advise* for the future.

For

For the *Points*, of *Appoſing* them, I am too much a Stranger, to the Buſineſſe, to deduce them: But, in a general *Topique*, methinks, the pertinent *Interrogations*, muſt be; Either, of the Poſſibility, and Means, of Accord; or of the Nature, of the Warre; or of the Reformation, of Abuſes; Or of the joyning, of Practice with Force, in the Diſunion, of the *Rebells*. If your *Lordſhip* doubt, to put your *Sickle*, into anothers *Harveſt*; Firſt, *Time* brings it to you, in Mr. *Secretaries* Abſence: Next, being mixt, with matter of Warre, it is fitteſt for you: And laſtly, I know, your *Lordſhip*, will carry it, with that Modeſty, and Reſpect, towards Aged *Dignity*; And that good Correſpondence, towards my dear *Kinſman*, and your good *Friend*, now abroad, as no Inconvenience, may grow that way.

Thus have I played, the Ignorant *Stateſman*; Which I doe, to No Body, but your *Lordſhip*; except to the *Queen*, ſometimes, when ſhe traine's me on. But your *Lordſhip* will accept my Duty, and good Meaning; And ſecure, me, touching the privateneſſe, of that I write.

A Letter, *of Advice*, *to the* Earl *of* Eſſex, *upon the firſt* Treaty, *with* Tyrone, 1598, *before the* Earl *was nominated*, *for the Charge of* Ireland.

My very good Lord,

COncerning the *Advertiſements*, which your *Lordſhip* impartned to me, touching the *State* of *Ireland*, for willing Duties ſake, I will ſet down, to your *Lordſhip*, what Opinion, ſprang in my Minde, upon that I read.

The *Letter*, from the *Counſel*, there, leaning to miſtruſt, and diſſwade the *Treaty*, I do not much rely on, for 3. *Cauſes*. Firſt, becauſe it is alwayes, the Grace, and the Safety, of ſuch a Counſell, to erre in Caution: whereunto add, that it may be, they, or ſome of them, are not without Envy, towards the *Perſon*, who is uſed, in treating the Accord. Next, becauſe the Time of this *Treaty*, hath no ſhew of Diſſimulation; For that *Tyrone*, is now in no ſtraights; but he is more like a Gameſter, that will give over, becauſe he is a Winner, than becauſe, he hath no more Money, in his Purſe. Laſtly, I do not ſee, but thoſe *Articles*, whereupon they ground their Suſpicion, may as well proceed out of *Fear*, as out of *Falſehood*. For the Retaining, the *Dependance*, of the *Vriaghts*; The protracting, the Admiſſion, of a Sheriff; The Refuſing, to give his *Sonne*, for an *Hoſtage*; The Holding off, from preſent Repair, to *Dublin*; The Refuſing, to goe preſently to Accord, without including *Odonnell*, and other his *Aſſociates*; May very

very well come, of an Apprehension, in case he should receive hard measure; And not out of *Treachery*. So as, if the *great Person*, you write of, be faithfull; And that you have not heard, some present Intelligence, of present *Succours*, from *Spain*; (For the Expectation whereof, *Tyrone* would win time;) I see no deep Cause, of Distrusting, this Course of *Treaty*, if the main *Conditions* may be good. For her *Majesty* seemeth to me, to be a Winner thereby, 3. wayes; First, her *Purse* shall have some Rest: Next, it will divert, the Forein *Designes*, upon the *Place*: Thirdly, though her *Majesty*, be like, for a time, to govern but *precario*, in the North; And be not, (as to a true Command;) in better state there, than before; yet, besides the two respects, of Ease of Charge, and Advantage of Opinion, abroad, before mentioned, she shall have a time, to use her Princely policy, in 2. points, to weaken them. The one, by Division, and Disudion, of the Heads; The other, by Recovering, and Winning the *People*, from them, by *Justice*; which, of all other Courses, is the best.

Now for the *Athenian Question*; you discourse well; *Quid igitur agendum est?* I will shoot my Fools Bolt, since you will have it so. The Earl of *Ormond*, to be incouraged, and comforted. Above all Things, the *Garrisons* to be instantly provided for. For *Opportunity maketh a Theef*: And if he should mean never so well now; yet such an Advantage, as the Breaking, of her *Majesties Garrisons*, might tempt a true Man.

And because, he may as well waver, upon his own Inconstancy, as upon Occasion; (And wanton Variableness, is never restrained, but by Fear;) I hold it necessary, he be menaced, with a *strong warr*: Not by *words*, but by *Musters*, and *preparations* of *Forces*, here, in case the Accord proceed not: But none to be sent over, lest it disturb the Treaty, and make him look to be over-run, as soon as he hath laid away Arms. And but that your *Lordship*, is too easie, to passe in such Cases, from Dissimulation, to Verity; I think, if your *Lordship* lent your Reputation, in this Case; That is, To pretend, that if Peace go not on, and the *Queen* mean to make, not a *Defensive warr*, as in times past, but a *full Reconquest* of those parts, of the Countrey, you would accept the Charge; I think, it would help, to settle *Tyrone*, in his seeking Accord, and win you, a great deal of *Honour*, *gratis*.

And that, which most properly concern's, this Action, if it prove a Peace; I think, her *Majesty* shall doe well, to cure the Root of the Disease; And to Professe, by a *Commission*, of Peaceable Men, of Respect, and Countenance, a *Reformation* of Abuses, Extortions, and Injustices there; And to plant, a stronger, and surer Government, than heretofore, for the Ease, and Protection, of the *Subject*. For the *Removing* of the *Sword*, or Government in Arms, from the *Earl of Ormond*; Or the sending of a *Deputy*, (which will ecclipse it,) if Peace follow, I think it unseasonable.

Lastly,

Lastly, I hold still my Opinion, (both for your better Information, and the fuller Declaration, of your Care, in Medling, in this urgent, and morning Service,) That your *Lordship*, have a set *Conference*, with the *persons*, I named, in my former Letter.

A Letter of Advice, to my Lord of Essex, immediately, before his going into Ireland.

My singular good Lord, you

YOur late Note of my Silence, in your Occasions, hath made me set down, these few wandring Lines, as one that would say somewhat, and can say nothing, touching your *Lordships* intended *Charge* for *Ireland*; Which my Endeavour, I know, your *Lordship* will accept graciously, whether your *Lordship* take it, by the Handle of Occasion, ministred from your Self; or of the Affection, from which it proceeds.

Your *Lordship*, is designed to a *Service*, of great *Merit*, and great *Peril*: And as the Greatness of the *Peril*, must needs include, a like proportion of *Merit*: So the Greatnesse of the *Merit*, may include, no small Consequence of *Peril*; if it be not temperately governed. For all immoderate *Successe*, extinguisheth *Merit*, and stirreth up, *Distast*, and *Envy*; The assured Forerunners, of whole Charges of *Peril*. But I am at the last point first; Some good Spirit, leading my Penn, to presage, to your *Lordship*, successe: Wherein, it is true, I am not without my *Oracles*, and *Divinations*; None of them *Superstitious*, and yet not all *Natural*. For first, looking into the Course of *Gods Providence*, in Things now depending; And calling to consideration, how great things *God* hath done, by her *Majesty*, and for her: I collect, he hath disposed, of this great *Defection*, in *Ireland*, thereby, to give an urgent occasion, to the *Reduction*, of that whole *Kingdom*; As upon the *Rebellion* of *Desmond*, there insued, the *Reduction* of that whole *Province*.

Next, your *Lordship* goeth against, three of the unluckiest *Vices*, of all others; *Disloyalty*, *Ingratitude*, and *Insolency*: Which three *Offences*, in all *Examples*, have seldom their *Doom*, adjourn'd to the *world to come*.

Lastly, he that shall have had the Honour, to know your *Lordship*, inwardly, as I have had, shall find *Bona Exta*, whereby he may better ground, a Divination of *Good*, than upon the *Dissection*, of a *Sacrifice*. But that part I leave: For it is fit for others, to be confident upon the *cause*; The Goodnesse, and Justice, whereof, is such, as can hardly be matched, in any Example, It being no *Ambitious Warr*, against *Forreigners*, but a *Recovery* of *Subjects*; And that, after *Lenity* of *Conditions*, often tryed; And a *Recovery* of them, not onely to *Obedience*, but to *Humanity*, and

Polity, from more than *Indian Barbarism*.

There is yet another Kinde of *Divination*, familiar to *Masters of State*; Being that, which *Demosthenes*, so often relyed upon, in his time; when he said; *That, which for the time past, is worst of all, is, for the time to come, the best*; which is, that things goe ill, not by Accident, but by Errours; Wherein, if your *Lordship* have been, heretofore, an Awaking Censour, you must look for no other now, but, *Medice Cura teipsum*. And though, you shall not be the Happy *Physician*, that compounds the Destruction of the Disease; yet you embrace that Condition, which many *Noble Spirits* have accepted for Advantage; which is, that you god, upon the greater Peril, of your *Fortune*; and the lesse, of your *Reputation*. And so the *Honour* countervaileth the *Advantage*. Of which *Honour*, your *Lordship* is in no small possession; when that her *Majesty*, (known to be, one of the most judicious Princes, in discerning of Spirits, that ever governed,) hath made choice of you, (meerly out of her *Royal Judgement*; her *Affection* inclining rather to continue your Attendance;) into whose hand, and trust, to put the Command, and Conduct of so great Forces; The Gathering the Fruit of so great Charge; The Execution of so many Counsels; The Redeeming, of the Defaults, of so many former Governers; The clearing of the Glory, of her so many happy years *Reign*, onely, in this part, eclipsed. Nay further, how far forth, the peril of that *State*, is interlaced with the peril of *England*. And therefore, how great the Honour is, to keep, and defend, the Approaches, or Ave-newes, of this Kingdom, I hear many discourse; And there is a great Difference, whether the *Tortoise*, gathereth her self, within her shell, hurt, or unhurt.

And if any Man be of Opinion, that the *Nature* of the *Enemy*, doth extenuate, the *Honour* of the *Service*, being but a *Rebell*, and a *Savage*; I differ from him; For I see, the justest Triumphs, that the *Romans*, in their greatnesse, did obtain; And that, whereof the *Emperours*, in their Stiles, took Addition, and Denomination, were of such an *Enemy*, as this: That is, *People Barbarous*, and not reduced to *Civility*; magnifying a kind of lawlesse Liberty, and prodigal of Life, hardned in Body, fortified in Woods and Bogges, and placing both Justice and Felicity in sharpnesse of their Swords: Such were the *Germans*, and auncient *Britons*, and divers others. Upon which kinde of *People*, whether the Victory were a *Conquest*; or a *Reconquest*, upon a *Rebellion*, or a *Revolt*; It made no difference, (that ever I could find,) in Honour. And therefore, it is not the Enriching *Predatory Warr*, that hath the preheminence in Honour; Else should it be more Honour, to bring in a Carick of rich Butchen, than one of the 12. *Spanish Apostles*. But then, this Nature of *People*, doth yield, a higher point of *Honour*, considered in Truth, and Substance, than any warr can yield, which should be atchieved, against a *Civil Enemy*; If the

End

End may be; *Paciq; imponere morem*, to replant, and refound, the policy of that Nation; To which nothing is wanting, but a just, and Civil, *Government*: which Design, as it doth descend unto you, from your Noble *Father*, who lost his life in that *Action*, (though he paid *Tribute* to *Nature*, and not to *Fortune*;) So, I hope your *Lordship*, shall be, as Fatal a Captain to this warr, as *Africanus* was to the Warr of *Carthage*; After that both his *Uncle*, and *Father*, had lost their Lives, in *Spain*, in the same warr. Now, although it be true, that these Things, which I write, (being but Representations, unto your *Lordship*, of the Honour, and Appearance of Successe, of the Enterprise;) Be not much, to the purpose, of any Advice; yet it is that, which is left to me, being no Man of Warr, and ignorant in the particulars of *Estate*. For a Man may, by the Eye, set up the VVhite, in the midst of the But, though he be no Archer. Therefore I will onely add this VVish, according to the *English Phrase*, which termeth, a well-willing Advice, a VVish: That your *Lordship*, in this whole Action, looking forward, would set down this Position; *That Merit is worthier than Fame*; And looking back hither, would remember this Text; *That Obedience is better than Sacrifice*. For Designing to *Fame*, and *Glory*, may make your *Lordship*, in the Adventure of your *Person*; to be valiant, as a private *Souldier*, rather than as a *General*: It may make you, in your Commandements, rather to be Gracious, than Disciplinary: It may make you presse Action, (in respect of the great Expectation conceived,) rather hastily, than seasonably, and safely: It may make you, seek rather, to atchieve the warr, by force, than by Intermixture of Practice: It may make you, (if *God* shall send prosperous Beginnings,) rather seek the *Fruition* of that *Honour*, than the *Perfection*, of the *work*, in hand. And for the other point, that is the Proceeding, like a good *Protestant*, upon expresse warrant, and not upon good Intention; your *Lordship* knoweth, in your wisdom; That as it is most fit for you, to desire convenient Liberty of Instructions; so it is no lesse fit for you, to observe the due Limits of them: Remembring, that the Exceeding of them, may not onely procure, in case of adverse Accident, a dangerous Disavow; But also, (in case of prosperous Successe;) be subject to Interpretation, as if all were not referred, to the right End.

Thus have I presumed, to write these few Lines, to your *Lordship*, in *Methodo Ignorantiæ*; which is, when a Man speaketh of a Subject, not according to the Matter, but according to the Model, of his own Knowledge: And most humbly desire your *Lordship*, that the weaknesse thereof, may be supplyed, in your *Lordship*, by a benign Acceptation, as it is in me, by my best VVishing.

A Letter to the Earl of Essex, in offer of his Service, when he was first enlarged, to Essex House.

My Lord;

NO Man can expound my Doings better, than your *Lordship*; which makes me need to say the lesse: Onely, I humbly pray you to beleeve, that I aspire to the Conscience, and Commendation, of *Bonus Civis*, and *Bonus Vir*; And that, though I love some *Things*, better, (I confesse,) than I love your *Lordship*; yet I love few *Persons* better; Both for Gratitudes sake, and for your Vertues; which cannot hurt, but by Accident; Of which my good Affection, it may please your *Lordship*, to assure your self; And of all the ernе Effects, and Offices, I can yield. For as I was ever sorry, your Lordship should fly, with waxen Wings, doubting *Icarus* Fortune; So for the growing up of your own Feathers, be they Estridges, or other kinde, no man shall be more glad. And this is the Axill-Tree, whereon I have turned, and shall turn. Which having already signified, to you, by some near mean, having so fit a Messenger, for mine own Letter, I thought good, also, to redouble by Writing. And so I commend you to *Gods Protection*. From *Grais Inn*, this 9th of *July*, 1600.

An Answer, of my Lord of Essex, to the immediately preceding Letter, of Mr. Bacons.

Mr. Bacon;

I Can neither Expound, nor Censure, your late Actions; Being ignorant, of all of them, save one; And having directed my Sight inward onely, to examine my Self. You doe pray me to believe, that you only aspire, to the Conscience, and Commendation, of *Bonus Civis*, and *Bonus Vir*; And I doe faithfully assure you, that while that is your Ambition, (though your Course be Active, and Mind Contemplative,) yet we shall both, *Convenire in eodem Tertio*; And, *Convenire inter Nosipsos*. Your Profession of Affection, and Offer of good Offices, are welcom to me: For answer to them, I will say but this; That you have believed, I have been kind to you; And you may beleeve, that I cannot be other, either upon Humour, or mine own Election. I am a stranger, to all *Poetical Conceits*, or else I should say somewhat, of your *Poetical Example*. But this I must say; That I never flew, with other *Wings*, than Desire to merit; And Confidence in my *Soveraigns* Favour; And when one of these *Wings* failed me, I would light no where, but at my *Soveraigns* Feet, though she suffered me, to be bruised,

bruiſed, with my fall. And till her *Majeſty*, that knows, I was never *Bird* of *Prey*, finds it to agree with her will, and her Service, that my wings ſhould be imped again, I have committed my Self, to the *Mue*. No power, but my *Gods*, and my *Soveraigns*, can alter this Reſolution, of

Your Retired Friend,
ESSEX.

Two Letters *framed, the one, as from Mr.* Anthony Bacon, *to the* Earl of *Eſſex*; *The other, to the* Earls *Anſwer thereunto, delivered to Sir* Francis Bacon, *with the Advice of Mr.* Anthony Bacon, *his* Brother, *to be ſhewed to the* Queen, *upon ſome fit occaſion*; *As a Mean, to work her* Majeſty, *to receive the* Earl *again, to Favour and Attendance, at* Court: *They were deviſed, whilſt my* Lord *remained* Priſoner, *in his own* Houſe.

My ſingular good Lord;

THis ſtanding at a ſtay, in your *Lordſhips* Fortunes, doth make me, in my Love towards your *Lordſhip*, jealous, leſt you doe ſomewhat, or omit ſomewhat, that amounteth to a new Error. For I ſuppoſe, of all former Matters, there is a full Expiation: wherein, for any thing that your *Lordſhip* doth, I, for my part, (who am remote,) cannot caſt, nor deviſe, wherein any Errour ſhould be; except in one point, which I dare not cenſure, nor diſſwade: which is, that (as the *Prophet* ſaith,) *In ſpis Affliction*, you look up, *ad Manum Percutientem*, and ſo make your peace with *God*. And yet I heard it noted, that my *Lord* of *Leiceſter*, (who could never get to be taken for a *Saint*, nevertheleſſe in the *Queens* Diſfavour,) waxed ſeeming Religious: which may be thought by ſome, and uſed by others, as a Caſe reſembling yours; If Men do not ſee, or will not ſee, the difference between your two Diſpoſitions. But to be plain with your *Lordſhip*, my Fear rather is, becauſe I hear, how ſome of your good, and wiſe, Friends, not unpractiſed in the *Court*, and ſuppoſing themſelves, not to be unſeen, in that deep, and unſcrutable, Center of the Court, which is her *Majeſties Minde*, doe not onely toll the Bell, but even ring out Peals, as if your Fortune were dead, and buried; And as if, there were no poſſibility, of recovering her *Majeſties* Favour; And as if, the beſt of your Condition, were to live, a private, and retired Life, out of Want, out of Peril, and out of manifeſt diſgrace; And ſo in this perſwaſion of theirs, include a perſwaſion to your *Lordſhip*, to frame, and accommodate your Actions, and Mind, to that End: I fear, I ſay, that this untimely Deſpair, may,

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in time, bring forth, a juſt Deſpair, by cauſing your *Lordſhip*, to ſlacken, and break off your wiſe, loyal, and Seaſonable, Endeavours, and Induſtries, for Reintegration to her Majeſties favour: In Compariſon whereof, all other Circumſtances, are but as *Atomi*; or rather, as *Vacuum*, without any Subſtance at all. Againſt this Opinion, it may pleaſe your *Lordſhip*, to conſider, of theſe Reaſons, which I have collected; And to make judgement of them; Neither out of the Melancholy, of your preſent Fortune; nor out of the Infuſion of that, which commeth to you, by others Relation, (which is ſubject to much Tincture;) But *ex Rebus ipſis*, Out of the Nature, of the Perſons, and Actions, themſelves; As the truſtieſt, and leaſt deceiving Grounds, of Opinion. For though I am ſo unfortunate, as to be a ſtranger to her *Majeſties* Eye, and to her Nature; yet by that which is apparent, I doe manifeſtly diſcern, that ſhe hath the Character, of the Divine Nature, and Goodneſſe; *Quos amavit, amavit uſque ad finem*; And where ſhe hath a Creature, ſhe doth not deface, nor defeat it: Inſomuch, as if I obſerve rightly, in thoſe perſons, whom heretofore ſhe hath honoured, with her ſpecial Favour, ſhe hath covered, and remitted, not only Defects, and Ingratitudes, in Affection, but Errours in State, and Service. Secondly, if I can ſpell, and Scholar-like put together, the parts of her *Majeſties* proceeding, now towards your *Lordſhip*; I cannot but make this Conſtruction; That her *Majeſty*, in her Royal Intention, never purpoſed, to call your *Lordſhips* Doings, into publick Queſtion; But onely, to have uſed a Cloud, without a Shower, in cenſuring them, by ſome temporary Reſtraint onely, of Liberty, and debarring from her preſence. For firſt, the Handling the Cauſe in the *Starr-Chamber*, you not called, was enforced, by the Violence, of Libelling, and Rumours; (wherein the *Queen* thought to have ſatisfied the world, and yet ſpared your *Lordſhips* Appearance;) And after, when that Means, which was intended, for the Quenching, of malicious Brutes, turned to kindle them; (Becauſe it was ſaid, your *Lordſhip*, was condemned unheard; And your *Lordſhips* Siſter wrote that piquant *Letter*,) then her *Majeſty* ſaw plainly, that theſe winds of Rumours, could not be commanded down, without a Handling of the Cauſe, by Making you Party, and Admitting your Defence. And to this purpoſe, I doe aſſure your *Lordſhip*, that my Brother, *Francis Bacon*, who is too wiſe, (I think) to be abuſed, and too honeſt, to abuſe; Though he be more reſerved, in all particulars, than is needful; yet, in generality, he hath ever conſtantly, and with aſſeveration, affirmed to me, that both thoſe Dayes; That of the *Starr-Chamber*, and that at my *Lord Keepers*, were wonne from the *Queen*, meerly upon neceſſity, and point of Honour, againſt her own Inclination. Thirdly, in the laſt proceeding, I note 3. points; which are directly ſignificant, That her *Majeſty*, did expreſly forbear,

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any point, which was Irreparable, or might make your *Lordſhip*, in any degree, incapable, of the returne of her favour; Or might fix, any Character Indeleble, of diſgrace upon you: For ſhe ſpared, the Publick Place, of the *Star Chamber*: She limited the Charge, preciſely, not to touch Diſloyalty: And all Record remaineth to Memory, of the Charge, or Sentence. Fourthly, the very Diſtinction, which was made, in the Sentence, of Sequeſtration, from the places of Service in State; And leaving to your *Lordſhip*, the Place, of *Maſter* of the *Horſe*, doth, to my underſtanding, *indicative*, point at this; That her *Majeſty* meant, to uſe your *Lordſhips* Attendance in *Court*, while the Exerciſes, of the other places, ſtood ſuſpended. Fifthly, I have heard, and your *Lordſhip* knoweth better, that now, ſince you were in your own Cuſtodie, her *Majeſty*, in *Verbo Regio*, and by his Mouth, by whom ſhe committeth, her Royal Graunts, and Decrees, hath aſſured your *Lordſhip*, ſhe will forbid, and not ſuffer, your Ruine. Sixthly, as I have heard, her *Majeſty*, to be a *Prince*, of that Magnanimity, that ſhe will ſpare, the Service, of the ableſt *Subject*, or *Peer*, when ſhe ſhall be thought, to ſtand in need of it: So ſhe is, of that Policy, as ſhe will not looſe, the Service, of a meaner than your *Lordſhip*, where it ſhall depend, meerly, upon her Choice, and Will. Seventhly, I hold it for a Principle; That thoſe *Diſeaſes*, are hardeſt to cure, whereof the *Cauſe* is obſcure; And thoſe eaſieſt, whereof the *Cauſe* is manifeſt: Whereupon I conclude, that ſince it hath been your Errour, in your Courſes, towards her *Majeſty*, which hath prejudiced you; That your Reforming, and Conformity, will reſtore you; So as you may be *Faber Fortunæ propriæ*. Laſtly, conſidering your *Lordſhip*, is removed, from Dealing in Cauſes of State, and left onely to a Place of Attendance; Methinks, the Ambition of any Man, who can endure no Partners, in State-Matters, may be ſo quenched, as they ſhould not, laboriouſly, oppoſe themſelves, to your Being in *Court*: So as upon the whole Matter, I cannot find, neither in her *Majeſties* Perſon, nor in your own Perſon, nor in any third Perſon; Neither in former Preſidents, nor in your own Caſe, any Cauſe, of dry, and peremptory, Deſpair. Neither do I ſpeak this, but that if her *Majeſty*, out of her Reſolution, would deſign you, to a private Life, you ſhould be as willing, upon her Appointment, to goe into the *Wilderneſs*, as into the *Land of Promiſe*. Onely, I wiſh your *Lordſhip*, will not preoccupate Deſpair, but put truſt, next to *God*, in her *Majeſties* Grace; and not to be wanting to your Self. I know your *Lordſhip*, may juſtly interpret, that this, which I perſwade, may have ſome reference to my particular; becauſe I may truly ſay; *Te Stante, Non Virebo*, (For I am withered in my ſelf;) but *Manebo*, or *Tenebo*; I ſhall, in ſome ſort, be, or hold out. But though your *Lordſhips* Years, and Health, may expect return of Grace, and Fortune; yet your Eclipſe for a time,

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is an *Vltimum Vale*, to my Fortune: And were it not, that I desire, and hope, to see my *Brother* established, by her *Majesties* favour; (as I think him well worthy, for that he hath done, and suffred,) it were time, I did take that Course, from which I disswade your *Lordship*. But now in the mean time, I cannot choose, but perform, those honest Duties, unto you, to whom I have been so deeply bounden.

A Letter, framed, as from the Earl, in answer, of the former Letter.

Mr. Bacon,

I Thank you, for your kind, and carefull Letter. It perswades me that, which I wish strongly, and hope for weakly; That is, Possibility of Restitution, to her *Majesties* Favour: Your Arguments, that would cherish Hope, turn to Despair. You say the *Queen*, never meant, to call me to Publick Censure, which sheweth her *Goodnesse*: But you see I passed it, which sheweth others *Power*. I beleeve most stedfastly, her *Majesty* never intended, to bring my Cause, to a Sentence; And I beleeve as verily, that since that Sentence, she meant to restore me, to attend upon her Person. But they that could use occasions (which was not in me to let,) and amplifie Occasions, and practise Occasions, to represent to her *Majesty*, a Necessity, to bring me to the one, can, and will, do the like, to stop me from the other. You say, my Errours, were my Prejudice, and therefore I can mend my Self: It is true; But they that know, that I can mend my Self; And that if ever, I recover the *Queen*, that I will never loose her again; will never suffer me, to obtain Interest, in her favour. And you say, the *Queen* never forsook utterly, where she inwardly favoured: But I know not, whether the Hour-glasse of time, hath altered her; But sure I am, The false Glasse, of others Informations, must alter her, when I want accesse to plead mine own Cause. I know, I ought doubly, to be her *Majesties*; Both *Jure Creationis*; For I am her Creature: And *Jure Redemptionis*; For, I know, she hath saved me, from Overthrow. But for her first Love, and for her last Protection, and all her great Benefits, I can but pray for her *Majesty*; And my Endeavours, are now, to make, my *Prayers* for her *Majesty*, and my Self, better heard. For thanks be to *God*, they that can make, her *Majesty* beleeve, I counterfeit with her, cannot make *God* beleeve, that I counterfeit with him: And they which can let me, from comming near unto her, cannot let me, from drawing near unto him, as I hope I doe daily. For your *Brother*, I hold him an honest *Gentleman*, and wish him all good;

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Much rather, for your Sake. Your ſelf, I know, hath ſuffered more for me, than any Friend I have: But I cannot but lament freely, as you ſee I do; And adviſe you, not to doe that, which I doe; which is, to deſpair. You know *Letters*, what hurt they have done me; And therefore make ſure of this: And yet I could not, (as having no other Pledge of my Love,) but communicate freely with you, for the Eaſe of my Heart, and yours.

A Letter *to Mr.* Secretary Cecill, *after the Defeating, of the* Spaniſh Forces, *in* Ireland; *Inciting him, to embrace the Care, of Reducing that* Kingdom, *to Civilty, with ſome reaſons ſent, encloſed.*

It may pleaſe your Honour,

AS one, that wiſheth you, all Encreaſe of Honour; And as one, that cannot leave, to love the *State*, (what Intereſt ſoever I have, or may come, to have in it;) And as one, that now this dead Vacation time, hath ſome Leiſure, *ad aliud agendum*; I will preſume, to propound unto you, that, which though you cannot but ſee, yet I know not, whether you apprehend, and eſteem it, in ſo high a degree; That is, for the beſt Action, of Importation to your ſelf, Of ſound Honour and Merit, to her Majeſty, and this Crown; without Ventoſity, and Popularity, that the Riches, of any Occaſion, or the Tide, of any Opportunity, can poſſibly miniſter, or offer. And that is, the Cauſes of *Ireland*, if they be taken, by the right Handle. For if the Wound, be not ripped up again, and come to a Recrudency, by new *Forein Succours*, I think, that no *Phyſician*, will goe on much, with letting Bloud, *In Declinatione Morbi*; But will intend, to *Purge*, and *Corroborate*. To which purpoſe, I ſend you mine Opinion, without Labour of Words, in the Encloſed; And ſure I am, that if you ſhall enter into the matter, according to the Vivacity, of your own Spirit, nothing can make unto you, a more gainfull return. For you ſhall make the *Queens* Felicity compleat, which now, (as it is,) is incomparable; And for your Self, you ſhall ſhew your ſelf, as good a Patriot, as you are thought a Politick; And make the World perceive, you have not leſſe *Generous Ends*, than *Dexterous Delivery*, of your ſelf, towards your *Ends*; And that you have, as well true Arts, & Grounds of *Government*, as the Facility, & Felicity, of Practice, and Negotiation; And that you are as well ſeen, in the Periods, and Tides, of *Eſtates*, as in your own Circle, and Way: Than the which, I ſuppoſe, nothing, can be a better Addition, and Accumulation, of Honour, unto you. This, I hope, I may in privateneſſe, write, either as a Kinſman, that may be bold; or a Scholar, that hath Liberty of Diſcourſe, without Committing any

Absurdity. But if it seem any Error in me, thus to intromit my self; I pray your *Honour*, beleeve, I ever loved her *Majesty*, and the *State*, and now love your *Self*; And there is never any vehement Love, without some Absurdity; As the *Spaniard* well sayes; *Desuario con la Calentura*. So desiring your *Honours* pardon, I ever continue.

Considerations, *touching the* Queens *Service*, *in* IRELAND.

THe Reduction, of that *Country*, as well to Civility, and Justice, as to Obedience, and Peace, (which things, as Affairs now stand, I hold to be Inseparable,) consisteth in 4. *Points*.

1. The *Extinguishing*, of the *Relicks*, of the *Warr*.
2. The *Recovery*, of the *Hearts*, of the People.
3. The *Removing*, of the *Root*, and *Occasions*, of new *Troubles*.
4. *Plantations*, and *Buildings*.

For the first: Concerning the Places, and Times, and Particularities, of further Prosecution, in fact, I leave it, to the Opinion, of Men of VVarr; Onely the Difficulty is, to distinguish, and discern, the *Propositions*, which shall be, according to the Ends, of the *State* here; (That is, final, and summary, towards the *Extirpation*, of the *Troubles*;) From those, which though they pretend Publick Ends, yet may referr, indeed, to the more Private, and Compendious Ends, of the Council there; or the particular Governers, or Captains. But still, (as I touched in my *Letter*,) I doe think, much *Letting Bloud*, *In Declinatione Morbi*, is against *Method* of *Cure*; And that it will, but enduce Necessity, and exasperate Despair; And, percase, discover the Hollownesse of that, which is done already, which now blazeth to the best show. For *Iaglia's*, and Proscriptions, of 2, or 3. of the principal *Rebels*, they are, no doubt, *Jure Gentium*, lawfull; In *Italy*, usually practiced, upon the *Banditi*; Best in season, where a Side goeth down: And may do good, in two Kinds; The one, if they take Effect; The other, in the Distrust, which may follow, amongst the *Rebells* themselves. But of all other points, to my Understanding, the most Effectual is, the well Expressing, or Impressing, the *Design* of this *State*, upon that miserable, and desolate, *Kingdom*; Containing the same, between these two Lists, or Boundaries: The one, that the *Queen*, seeketh not, an *Extirpation* of that *People*, but a *Reduction*; And that now, she hath chastised them, by her Royal Power, and Armes, according to the Necessity of the Occasion; Her *Majesty*, taketh no pleasure, in *Effusion* of *Bloud*, or *Displanting* of *Auncient Generations*. The other, that her *Majesties* Princely Care, is, principally, and intentionally, bent, upon the *Action* of *Ireland*: And that

she

ſhe ſeeketh not, ſo much, the Eaſe of Charge, as the *Royal* performance, of the Office of Protection, and Reclaim, of thoſe her Subjects: And, in a word, that the Caſe is altered ſo far, as may ſtand, with the Honour, of the Time paſt. And again, I doe repeat, that if her *Majeſties Deſign* be, *ex Profeſſo*, to Reduce Rebells to Obedience, it makes weakneſſe turn *Chriſtianity*, and Conditions *Graces*: And ſo hath a Fineneſſe, in Turning Utility, upon Point of Honour; which is agreeable, to the Humor, of theſe Times. And beſides, if her *Majeſty*, ſhall ſuddainly abate, the Liſts of their Forces, and ſhall doe nothing to countervail it; in point of Reputation, of a Politick Proceeding, I doubt, Things may, too ſoon fall backe, into the ſtate they were in. Next to this. Adding Reputation to the Cauſe, by Imprinting an Opinion, of her *Majeſties* Care, and Intention, upon this Action, is the Taking away, of Reputation, from the Contrary ſide, by Cutting off, the Opinion, and Reputation, of Forein Succours; To which purpoſe, this Enterpriſe of *Algiers*, (if it hold according to the Advertiſement, and if it be not wrapped up, in the Period of this Sumner,) ſeemeth, to be an Opportunity, *cæliùs dimiſſa*. And to the ſame purpoſe, nothing can be more fit, than a *Treaty*, or a Shadow, of a *Treaty*, of a *Peace*, with *Spain*; which, methinks, ſhould be in our Power to faſten, at leaſt *Rumore tenus*, to the Deluding, of as wiſe People, as the *Iriſh*. Laſtly, for this point; That which the Auncients called, *Poteſtas facta, redeundi ad Sanitatem*; And, which is but a Mockery, when the *Enemy* is ſtrong, or proud, but Effectual in his Declination; That is, A liberal Proclamation, of Grace, and Pardon, to ſuch as ſhall ſubmit, and come in within a time prefixed; And of ſome other Reward, to ſuch, as ſhall bring others in; That one's Sword, may be ſharpned by anothers; Is a Matter of good Experience, and now, I think, will come in time. And percaſe, though I wiſh the Excluſions, of ſuch a pardon, exceeding few, yet it will not be ſafe, to continue ſome of them, in their Strength; But to tranſlate them, and their Generations, into *England*: And give them Recompence, and Satisfaction here, for their Poſſeſſions there; As the *King of Spain* did, by divers *Families*, of *Portugal*. To the Effecting, of all the *points*, aforeſaid; And likewiſe, thoſe which fall, within the Diviſions following, nothing can be in priority, (either of Time, or Matter,) better, than the ſending of ſome *Commiſſion*, of Countenance, *Ad Res inſpiciendas, & componendas*: For it will be a very ſignificant Demonſtration, of her *Majeſties* Care, of that *Kingdom*; A Credence, to any, that ſhall come in, and ſubmit; A Bridle, to any, that ſhall have their Fortunes there, and ſhall apply, their Propoſitions, to private Ends; And an Evidence, that her *Majeſty*, after Arms laid down, ſpeedily purſueth, a Politick Courſe, without Neglect, or Reſpiration: And it hath been the Wiſdom of the beſt Examples of Government.

Towards the *Recovery*, of the *Hearts* of the *People*, there be but 3. things in *Naturâ Rerum*.

1. *Religion*.
2. *Justice*, and *Protection*.
3. *Obligation*, and *Reward*.

For *Religion*, (to speak first of *Piety*, and then of *Policy*,) all *Divines* doe agree; That if *Consciences*, be to be enforced, at all, (wherein yet they differ) two Things must precede their *Inforcement*: The one, *Means* of *Instruction*; The other, *Time* of *Operation*: Neither of which they have yet had. Besides, till they be more like Reasonable Men, than they are, their *Society*, were rather Scandalous to the true *Religion*, than otherwise; As *Pearls cast before Swine*; For till they be clensed, from their Bloud, Incontinency, and Theft, (which are now, not the Lapses, of particular Persons, but the very Lawes of the *Nation*,) they are Incompatible, with *Religion Reformed*. For *Policy*, there is no doubt, but to wrestle with them now, is directly opposite to their Reclaiming, and cannot but continue, their Alienation of Minde, from this *Government*. Besides, one of the principal Pretences, whereby the *Heads* of the *Rebellion*, have prevailed, both with the *People*, and with the *Forreiner*, hath been, the *Defence*, of the *Catholick Religion*: And it is that likewise, hath made the *Forreiner*, reciprocally, more plausible with the *Rebell*. Therefore a *Toleration* of *Religion*, (for a Time, not definite,) except it be in some Principal Townes, and Precincts; After the manner of some *French Edicts*, seemeth to me, to be a Matter, warrantable by *Religion*, and in *Policy*, of absolute Necessity. And the Hesitation, in this *point*, (I think,) hath been, a great Casting back, of the Affaits there. Neither if any *English Papist*, or *Recusant*, shall for Liberty of his Conscience, transferre his Person, Family, and Fortunes thither, doe I hold it, a Matter of Danger, but expedient, to draw on Undertaking, and to further Population. Neither if *Rome*, will cozen it Self, by Conceiving, it may be some Degree, to the like Toleration, in *England*, doe I hold it, a matter of any Moment; But rather, a good Mean, to take off, the Fiercenesse, and Eagernesse, of the Humour of *Rome*; And to stay, further *Excommunications*, or *Interdictions*, for *Ireland*. But there would goe, hand in hand, with this, some Course of Advancing *Religion*, indeed, where the *People* is capable thereof: As the sending over, some good *Preachers*, especially of that Sort, which are vehement, and zealous Persuaders, and not Scholastical; To be resident in principal *Towns*; Endowing them, with some Stipends, out of her *Majesties* Revenues; As her *Majesty* hath, most religiously, and graciously done, in *Lancashire*: And the Recontinuing, and Replenishing the College, begun at *Dublin*; The placing of good Men, to be *Bishops* there; And the Taking Care, of the Versions, of *Bibles*, *Catechisms*, and other *Books* of *Instruction*, into the

Irish

Irish Language; And the like *Religious Courses*; Both for the Honour of *God*, and for the Avoiding of Scandal; and Infatisfaction here, by the shew of a *Toleration* of *Religion*, in some parts there.

For *Justice*, the *Barbarism*, and *Desolation* of the *Country*, considered, it is not possible, they should find, any Sweetness, at all, of Justice; If it shall be, (which hath been the Errour, of *Times* past,) Formal, and fetched far off from the *State*: Because, it will require, running up and down, for *Proces*; And give Occasion, for Polling, and Exactions by Fees; And many other Delayes, and Charges. And therefore, there must be an *Interim*, in which, the *Justice* must be onely Summary; the rather, because it is fit, and safe, for a time, the Country do participate of *Martial Government*: And therefore, I could wish, in every *principal Town*, or *Place*, of *Habitation*, there were a *Captain*, or *Governer*, And a *Judge*, such as *Recorders*, and *Learned Stewards*, are here in *Corporations*; who may have a *Prerogative Commission*, to hear, and determine, *Secundum sanam Discretionem*; And as near, as may be, to the Laws, and Customes of *England*; And that, by *Bill*, or *Pleint*, without *Original writ*; Reserving from their Sentence, matter of *Freehold*, and *Inheritance*, to be determined, by a superiour *Judge*, *Itinerant*: And both *Sentences*, as well of the *Bayliffwick Judge*, as *Itinerant*, to be reversed, (if Cause be,) before the *Counsel*, of the Province, to be established there, with fit Instructions.

For *Obligation*, and *Reward*; It is true, (no doubt,) which was aunciently said; That a *State*, is contained, in two Words, *Præmium*, and *Pœna*. And I am perswaded, if a Penny in the Pound, which hath been spent in *Pœnâ*, (For this kinde of *warre* is but *pœna*, a *chastisement* of *Rebells*, without Fruit, or Emolument, to this *State*;) had been spent in *præmio*, that is, in *Rewarding*, Things had never grown to this Extremity. But to speak forwards. The keeping of the *Principal Irish persons*, in Terms of Contentment, and without Cause of particular Complaint; And, generally, the Carrying of an even Course, between the *English*, and the *Irish*; Whether it be in Competition; or whether it be in Controversie; as if they were one *Nation*; (without that same partial Course, which hath been held, by the *Governers*, and *Counsellers*, there, that some have favoured the *Irish*, and some contrary;) Is one of the best *Meditines* of *State*. And as for other Points of Contentment; As the Countenancing of their *Nobility*, as well in this *Court*, as there; The *Imparting* of *Knighthood*; The Care, of *Education*, of their *Children*; And the like *points* of *Comfort*; They are Things, which fall into every Mans Consideration.

For the *Extirping*, of the *Seeds*, of *Troubles*, I suppose, the main *Roots* are but three. The first, the *Ambition*, and *Absoluteness*, of the Chief of the *Families*, and *Septs*; The second, the licentious Idleness, of their *Kernes*, and *Souldiers*, that lie upon the Country,

try, by Seſſes, and ſuch like Oppreſſions. And the Third, the barbarous *Laws*, *Cuſtoms*, their *Brehen Laws*, *Habits* of *Apparel*, their *Poets* or *Heralds*, that enchaunt them in Savage Manners, and ſundry other ſuch Dreggs, of *Barbariſm*, and Rebellion; Which, by a Number, of Politick *Statutes*, of *Ireland*, meet to be put in Execution, are already forbidden; Unto which, ſuch Additions may be made, as the preſent Time requireth. But the Deducing of this *Branch*, requireth a more particular Notice, of the *State*, and *Manners* there, than fall's within my Compaſſe.

For *Plantations*, and *Buildings*, I doe find it ſtrange, that in the laſt Plot, for the *Population* of *Munſter*, there were Limitations, how much in *Demeſn*, and how much in *Farm*, and how much in *Tenancy*. Again, how many *Buildings* ſhould be erected; How many *Iriſh*, in *Mixture*, ſhould be admitted; And other things foreſeen almoſt to Curioſity; But no Reſtraint, that they might not build, *ſparſim*, at their pleaſure; Nor any Condition, that they ſhould make places *Fortifyed*, and *Defenſible*: Which Omiſſion was a ſtrange Neglect, and Secureneſſe, to my underſtanding. So as, for this laſt *Point*, of *Plantations*, and *Buildings*, there be two *Conſiderations*, which I hold moſt material; The one, for *Quickning*; And the other, for *Aſſuring*. The firſt is, that choice be made, of ſuch *Perſons*, for the Government, of Towns, and Places; And ſuch *Vndertakers* be procured, as be Men gracious, and well beloved, and are like to be well followed. Wherein, for *Munſter*, it may be, (becauſe it is not *Res integra*; but that the former *Vndertakers*, ſtand intereſſed,) there will be ſome Difficulty: But ſurely, in mine Opinion, either by Agreeing with them, or by Over-ruling them, with a Parliament, in *Ireland*; (which in this Courſe, of a Politick Proceeding, infinite Occaſions, will require ſpeedily, to be held;) It will be fit, to ſupply, fit qualified *Perſons*, of *Vndertakers*. The other, that it be not left, (as heretofore,) to the Pleaſure, of the *Vndertakers*, and *Adventurers*, where, and how, to *build*, and *plant*; But that they doe, according to a Preſcript, or Formulary: For firſt, the Places, both *Maritime*, and *Inland*, which are fitteſt, for *Colonies*, or *Garriſons*; As well, for doubt of the Foreiner, as for the Keeping the Countrey, in Bridle, would be found, ſurveyed, and reſolved upon: And that the Patentees, be tyed, to build, in thoſe places onely, and to fortify, as ſhall be thought convenient. And laſtly, it followeth of Courſe, in *Countries*, of new *Populations*, to invite, and provoke *Inhabitants*, by ample *Liberties*, and *Charters*.

A Letter, *of* Recommendation, *of his* Service, *to the* Earl, *of* Northumberland, *a few dayes, before* Queen Elizabeths *death.*

It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

AS the Time, of Sowing a Seed, is known, but the Time of Comming up, and Diſcloſing, is caſual, or according to the Seaſon; So, I am a Witneſſe to my Self, that there hath been covered, in my mind, a long time, a Seed of Affection, and Zeal, towards your *Lordſhip*, ſown by the Eſtimation of your Vertues, and your particular Honours, and Favours, to my *Brother Deceaſed*, and my Self: Which Seed ſtill ſpringing, now burſteth forth, into this Profeſſion. And to be plain, with your *Lordſhip*, it is very true; (And no Winds, or Noyſes, of Civil Matters, can blow this, out of my Head, or Heart;) That your great Capacity, and Love, towards Studies, and Contemplations, of an higher, and worthier Nature, than Popular; (A Nature rare in the World, and in a perſon, of your *Lordſhips* Quality, almoſt ſingular;) is to me, a great, and chief Motive, to draw my Affection, and Admiration, towards you. And therefore, good my *Lord*, if I may be, of any uſe, to your *Lordſhip*, by my Head, Tongue, or Penn, Means, or Friends, I humbly pray you, to hold me your own; And herewithall, not to doe ſo much Diſadvantage to my good Mind, nor Partly to your own Worth, as to conceive, that this Commendation, of my humble Service, proceedeth, out of any Streights, of my Occaſions, but meerly, out of an Election, and indeed, the Fulneſſe of my Heart: And ſo wiſhing your *Lordſhip*, all proſperity, I continue.

A Letter, *of* Offer, *of his* Service, *to his* Majeſty, *upon his firſt Comming in.*

It may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

IT is obſerved, upon a place, in the *Canticles*, by ſome; *Ego ſum Flos Campi, et Lilium Convallium*, that *à Diſpari*, it is not ſaid, *Ego ſum Flos Horti, et Lilium Montium*, becauſe the *Majeſty* of that *Perſon*, is not encloſed for a Few, nor appropriate to the Great. And yet, notwithſtanding, this Royal Vertue of Acceſſe, which Nature, and Judgement, hath planted, in your *Majeſties* Minde, as the Portal of all the reſt, could not, of it Self, (my Imperfections conſidered,) have animated me, to have made Oblation, of my Self, immediately, to your *Majeſty*, had it not been joyned, with

with an Habit, of the like Liberty, which I enjoyed, with my late dear *Soveraign Miſtris*; A *Princeſſe*, happy in all things elſe; but moſt happy in ſuch a *Succeſſor*. And yet further, and more nearly, I was not a little encouraged, not only, upon a Suppoſal, that unto your *Majeſties* Sacred Ear, (open to the Air of all Vertues,) there might come, ſome ſmall Breath, of the good Memory of my *Father*, ſo long, a Principal *Counſellor*, in your *Kingdom*; But alſo, by the particular Knowledge, of the infinite Devotion, and inceſſant Endeavours, (beyond the ſtrength of his Body, and the nature of the Times;) which appeared, in my good *Brother*, towards your *Majeſties* Service; And were, on your *Majeſties* part, through your ſingular Benignity, by many, moſt gracious, and lively, Significations, and Favours, accepted, and acknowledged, beyond the merit, of any thing, he could effect. Which Endeavours, and Duties, for the moſt part, were common, to my Self, with him, though, by deſign, (as between *Brethren*,) diſſembled. And therefore, moſt high, and mighty *King*, my moſt dear, and dread, *Soveraign Lord*; ſince now, the *Corner Stone*, is laid, of the mightieſt *Monarchy*, in *Europe*; And that *God* above, who hath ever a Hand, in brideling the Flouds, and Motions of the Seas, and of *Peoples* Hearts, hath, by the miraculous, and univerſal conſent, (the more ſtrange, becauſe it proceedeth, from ſuch Diverſity of Cauſes, in your comming in;) Given a Sign, and Token, of great Happineſſe, in the Continuance of your *Reign*; I think, there is no *Subject*, of your *Majeſties*, which loveth this *Iſland*, and is not hollow, or unworthy, whoſe Heart is not ſet on fire; Not onely, to bring you Peace-Offrings, to make you propitious; But to ſacrifice himſelf, a *Burnt-Offring*, or *Holocauſt*, to your *Majeſties* Service: Amongſt which number, no Mans Fire, ſhall be more pure, and fervent, than mine. But how farr forth it ſhall blaze out, that reſteth, in your *Majeſties* Imployment. So thirſting, after the Happineſſe, of Kiſſing your *Royal Hand*, I continue ever.

To Mr. Faules, *in* Scotland, *upon the Entrance, of his* Majeſties Reign.

SIR, The Occaſion awaketh in me, the Remembrance, of the conſtant, and mutual, good Offices, which paſſed, between my good *Brother*, and your Self: wherunto, (as you know,) I was not, altogether, a Stranger; Though the Time, and Deſign, (as between *Brethren*,) made me more reſerved. But well doe I bear in minde, the great opinion, which my *Brother*, (whoſe Judgement I much reverence,) would often expreſſe to me, of your Extraordinary Sufficiency, Dexterity, and Temper, which he had found in

in you, in the Buſineſs, and Service, of the *King*, our *Soveraign Lord*: Tnis latter, bred in me, an Election, as the former gave an Inducement, for me, to addreſs my Self, to you; And to make this Signification, of my Deſire, towards a mutual Entertainment, of good Affection, and Correſpondence, between us; Hoping, that both ſome good Effect, may reſult of it, towards the *Kings* Service; And that, for our particulars, though Occaſion give you the precedence, of furthering my being known, by good note, unto the *King*; So no long time will intercede, before I, on my part, ſhall have ſome means given, to requite your Favours, and to verify your Commendation. And ſo, with my loving Commendations, good Mr. *Faules*, I leave you to *Gods* Goodneſs. From *Graies Inne*, the 25th of *March*.

A Letter, *commending his Love, and Occaſions, to Sir* Thomas Challoner, *then in* Scotland, *upon his* Majeſties *Entrance.*

SIR, For our Money matters, I am aſſured, you received no Inſatisfaction: For you know my Minde; And you know my Means; which now, the Openneſs of the time, cauſed, by this bleſſed Conſent, and Peace, will encreaſe; And ſo our Agreement, according to your time, be obſerved. For the preſent, according to the *Roman Adage*; (That one *Cluſter of Grapes, ripeneth beſt beſides another*;) I know, you hold me not unworthy, whoſe mutual Friendſhip, you ſhould cheriſh: And I, for my part, conceive good hope, that you are likely to become, an acceptable Servant, to the *King*, our *Maſter*: Not ſo much, for any way made heretofore, (which, in my Judgement, will make no great difference,) as for the Stuff and Sufficiency, which, I know, to be in you; And whereof, I know, his *Majeſty*, may reap great Service. And therefore, my general Requeſt is, that according to that induſtrious Vivacity, which you uſe, towards your Friends, you will further his *Majeſties* good Conceit, and Inclination, towards me; To whom words, can not make me known; Neither mine own, nor others; but Time will, to no Diſadvantage, of any, that ſhall fore-runn, his *Majeſties* Experience, by your Teſtimony, and Commendation. And though, Occaſion give you the Precedence, of Doing me this ſpecial good Office; yet, I hope, no long time will intercede, before I ſhall have ſome means, to requite your Favour, and acquit your Report. More particularly, having thought good, to make Oblation, of my moſt humble Service, to his *Majeſty*, by a few Lines, I doe deſire your loving care, and help, by your Self, or ſuch Means, as I referr to

your Diſcretion, to deliver, and preſent the ſame, to his *Majeſties* Hands. Of which *Letter*, I ſend you a Copy, that you may know, what you carry; And may take, of *Mr. Matthew*, the *Letter* it Self; if you be pleaſed, to undertake the Delivery. Laſtly, I doe commend to your Self, and ſuch your Curteſies, as Occaſion may require, this Gentleman, Mr. *Matthew*; eldeſt Sonne, to my *Lord Biſhop*, of *Dureſme*, and my very good Friend; Aſſuring you, that any Curteſy, you ſhall uſe towards him, you ſhall uſe, to a very worthy young *Gentleman*, and one, I know, whoſe Acquaintance, you will much eſteem. And ſo I ever continue.

A Letter, *to Mr.* Davis, *then gone to the* King, *at his firſt Entrance.*

MR. *Davis*, Though you went, on the ſudden, yet you could not goe, before you had ſpoken with your Self, to the purpoſe, which I will now write: And therefore, I know, it ſhall be altogether needleſs, ſave that I meant to ſhew you, that I was not aſleep. Briefly, I commend my Self to your Love, and the well uſing my Name; As well in repreſſing, and anſwering for me, if there be any Biting, or Nibling at it, in that Place; As by imprinting a good Conceit, and Opinion of me, chiefly in the *King*; (of whoſe favour, I make my Self, comfortable Aſſurance;) As otherwiſe in that Court: And not onely ſo, but generally, to perform to me, all the good Offices, which the Vivacity of your Wit, can ſuggeſt, to your minde, to be performed to one, with whoſe Affection, you have ſo great Sympathy; And in whoſe Fortune, you have ſo great Intereſt. So deſiring you to be good, to *concealed Poets*, I continue.

A Letter, *to Mr.* Faules, 28 Martii, 1603.

MR. *Faules*, I did write unto you, yeſterday, by Mr. *Lake*, (who was diſpatched hence, from their *Lordſhips*,) a Letter, of Revivour, of thoſe Sparks of former Acquaintance, between us, in my *Brothers* time: And now, upon the ſame Confidence, finding ſo fit a Meſſenger, I would not fail to ſalute you; Hoping it will fall out ſo happily, as that you ſhall be one, of the *Kings* Servants, which his *Majeſty*, will firſt employ, here with us: where, I hope, to have ſome means, not to be barren, in Friendſhip, towards you. We all thirſt, after the *Kings* Comming, accounting all this, but as the *Dawning*, of the *Day*; before the *Riſing*, of the *Sun*, till we have

have his Preſence. And though, now, his *Majeſtie*, muſt be *Janus Biſrons*, to have a Face to *Scotland*, as well as to *England*, yet, *Quod nunc inſtat agendum*: The Expectation is here, that he will come in *State*, and not in *Strength*. So for this time, I commend you to *Gods* Goodneſs.

A Letter, *to Mr.* Robert Kempe, *upon the Death of* Queen Elizabeth.

MR. *Kempe*, This Alteration is ſo great, as you might juſtly conceive, ſome Coldneſs of my Affection towards you, if you ſhould hear nothing from me, I living in this Place. It is in vain to tell you, with what wonderfull Still, and Calm, this Wheel is turned round: Which, whether it be, a *Remnant*, of her *Felicity*, that is gone, or a Fruit, of his *Reputation*, that is comming, I will not determine. For I cannot, but divide my Self, between her *Memory*, and his *Name*: Yet we account it, but a fair *Morn* before *Sun-riſing*, before his *Majeſties* Preſence; Though, for my part, I ſee not, whence any VVeather ſhould ariſe. The *Papiſts* are contained, with Fear enough, and Hope too much. The *French*, is thought to turn his Practice, upon procuring, ſome Diſturbance in *Scotland*, where Crowns may doe wonders: But this Day, is ſo welcom to the *Nation*, and the time ſo ſhort, as I doe not fear the Effect. My *Lord* of *Southampton*, expecteth Releaſe, by the next Diſpatch, and is already much viſited, and much well wiſhed. There is continual poaſting, by Men of good Quality, towards the *King*. The rather, I think, becauſe this Spring time, it is but a kinde of Sport. It is hoped, that as the *State* here, hath performed the part, of good *Attorneys*, to deliver the *King*, quiet Poſſeſſion, of his *Kingdoms*: So the *King*, will re-deliver them, quiet Poſſeſſion of their *Places*; Rather filling Places void, than removing Men placed. So, &c.

A Letter, *to my* Lord *of* Northumberland, *mentioning a* Proclamation, *drawn for the* King, *at his Entrance.*

It may pleaſe your Lordſhip,

I Doe hold it, a Thing formal, and neceſſary, for the *King*, to fore-runn his Comming, (be it never ſo ſpeedy,) with ſome Gracious Declaration, for the Cheriſhing, Entertaining and preparing, of Mens Affections. For which purpoſe, I have conceived a Draught, it being a thing familiar in my *Miſtris* her times, to have my Penn uſed, in Publick Writings, of Satisfaction. The

Uſe of this, may be, in two ſorts: Firſt, properly, if your *Lordſhip* think it convenient, to ſhew the *King* any ſuch Draught, becauſe the Veins, and Pulſes, of this *State*, cannot but be beſt known here; which if your *Lordſhip* ſhould doe, then I would deſire you, to withdraw my Name, and onely ſignifie, that you gave ſome Heads of Direction, of ſuch a Matter, to one, of whoſe Stile, and Penn, you had ſome Opinion. The other, Collateral; That though your *Lordſhip*, make no other uſe of it, yet it is a Kinde of Portraicture, of that, which I think, worthy to be adviſed, by your *Lordſhip*, to the *King*; And, perhaps, more compendious, and ſignificant, than if I had ſet them down in *Articles*. I would have attended your *Lordſhip*, but for ſome little Phyſick, I took. To morrow morning, I will wait on you. So I ever, &c.

A Letter, *to the* Earl *of* Southampton, *upon the* Kings *Comming in.*

It may pleaſe your Lordſhip,

I Would have been very glad, to have preſented, my humble Service, to your *Lordſhip*, by my attendance, if I could have foreſeen, that it ſhould not have been, unpleaſing unto you. And therefore, becauſe I would commit no Error, I choſe to write; Aſſuring your *Lordſhip*, how credible ſoever, it may ſeem to you, at firſt, yet it is as true, as a Thing, that *God* knoweth; That this great Change, hath wrought in me, no other Change, towards your *Lordſhip*, than this; That I may ſafely *be* now, that which I *was* truly before. And ſo craving no other pardon, than for troubling you, with my *Letter*, I doe not now begin to be, but continue to be,

Your *Lordſhips* humble and much devoted.

A Letter, *to the* Earl of Northumberland, *after he had been with the* King.

It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

I Would not have loſt this Journey, and yet I have not that I went for. For I have had no private Conference, to purpoſe, with the *King*. No more, hath almoſt any other Engliſh: For the Speach, his *Majeſty* admitteth, with ſome *Noblemen*, is rather, Matter of Grace, than Matter of Buſineſs; With the *Atturney* he ſpake, urged by the *Treaſurer* of *Scotland*, but no more than needs muſt. After I had received his *Majeſties* firſt Welcom, and was promi-

promiſed private Acceſs, yet not knowing, what matter of Service, your *Lordſhips Letter* carried, (for I ſaw it not;) And well knowing, that Primeneſs in Advertiſement, is much, I choſe, rather, to deliver it to Sir *Tho. Meskins*, than to cool it, in mine own Hands, upon Expectation of Acceſs. Your *Lordſhip* ſhall finde a *Prince*, the furtheſt from Vain-Glory, that may be; And rather, like a *Prince*, of the auncient Form, than of the latter Time: His Speech is ſwift, and Curſory, and in the full *Dialect* of his *Country*; And in Speech of Buſineſs ſhort, in Speech of Diſcourſe large: He affecteth Popularity, by gracing ſuch, as he hath heard, to be Popular, and not by any Faſhions of his own. He is thought ſomewhat general, in his Favours; And his Vertue of Acceſs, is rather, becauſe he is much abroad, and in Preſs, than that he giveth eaſie Audience. He haſteneth, to a mixture, of both *Kingdoms*, and Occaſions, faſter perhaps, than Policy will well bear. I told your *Lordſhip*, once before, that (methought) his *Majeſty* rather asked Counſel, of the time paſt, than of the time to come. But it is yet early, to ground any Setled Opinion. For the particulars, I referr to conference, having in theſe generals, gone further, in ſo tender an Argument, than I would have done, were not the Bearer hereof ſo aſſured. So I continue, &c.

A Letter, *to Mr.* Pierce, *Secretary, to the* Deputy of IRELAND.

Mr. Pierce,

I Am glad to hear of you, as I doe; And for my part, you ſhall find me ready, to take any Occaſion, to further your credit, and preferment: And I dare aſſure you, (though I am no Undertaker,) to prepare your way with my *Lord of Salisbury*, for any good Fortune, which may befall you. You teach me to complain of Buſineſs; whereby I write the more briefly; And yet I am ſo unjuſt, as that which I allege for mine own Excuſe, I cannot admit for yours. For I muſt, by Expecting, exact your Letters, with this Fruit, of your Sufficiency, as to underſtand, how things paſs, in that *Kingdom*. And therefore, having begun, I pray you continue. This is not meerly Curioſity, for I have ever, (I know not by what Inſtinct,) wiſh'd well, to that impolliſh'd part of this *Crown*. And ſo, with my very loving Commendations, I remain.

A

A Letter, to the King, upon presenting the Discourse, touching the Plantation, of Ireland.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

I Know not better how to express, my good wishes of a *New Year*, to your *Majesty*, than by this little *Book*, which, in all humbleness, I send you. The Stile, is a Stile of Business, rather than Curious, or Elaborate. And herein, I was encouraged, by my Experience, of your *Majesties* former grace, in accepting of the like poor *Field-Fruits*, touching the *Vnion*: And certainly, I reckon this Action, as a *Second Brother*, to the *Vnion*. For I assure my Self, that *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, well united, is such a *Trifoile*, as no *Prince*, except your Self, (who are the worthiest) weareth in his *Crown*, *Si potentia reducatur in Actum*. I know well, that for me, to beat my Brains, about these things, they be *Majora quam pro Fortunâ*; But yet they be, *Minora quam pro Studio, ac Voluntate*. For as I doe yet bear, an extreme Zeal, to the Memory, of my old *Mistris*, *Queen Elizabeth*; To whom, I was rather bound, for her *Trust*, than her *Favour*; So I must acknowledge my Self, more bound, to your *Majesty*, both for *Trust*, and *Favour*; whereof, I will never deceive the one, as I can never deserve the other. And so in all humbleness, kissing your Majesties sacred hands, I remain.

A Letter, to the Lord Chancellor, touching the History, of Britaine:

It may please your good Lordship,

SOme late Act of his *Majesty*, referred to some former Speech, which I have heard from your *Lordship*, bred in me, a great Desire; And the strength of Desire, a Boldness, to make an humble Proposition, to your *Lordship*; Such, as in me, can be no better, than a *wish*: But, if your *Lordship* should apprehend it, it may take, some good, and worthy, Effect. The Act, I speak of, is the Order, given by his *Majesty*, for the Erection of a *Tomb*, or *Monument*, for our late *Soveraign*, *Queen Elizabeth*; Wherein I may note much, but onely this, at this time; that as her *Majesty*, did alwayes right, to his *Majesties* Hopes; So his *Highness*, doth, in all things, Right to her Memory; A very just, and Princely Retribution. But from this Occasion, by a very easie Ascent, I passed further, being put in minde, by this Representative, of her Person, of the more true, and more vive, Representation, which is of her *Life*, and *Government*: For as *Statues*, and *Pictures*, are *dumb Histories*,

Hiſtories, ſo *Hiſtories*, are *ſpeaking Pictures*: wherein, if my Affection, be not too great, or my Reading too ſmall, I am of this Opinion; That if *Plutarch*, were alive, to write *Lives*, by *Parallels*, it would trouble him, for Vertue, and Fortune both, to finde for her, a *Parallel*, amongſt *Women*. And though ſhe was of the *Paſſive Sexe*, yet her *Government*, was ſo *Active*, as in my ſimple Opinion, it made more Impreſſion, upon the ſeveral *States* of *Europe*, than it received from thence. But, I confeſs, unto your *Lordſhip*, I could not ſtay there, but went a little further, into the Conſideration of the Times, which have paſſed, ſince *King Henry* the 8th; wherein I find the ſtrangeſt Variety, that, in ſo little Number, of *Succeſſions* of any *Hereditary Monarchy*, hath ever been known: The *Reign* of a *Child*: The offer of an *Vſurpation*, though it were but as a *Diary Ague*; The *Reign*, of a Lady, married, to a *Foreiner*; And the *Reign*, of a *Lady*, Solitary, and Unmarried; So that, as it commeth to paſs, in Maſſive Bodies; That they have certain Trepidations, and Waverings, before they fix, and ſettle; So it ſeemeth, that by the *Providence* of *God*, this *Monarchy*, (before it was to ſettle in his *Majeſty*, and his Generations; In which, I hope, it is now eſtabliſhed, for ever;) Hath had theſe Preluſive changes, in theſe Barren *Princes*. Neither, could I contain my Self here; (As it is eaſier to multiply, than to ſtay a Wiſh;) But calling to Remembrance, the Unworthineſs, of the *Hiſtory* of *England*, in the main continuance thereof; And the Partiality, and Obliquity, of that of *Scotland*, in the lateſt, and largeſt Offer, that I have ſeen; I conceived, it would be Honour, for his *Majeſty*, and a work very memorable, if this *Iſland* of *Great Britain*, as it is now joyned, in *Monarchy*, for the Ages to come; ſo it were joyned in *Hiſtory*, for the Times paſt; And that one Juſt, and compleat, *Hiſtory*, were compiled, of both *Nations*. And if any Man think, it may refreſh the Memory, of former Diſcords, he may ſatisfy himſelf with the Verſe; *Olim hæc meminiſſe juvabit*. For the Caſe being now altered, it is Matter of Comfort, and Gratulation, to remember former Troubles. Thus much, if it may pleaſe your *Lordſhip*, is in the *Optative Mood*. It is time, that I did, Look a little, into the *Potential*: wherein the Hope, which I conceived, was grounded, upon 3. *Obſervations*. The Firſt, the *Nature* of theſe *Times*, which flouriſh in Learning, both of Art, and Language: which giveth Hope, not onely that it may be done, but that it may be well done. Secondly, I doe ſee that, which all the *World* ſee's, in his *Majeſty*, both a wonderfull Judgement in Learning, and a ſingular Affection towards Learning; And works, which are of the *Mind*, and not of the *Hand*. For there cannot be, the like Honour ſought, in building of *Galleries*, and Planting of *Elmes*, along high-wayes, and the outward *Ornaments*, wherein *France* now is buſie; (Things rather of *Magnificence*, than of *Magnanimity*;) As there is, in the *Vniting* of *States*, *Pacifying* of *Controverſies*,

* G. Buchanans Hiſtory

ſies, *Nouriſhing*, and *Augmenting*, of *Learning*, and *Arts*, and the particular Actions appertaining unto theſe; Of which kind, *Cicero* judged truly, when he ſaid to *Cæſar*; *Quantum Operibus tuis detrahet Vetuſtas, tantum addet laudibus.* And laſtly, I call to minde, that your *Lordſhip*, at ſome times, had been pleaſed, to expreſs unto me, a great deſire, that ſomething of this Nature ſhould be performed; Anſwerable, indeed, to your other noble, and worthy, Courſes, and Actions: Joyning, and adding, unto the great Services, towards his *Majeſty*; (which have, in ſmall Compaſs of Time, been put upon your *Lordſhip*,) other great Deſervings, both of the *Church*, and *Commonwealth*, and *Particulars*: So as the Opinion, of ſo great, and wiſe a Man, doth ſeem to me, a good Warrant, both of the Poſſibility, and Worth, of this Matter. But all this while, I aſſure my Self, I cannot be miſtaken, by your *Lordſhip*, as if I ſought an Office, or Employment for my Self: For no Man knowes better, than your *Lordſhip*, that if, there were in me, any Faculty thereunto, yet neither my Courſe of Life, nor Profeſſion, would permit it: But becauſe there be ſo many good *Painters*, both for *Hand*, and *Colours*, it needeth but Encouragement, and Inſtructions, to give Life unto it. So, in all Humbleneſs, I conclude, my preſenting unto your *Lordſhip*, of this *Wiſh*; which, if it periſh, it is but a loſs of that, which is not: And ſo craving pardon, that I have taken ſo much time, from your *Lordſhip*, I remain.

A Letter to the King, upon the ſending unto him, a Beginning, *of an* Hiſtory, *of his* Majeſties *Times.*

It may pleaſe your Majeſty,

HEaring, that you are at leiſure, to peruſe Stories, a deſire took me, to make an Experiment, what I could doe, in your *Majeſties* times; which being, but a Leaf, or two, I pray your pardon, if I ſend it, for your Recreation; Conſidering, that Love muſt creep, where it cannot goe. But to this, I add, theſe Petitions. Firſt, that if your *Majeſty* doe diſlike any thing, you would conceive, I can amend it, upon your leaſt beck. Next, that if I have not ſpoken, of your *Majeſty*, *Encomiaſtically*, your *Majeſty*, would be pleaſed, only to aſcribe it, to the *Law*, of an *Hiſtory*; which doth not clutter together praiſes, upon the firſt mention of a Name, but rather diſperſeth, and weaveth them, through the whole *Narrative*. And as for the Proper place, of *Commemoration*, (which is in the *Period* of *Life*,) I pray *God*, I may never live, to write it. Thirdly, that the reaſon, why I preſumed to think of this Oblation, was becauſe, whatſoever my Diſability be, yet I ſhall have that Advantage, which, (almoſt) no *Writer* of *Hiſtory*, hath had;

In

In that, I ſhall write of Times, not onely ſince I could Remember, but ſince I could obſerve. And laſtly, that it is onely, for your *Majeſties* Reading.

A Letter, *to the* Earl *of* Salisbury, *upon ſending of him, one of his* Books, *of* Advancement of Learning.

IT may pleaſe your good *Lordſhip*; I preſent your *Lordſhip*, with a *work*, of my vacant time; which if it had been more, the *Work* had been better. It appertaineth to your *Lordſhip*, (beſides my particular reſpects,) in ſome Propriety; In regard, you are a great *Governer*, in a *Province* of *Learning*. And (that which is more) you have added to your Place, Affection towards *Learning*; And to your Affection, Judgement. Of which, the laſt, I could be content, were, (for the time,) leſs, that you might the leſs exquiſitely Cenſure, that which I offer unto you. But ſure I am, the Argument is good, if it had lighted upon a good *Author*. But I ſhall content my ſelf, to awake better Spirits; Like a Bell-ringer, which is firſt up, to call others to *Church*. So with my humble Deſire, of your *Lordſhips* good Acceptation, I remain.

A Letter, *to the* Lord Treaſurer, Buckhurſt, *upon the like Argument.*

MAy it pleaſe your good *Lordſhip*; I have finiſh'd a *work*, touching the *Advancement*, or Setting forward of *Learning*; which I have dedicated to his *Majeſty*; the moſt learned, of a *Soveraign*, or *Temporal Prince*, that Time, hath known. And upon reaſon, not unlike, I humbly preſent, one of the *Books*, to your *Lordſhip*: Not onely, as a *Chanceller*, of an *Vniverſity*, but as one, that was excellently bred, in all *Learning*; which I have ever noted, to ſhine, in all your Speeches, and Behaviours. And therefore your *Lordſhip*, will yield a gracious Aſpect, to your firſt Love; And take pleaſure, in the Adorning of that, wherewith your ſelf are ſo much adorned. And ſo humbly deſiring your favourable Acceptation therof, with Signification of humble Duty, I remain.

A Letter, of the like Argument, to the Lord Chancellor.

MAy it please your good *Lordship*; I humbly present your *Lordship*, with a *work*; wherein, as you have much Commandement, over the *Author*: So your *Lordship*, hath also great Interest, in the *Argument*: For to speak without Flattery, few have like use of Learning, or like Judgement in Learning, as I have observed in your *Lordship*. And again, your *Lordship*, hath been a great Planter of Learning; Not onely, in those places, in the *Church*, which have been in your own Gift; But also, in your Commendatory Vote, no man hath more constantly held; *Detur Digniori*: And therefore, both your *Lordship*, is beholding to *Learning*, and *Learning* beholding to you; Which maketh me presume, with good Assurance, that your *Lordship*, will accept well of these my Labours; The rather; because your *Lordship*, in private Speech, hath often begun to me, in expressing, your Admiration, of his *Majesties learning*, to whom I have dedicated this *Work*; And whose Vertue, and Perfection, in that kinde, did chiefly move me, to a Work of this Nature. And so, with Signification, of my most humble Duty, and Affection, to your *Lordship*, I remain.

A Letter, of like Argument, to the Earl of Northampton, with request, to Present the Book, to his Majesty.

It may please your good Lordship;

HAving finished a *work*, touching the *Advancement* of *Learning*, and dedicated the same, to his *Sacred Majesty*, whom I dare avouch, (if the Records of Time err not,) to be the learnedest *King*, that hath reigned; I was desirous, in a kinde of Congruity, to present it, by the learnedest *Counsellor*, in this *Kingdom*; To the end, that so good an *Argument*, lighting upon so bad an *Author*, might receive some Reputation, by the Hands, into which, and by which, it should be delivered. And therefore, I make it, my humble Sute, to your *Lordship*, to present this mean, but well meant *Writing*, to his *Majesty*, and with it, my humble, and zealous Duty; And also, my like humble request of Pardon, if I have too often, taken his name in Vain; Not onely in the *Dedication*, but in the *Voucher*, of the Authority, of his Speeches, and Writings. And so I remain.

A Letter, *of Request, to* Dr. Playfer, *to Translate the* Book, *of* Advancement of Learning, *into* Latine.

Mr. Dr. Playfer:

A Great Desire, will take a small Occasion, to hope, and put in Trial, that which is desired. It pleased you, a good while since, to express unto me, the good Liking, which you conceived, of my *Book*, of the *Advancement of Learning*; and that more Significantly, (as it seem'd to me,) than out of Curtesie, or Civil Respect. My Self, as I then took Contentment, in your Approbation thereof; So I should esteem, and acknowledge, not onely my Contentment encreased, but my Labours aduanced, if I might obtain your help, in that nature which I desire. Wherein, before I set down, in plain Terms, my request unto you, I will open my Self, what it was, which I chiefly sought, and propounded, to my Self, in that *Work*; That you may perceive, that which I now desire, to be pursuant thereupon. If I doe not much erre, (For any Judgement, that a Man maketh, of his own Doings, had need be spoken, with a *Si nunquam fallit Imago,*) I have this Opinion, that if I had sought mine own Commendation, it had been, a much fitter Course for me, to have done, as Gardeners used to doe, by taking their Seed, and Slipps, and rearing them first into Plants, and so uttering them in Pots, when they are in Flower, and in their best State. But for as much, as my End, was Merit, of the *State* of *Learning*, (to my Power,) and not *Glory*; And because my purpose was, rather to Excite, other Mens Wits, than to magnify mine own; I was desirous, to prevent the uncertainness, of mine own Life, & Times, by uttering rather Seeds, than Plants: Nay, and further, (as the *Proverb* is,) by sowing with the *Basket*, rather than with the *Hand:* Wherefore, since I have only taken upon me, to ring a Bell, to call other wits together, (which is the meanest Office,) it cannot but be consonant to my Desire, to have that Bell heard, as farr as can be. And since they are but Sparks, which can work but upon Matter prepared, I have the more reason, to wish, that those Sparks may fly abroad, That they may the better find, and light, upon those Minds, and Spirits, which are apt to be kindled. And therefore, the Privateness of the *Language* considered, wherein it is written, excluding so many Readers; As on the other side, the Obscurity of the Argument, in many parts of it, excludeth many others; I must accompt it, a *Second Birth*, of that *Work*, if it might be translated into *Latine*, without manifest loss, of the Sense, and Matter. For this purpose, I could not represent to my Self, any Man, into whose hands, I doe more earnestly desire, that *work* should fall, than your Self: For by that, I have heard, and read, I know no Man, a greater

Maſter, in Commanding Words, to ſerve Matter. Nevertheleſs, I am not ignorant of the worth of your Labours; Whether ſuch as your Place, and Profeſſion impoſeth; Or ſuch, as your own Vertue, may, upon your Voluntary Election, take in hand. But I can lay before you, no other perſwaſions, than either the *Work* it Self, may affect you with; Or the *Honour*, of his *Majeſty*, to whom it is dedicated; Or your Particular Inclination to my Self; who, as I never took ſo much comfort, in any Labours of mine own, ſo I ſhall never acknowledge my Self, more obliged, in any thing, to the Labour of another, than in that, which ſhall aſſiſt it. Which your labour, if I can, by my Place, Profeſſion, Means, Friends, Travel, Work, Deed, requite unto you, I ſhall eſteem my Self, ſo ſtreightly bound thereunto, as I ſhall be ever moſt ready, both to take, and ſeek, occaſion of Thankfulneſs. So leaving it, nevertheleſs, *Salvâ amicitiâ*, (as reaſon is,) to your own good Liking, I remain,

A Letter, *to Sir* Thomas Bodley, *upon ſending of him, his* Book, *of* Advancement *of* Learning.

I Think, no Man, may more truly ſay, with the Pſalm, *Multùm Incola fuit Anima mea*, than my Self, For I doe confeſſe, ſince I was of any Underſtanding, my Minde, hath, in Effect, been abſent from that I have done: And in Abſence, are many Errours, which I doe willingly acknowledge; And amongſt the reſt, this great one, that ledd the reſt; That knowing my Self, by inward Calling, to be fitter, to hold a Book, than to play a part, I have led my life in Civil Cauſes; For which I was not very fit by Nature, and more unfit, by the preoccupation of my Minde. Therefore calling my Self home, I have now, for a time, enjoyed my Self; whereof, likewiſe, I deſire, to make the *World* partaker. My Labours, (if I may ſo term that, which was the Comfort, of my other Labours,) I have Dedicated to the *King*; Deſirous, if there be any Good in them, it may be, as the *Fat* of a *Sacrifice*, incenſed to his *Honour*; And the ſecond *Copy*, I have ſent unto you; Not onely, in good Affection, but in a kinde of Congruity, in regard, of your great, and rare deſert, of *Learning*. For *Books*, are the Shrines, where the *Saint* is, or is beleeved to be. And you, having built an *Ark*, to ſave *Learning*, from *Deluge*, deſerve Propriety, in any new Inſtrument, or Engine, whereby *Learning*, ſhould be improved or advanced.

A

A Letter, *to the* Biſhop of Ely, *upon ſending his* Writing, *entituled*, Cogitata, & Viſa.

MY very good *Lord* : Now your *Lordſhip*, hath been ſo long in the *Church*, and the *Palace*, diſputing, between *Kings*, and *Popes*; Methinks, you ſhould take pleaſure, To look into the *Field*, and refreſh your minde, with ſome *Matter*, of *Philoſophy*; Though that *Science*, be now, through Age, waxed a Childe again, and left to Boyes, and young men. And becauſe you were wont to make me beleeve, you took liking to my *Writings*, I ſend you ſome of this Vacations Fruits; And thus much more, of my minde, and purpoſe. I haſten not to Publiſh; periſhing I would prevent. And I am forced, to reſpect, as well my Times, as the Matter. For with me it is thus; and I think with all Men in my Caſe: If I bind my Self, to an Argument, it loadeth my Minde : But if I rid my Mind, of the preſent Cogitation, it is rather a Recreation. This hath put me into theſe *Miſcellanies*; which I purpoſe to ſuppreſs, if *God* give me leave, to write, a juſt; and perfect Volume, of Philoſophy, which I goe on with, though ſlowly. I ſend not your *Lordſhip*, too much, leſt it may glutt you. Now let me tell you, what my Deſire is : If your *Lordſhip* be ſo good now, as when you were, the good *Dean* of *Weſtminſter*, my requeſt to you is; That not by Pricks, but by Notes, you would mark unto me, whatſoever ſhall ſeem unto you, either not current in the Stile; Or harſh to credit, and Opinion; Or inconvenient, for the Perſon, of the Writer. For no Man, can be Judge, and Party : And when our Minds judge, by Reflexion of our Selves, they are more ſubject to Error. And though, for the Matter it ſelf, my Judgement, be, in ſome things, fixed, and not Acceſſible by any Mans Judgement, that goeth not my way; yet even in thoſe Things, the Admonition of a Friend, may make me, expreſs my Self, diverſly. I would have come to your *Lordſhip*, but that I am haſtening to my Houſe, in the *Country*. And ſo I commend your *Lordſhip* to *Gods* Goodneſs.

A Letter, *to Sir* Tho: Bodley, *after he had imparted to him, a* VVriting, *entituled*, Cogitata, & Viſa:

SIR, in reſpect of my Going down, to my *Houſe*, in the *Country*, I ſhall have miſſe of my *Papers*; which I pray you therefore to return unto me. You are, I bear you witneſs, Slothfull, and you help me nothing : So as I am half in conceit, that you affect not the Argument : For my Self, I know well, you love, and

and affect. I can ſay no more to you, But, *Non canimus Surdis, reſpondent omnia Sylvæ.* If you be not of the Lodgings, chaulked up, (whereof I ſpeak in my Preface,) I am but to paſs by your Door. But if I had you, but a Fortnight, at *Gorhambury*, I would make you tell me another Tale; or elſe, I would add a Cogitation, againſt *Libraries*, and be revenged on you, that way. I pray, ſend me ſome good News, of Sir *Tho: Smith*; And commend me very kindly to him. So I reſt.

A Letter, *to Mr.* Matthew, *upon ſending to him, a part, of* Inſtauratio Magna.

MR. *Matthew*; I plainly perceive, by your affectionate writing, touching my Work, that one, and the ſame Thing, affecteth us both; which is, the good End, to which it is dedicate. For as to any Ability of mine, it cannot merit, that Degree, of Approbation. For your Caution for *Church Men*, and *Church Matters*; As for any Impediment, it might be, to the Applauſe, and Celebrity, of my *Work*; It moveth me not; But as it may hinder the Fruit, and Good, which may come, of a quiet, and calm, paſſage, to the good Port, to which it is bound, I hold it a juſt reſpect; So as to fetch a fair Winde, I go not too farr about. But the Troth is, that I, at all, have no occaſion, to meet them, in my way; Except it be, as they will needs confederate themſelves, with *Ariſtotle*, who, you know, is intemperately magnifyed, by the *School-Men*; And is alſo allyed, as I take it, to the *Jeſuits*, by *Faber*, who was a Companion, of *Loyola*, and a great *Ariſtotelian*. I ſend you, at this time, the onely part, which hath any Harſhneſs; And yet, I framed to my Self, an Opinion, that whoſoever allowed well, of that Preface, which you ſo much commend, will not diſlike, or at leaſt ought not to diſlike, this other Speech of Preparation: For it is written, out of the ſame Spirit, and out of the ſame Neceſſity: Nay, it doth more fully lay open, that the Queſtion between me, and the *Antients*, is not, of the *Vertue*, of the *Race*, but of the *Rightneſs*, of the *Way*. And to ſpeak truth, it is to the other, but as *Palma* to *Pugnus*, part of the ſame Thing, more large. You conceive aright, that in this, and the other, you have Commiſſion, to impart, and communicate them, to others, According to your Diſcretion. Other Matters I write not of. My ſelf, am like the Miller of *Granceſter*, that was wont to pray, for Peace, amongſt the Willows; For while the winds blew, the Wind-mils wrought, and the Water-mill, was leſs cuſtomed. So I ſee, that *Controverſies* of *Religion*, muſt hinder the *Advancement* of *Sciences*. Let me conclude, with my perpetual Wiſh, towards your Self; That the Approbation of your Self, by your own diſcreet, and temperate,

temperate, Cariage, may reſtore you to your *Country*, and your *Friends*, to your *Society*. And ſo I commend you, to *Gods* Goodneſs. *Grais Inn*, 10 *Octob.* 1609.

A Letter, *to Mr.* Matthew, *touching* Inſtauratio Magna.

MR. *Matthew*, I heartily thank you, for your *Letter*, of the 10th of *February*; And am glad, to receive, from you, Matter, both of Encouragement, and of Advertiſement, touching my *Writings*. For my part, I doe wiſh, that ſince there is, no *Lumen-ſiccum*, in the *World*; But all *Madidum*, and *Maceratum*, infuſed in Affections, and Blouds or Humours, that theſe Things of mine, had thoſe Separations, that might make them more acceptable: So that they claim not, ſo much Acquaintance, of the preſent times, as they be thereby, the leſs apt to laſt. And to ſhew you, that I have ſome Purpoſe, to new mould them; I ſend you, a Leaf, or two, of the *Preface*, carrying ſome Figure of the whole *Work*. Wherein, I purpoſe, to take that, which I count real, and effectual, of both *Writings*; And chiefly, to add a Pledge, (if not Payment,) to my Promiſes, I ſend you alſo, a *Memorial*, of *Queen Elizabeth*; To requite your *Elogy*, of the late *Duke* of *Florences*, Felicity. Of this, when you were here, I ſhewed you ſome Model; At what time, (methought,) you were more willing, to hear *Julius Ceſar*, than *Queen Elizabeth*, commended. But this, which I ſend, is more full, and hath more of the *Narrative*. And further, hath one part, that, I think, will not be diſagreeable, either to you, or that Place; Being the true Tract, of her Proceedings, towards the *Catholiques*; which are infinitely miſtaken. And though I doe not imagine, they will paſs allowance there, yet they will gain upon Excuſe. I finde Mr. *Le-Zure*, to uſe you well, (I mean his Tongue of you,) which ſhews you, either honeſt, or wiſe. But this I ſpeak merrily. For in good faith, I doe conceive hope, that you will ſo govern your Self, as we may take you, as aſſuredly for a good *Subject*, and *Patriot*; as you take your Self for a good *Chriſtian*; And ſo we may again enjoy your Company, and you your Conſcience, if it may no other wayes be. For my part, aſſure your Self, (as we ſay in the *Law*,) *mutatis mutandis*, my love, and good wiſhes to you, are not diminiſhed. And ſo I remain.

A

A Letter, to Mr. Matthew, imprisoned for Religion.

MR. *Matthew*; Doe not think me forgetfull, or altered towards you. But if I ſhould ſay, I could doe you any good, I ſhould make my Power, more than it is. I doe hear that, which I am right ſorry for; That you grow more Impatient, and Buſie, than at firſt: which maketh me exceedingly fear the iſſue of that, which ſeemeth not to ſtand at a ſtay. I my Self, am out of doubt, that you have been miſerably abuſed, when you were firſt ſeduced: But that, which I take in Compaſſion, others may take in Severity. I pray *God*, that underſtandeth us all, (better than we underſtand one another,) contain you, (even as I hope he will,) at the leaſt, within the Bounds of Loyalty to his *Majeſty*, and Natural Piety towards your *Country*. And I entreat you much, ſometimes, to meditate, upon the extreme Effects of *Superſtition*, in this laſt *Powder Treaſon*; fit to be tabled, and pictured, in the Chambers of *Meditation*, as another *Hell*, above the Ground; And well juſtifying, the Cenſure of the *Heathen*; That *Superſtition* is farr worſe than *Atheiſm*: By how much it is leſs evil, to have no Opinion, of *God* at all; than ſuch as is impious, towards his *Divine Majeſty*, and *Goodneſs*. Good Mr. *Matthew*, receive your Self back, from theſe Courſes, of Perdition: Willing to have written a great deal more, I continue.

A Letter, to Mr. Matthew, upon ſending his Book, De Sapientiâ Veterum.

MR. *Matthew*, I do very heartily thank you, for your *Letter* of the 24. of *Auguſt*, from *Salamanca*; And, in recompence thereof, I ſend you, a little *work* of mine, that hath begun, to paſs the *world*. They tell me, my *Latin*, is turn'd into Silver, and become current: Had you been here, you ſhould have been my *Inquiſitour*, before it came forth. But I think, the greateſt *Inquiſitour* in *Spain*, will allow it. But one thing, you muſt pardon me, if I make no haſt to beleeve, That the World ſhould be grown to ſuch an Ecſtaſy, as to reject *Truth* in *Philoſophy*, becauſe the *Author* diſſenteth in *Religion*: No more than they doe, by *Ariſtotle*, or *Averroës*. My great *work* goeth forward; And after my manner, I alter ever, when I add. So that nothing is finiſhed, till all be finiſhed. This I have written, in the midſt, of a *Term*, and *Parliament*; Thinking no time ſo poſſeſſed, but that I ſhould talk of theſe Matters, with ſo

ſo good, and dear a *Friend*. And ſo, with my wonted Wiſhes, I leave you to *Gods* Goodneſs. From *Graies Inn*, 27th of *Febr.* 1610.

A Letter, *of* Expoſtulation, *to the* Atturney General, *Sir* Edward Cook.

MR. *Atturney*, I thought beſt, once for all, to let you know, in plainneſs, what I finde of you, and what you ſhall find of me: You take to your ſelf, a Liberty, to diſgrace, and diſable my *Law*, my *Experience*, my *Diſcretion*: What it pleaſeth you, I pray, think of me; I am one, that know's both mine own wants, and other Mens: And it may be, perchance, that mine mend, others ſtand at a ſtay. And ſurely, I may not endure, in publick place, to be wronged, without repelling the ſame, to my beſt advantage, to right my Self. You are great, and therefore have the more Enviers; which would be glad, to have you paid, at anothers coſt. Since the time, I miſſed the *Solliciters* place, (the rather I think by your means,) I cannot expect, that you, and I ſhall ever ſerve, as *Atturney*, and *Solliciter*, together; But either, to ſerve with another, upon your Remove, or to ſtep into ſome other Courſe: So as, I am more free, than ever I was, from any Occaſion, of unworthy Conforming my Self to you; More than general good manners, or your particular good Uſage, ſhall provoke. And if you had not been, ſhort ſighted, in your own Fortune, (as I think,) you might have had more uſe of me. But that Tide is paſſed. I write not this, to ſhew my Friends, what a brave *Letter*, I have written, to Mr. *Atturney*: I have none of thoſe Humours: But that I have written, is to a good End; That is, to the more decent Carriage, of my *Maſters Service*; And to our particular, better Underſtanding One of Another. This *Letter*, if it ſhall be anſwered by you, in deed, and not in word, I ſuppoſe, it will not be worſe, for us both: Elſe it is but a few Lines loſt; which, for a much ſmaller Matter, I would have adventured. So this being to your Self, I for my part reſt.

A Letter, *to my* Lord *of* Salisbury, *touching the* Solliciters *Place.*

It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

I Am not ignorant, how mean a Thing, I ſtand for, in deſiring to come, into the *Solliciters* Place: For I know well, it is not the Thing it hath been; Time having wrought Alteration, both in

the Profeſſion, and in that ſpecial Place. Yet becauſe, I think, it will encreaſe my practice, and that it may ſatisfy my Friends; And becauſe I have been voiced to it, I would be glad it were done. Wherein, I may ſay to your *Lordſhip*, in the Confidence, of your poor Kinſman, and of a Man, by you advanced; *Tu idem fer opem, qui Spem dediſti:* For, I am ſure, it was not poſſible, for a Man Living, to have received, from another, more ſignificant, and comfortable, words of Hope; your *Lordſhip* being pleaſed, to tell me, during the Courſe of my laſt Service, that you would raiſe me; And that, when you had reſolved, to raiſe a Man, you were more carefull of him, than himſelf; And that, what you had done for me, in my *Marriage*, was a benefit to me, but of no uſe, to your *Lordſhip*; And therefore, I might aſſure my Self, you would not leave me there; with many like Speeches, which I knew, my Duty too well, to take any other hold of, than the Hold, of a Thankfull Remembrance. And I acknowledge, and all the World knoweth, that your *Lordſhip*, is no Dealer, of *Holy Water*, but *Noble*, and *Real*; And, on my part, I am of a ſure ground, that I have committed nothing, that may deſerve alteration. And therfore, my Hope is, your *Lordſhip*, will finiſh a good Work, and conſider, that Time groweth pretious with me, and that I am now in *Vergentibus Annis*. And although I know, that your Fortune is not to need, an Hundred ſuch as I am, yet I ſhall be ever ready, to give you my beſt, and Firſt fruits; And to ſupply, (as much as in me lieth,) Worthineſs, by Thankfulneſs.

A Letter, *of like Argument, to the* Lord Chancellor.

It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

AS I conceived it to be a Reſolution, both with his *Majeſty*, and your *Lordſhips* of his *Council*, that I ſhould be placed *Solliciter*, and the *Solliciter*, to be removed, to be the *Kings Serjeant*: So I moſt thankfully acknowledge, your *Lordſhips* furtherance, and forwardneſs therein; your *Lordſhip*, being the Man, that firſt deviſed the Mean: Wherefore, my humble Requeſt, to your *Lordſhip* is, that you would ſet in, with ſome Strength, to finiſh this your *Work*: Which I aſſure your *Lordſhip*, I deſire the rather, becauſe being placed, I hope, for many Favours, at laſt, to be able, to doe you ſome better Service. For as I am, your *Lordſhip* cannot uſe me; nor ſcarcely indeed know me: Not that I vainly think, I ſhall be able, to doe any great Matters, but certainly, it will frame me to uſe a nearer Obſervance, and Application, to ſuch, as I honour ſo much, as I doe your *Lordſhip*; And not, (I hope,) without ſome good Offices, which may, now and then, deſerve

your

your Thanks. And herewithall, (good my *Lord*,) I humbly pray your *Lordſhip*, to conſider, that *Time* groweth precious with me, and that a *Married* Man, is 7. years elder, in his thoughts, the firſt day. And therefore, what a diſcomfortable Thing it is for me, to be unſetled ſtill? Certainly, were it not, that I think my Self born, to doe my *Soveraign* Service; And therefore, in that Station, I will live and dye; Otherwiſe, for mine own Private comfort, it were better for me, that the *King*, did blot me out of his *Book*; Or that I ſhould turn my Courſe, to endeavour, to ſerve, in ſome other kinde, than for me, to ſtand thus at a ſtopp; And to have that little Reputation, which by my Induſtry I gather, to be ſcattered, and taken away, by continual Diſgraces, every new Man coming above me. Sure I am, I ſhall never have fairer Promiſes, and Words, from all your *Loraſhips*. For I know not what my Services are, (ſaving that your *Lordſhips* told me, they were good;) And I would beleeve you, in a much greater Matter. Were it nothing elſe, I hope the Modeſty of my Sute, deſerveth ſomewhat; For I know well, the *Solliciters* Place, is not as your *Lordſhip*, left it; Time working Alteration, ſomewhat in the Profeſſion, much more in that ſpecial Place. But to conclude, as my *Honourable Lady*, your Wife, was ſome Mean, to make me, to change the Name of Another; So if it pleaſe you, to help me, to change mine own Name, I can be, but more and more bounden to you: And I am much deceived, if your *Lordſhip*, finde not the *King*, well inclined, and my *Lord of Salisbury* forward, and affectionate.

A Letter, to the King, touching the Solliciters Place.

HOw honeſtly ready I have been (moſt gracious *Soveraign*,) to doe your *Majeſty* humble Service, to the beſt of my power, and in a manner, beyond my power, (as I now ſtand,) I am not ſo unfortunate, but your *Majeſtie* knoweth. For both, in the *Commiſſion* of *Union*, (the Labour whereof, for Men of my Profeſſion, reſted moſt upon my hand;) And this laſt *Parliament*, in the *Bill* of the *Subſidy*; Both Body and Preamble; In the *Bill* of *Attainders*, both *Treſham*, and the reſt; In the *Matter* of *Purveyance*; In the *Eccleſiaſtical Petitions*; In the *Grievances*; And the like; as I was ever carefull, (and not without good Succeſs,) ſometimes to put forward, that which was good; ſometimes to keep back, that which was not ſo good; So your *Majeſty* was pleaſed, kindly to accept of my Services, and to ſay to me; Such Conflicts were the Warrs of Peace; And ſuch Victories the Victories of Peace; And therefore ſuch Servants, that obtained them, were by *Kings*,

that reign in Peace, no leſs to be eſteemed, than Services of Commanders in the Warrs. In all which, nevertheleſs, I can challenge, to my Self, no Sufficiency, but that I was diligent, and reaſonable happy, to execute thoſe Directions, which I received, either immediately from your *Royal Mouth*, or from my *Lord of Salisbury*. At what time, it pleaſed your *Majeſty* alſo, to promiſe, and aſſure me, that upon the Remove of the then *Atturney*, I ſhould not be forgotten, but brought into *Ordinary Place*. And this was after confirmed to me, by many of my *Lords*, and towards the end of the laſt Term, the manner alſo, in particular, ſpoken of; That is, that Mr. *Solliciter*, ſhould be made your *Majeſties Serjeant*, and I *Solliciter*: For ſo it was thought beſt, to ſort, with both our Gifts, and Faculties, for the good of your Service. And of this Reſolution, both *Court*, and *Country*, took knowledge. Neither was this, any Invention, or Project, of mine own; but moved from my *Lords*, I think, firſt from my *Lord Chanceller*: whereupon reſting, your *Majeſty* well knoweth, I never opened my Mouth, for the *Greater Place*; Though I am ſure, I had 2. Circumſtances, that Mr. *Atturney*, that now is, could not allege: The one, Nine years Service of the Crown: The other, the being *Couſin Germain*, to the *Lord of Salisbury*, whom your *Majeſty* eſteemeth, and truſteth ſo much. But for the leſs Place, I conceive it was meant me. But after that, Mr. *Atturney Hobert* was placed, I heard no more of my Preferment; but it ſeemed to me at a ſtopp, to my great Diſgrace, and Diſcouragement. For (gracious *Soveraign*,) if ſtill, when the *Waters are ſtirr'd*, another ſhall be put in before me, your *Majeſty* had need work a *Miracle*, or elſe, I ſhall be ſtill, a lame Man, to doe your Service. And therefore, my moſt humble ſute, to your *Majeſty*, is; That this, which ſeemed to me intended, may ſpeedily be performed: And, I hope, my former Service, ſhall be, but as Beginnings to better, when I am better ſtrengthened: For ſure I am, no Mans Heart is fuller, (I ſay not, but many may have greater Hearts, but I ſay not fuller,) of Love, and Duty, towards your *Majeſty*, and your *Children*; As, I hope, Time will manifeſt, againſt Envy, and Detraction, if any be. To conclude, I moſt humbly crave pardon for my boldneſs, and reſt.

A Letter, *to the* Earl of Salisbury, *of Curteſy, upon a* New-years Tide.

It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

HAving no *Gift*, to preſent you with, in any degree proportionable to my minde; I deſire, nevertheleſs, to take the Advantage, of a *Ceremony*, to expreſs my Self, to your *Lordſhip*; it being

ing the first time, I could make the like Acknowledgement, when I stood, out of the person of a Suter: wherefore, I most humbly pray your *Lordship*, to think of me, that now it hath pleased you, by many Effectual, and great Benefits, to add the Assurance, and Comfort, of your Love, and Favour, to that precedent Dispositi-on, which was in me, to admire, your Vertue and Merit; I doe esteem, whatsoever I have, or may have, in this World, but as Trash, in comparison, of having the Honour, and Happiness, to be a near, and well accepted, Kinsman, to so rare, and worthy, a *Counseller*, *Governer*, and *Patriot*. For having been a studious, if not, a Curious Observer, of *Antiquities* or *Vertue*, as of late *Pieces*; I forbear to say to your *Lordship*, what I find and conceive; But to any other, I would think, to make my Self, beleeved. But not to be tedious, in that, which may have the shew of a Complement, I can but wish your *Lordship*, many happy years; Many more, than your *Father* had; Even so many more, as we may need you more. So I remain.

A Letter, *of* Thanks, *to the* King, *upon Mr.* Attur-ney's *Sickness*.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

I Doe understand, by some of my good Friends, to my great com-fort, that your *Majesty*, hath in minde, your *Majesties Royal* Pro-mise, (which to me is *Anchora Spei*,) touching the *Atturney's* place. I hope, Mr. *Atturney* shall doe well. I thank *God*, I wish no Mans Death; Nor much mine own Life, more than to doe your *Maje-sty* Service. For I account my Life the Accident, and my Duty the Substance. But this, I will be bold to say. If it please *God*, that ever I serve your *Majesty*, in the *Atturney's* place, I have known an *Atturney Cooke*, and an *Atturney Hobert*; Both worthy Men, and farr above my Self: But if I should not find, a Middle way, be-tween their two Dispositions, and Carriages, I should not sa-tisfy my Self. But these things, are farr, or near, as it shall please *God*. Mean while, I most humbly pray your *Majesty*, to ac-cept, my *Sacrifice* of *Thanksgiving* for your *Gracious Favour*. *God* pre-serve your *Majesty*. I ever remain.

A

A Letter, *to the* King, *of Sute, to ſucceed, in the* Arturney's *Place.*

It may pleaſe your Majeſty,

YOur great, and Princely, Favours towards me, in Advancing me to *Place*; And that, which is to me, of no leſs comfort, your *Majeſties* benign, and gracious Acceptation, from time to time, of my poor Services, much above the Merit, and Valew of them; Hath, almoſt, brought me to an Opinion, that I may ſooner, (perchance,) be wanting, to my Self, in not asking; Than finde your *Majeſties* Goodneſs wanting to me, in any my reaſonable, and modeſt deſires. And therefore, perceiving, how at this time, Preferments of Law fly about mine Ears; To ſome above me, and to ſome below me; I did conceive, your *Majeſty* may think it, rather a Kinde of Dulneſs, or want of Faith, than Modeſty, if I ſhould not come, with my *Pitcher*, to *Jacobs Well*, as others doe. VVherein I ſhall propound to your *Majeſty*, that which tendeth not ſo much, to the Raiſing of my Fortune, as to the ſetling of my Minde; Being ſometimes aſſailed with this Cogitation; That by reaſon of my Slowneſs, to ſee, and apprehend ſuddain Occaſions; Keeping on one plain Courſe of painfull Service; I may, (*in fine Dierum*,) be in danger, to be neglected, and forgotten. And if that ſhould be, then were it much better for me, now while I ſtand in your *Majeſties* good Opinion, (though unworthy,) and have ſome little Reputation, in the VVorld, to give over the Courſe I am in, and to make proof, to doe you ſome Honour, by my *Pen*, either by writing, ſome faithfull *Narrative*, of your Happy, (though not untraduced,) Times; Or by recompiling your Laws, (which, I perceive, your *Majeſty* laboureth with; And hath in your Head, as *Jupiter* had *Pallas*;) Or ſome other the like work: (For without ſome Endeavour to doe you Honour, I would not live;) Than to ſpend my Wits, and Time, in this laborious place, wherein I now ſerve; If it ſhall be deprived, of thoſe outward Ornaments, which it was wont to have, in reſpect of an Aſſured Succeſſion, to ſome Place, of more Dignity, and Reſt: which ſeemeth now, to be an Hope, altogether Caſual, if not wholly intercepted. VVherefore, (not to hold your *Majeſty* long,) my humble Sute, to you, is that, than the which, I think, I cannot well goe lower; which is, that I may obtain, your Royal promiſe, to ſucceed, (if *I* live,) into the *Atturneys* place, whenſoever it ſhall be void: It being, but the Natural, and Immediate Step, and Riſe, which the Place, I now hold, hath ever, (in ſort) made claim to, and almoſt never failed of. In this Sute, I make no Friends to yout *Majeſty*, but rely upon no other *Motive*, but your *Grace*; Nor any other *Aſſurance*, but your *Word*; whereof

of I had good Experience, when I came to the *Solliciters* Place; That it was like, to the Two *great Lights*, which in their Motions, are never *Retrograde*. So with my best Prayers, for your *Majesties* Happiness, I rest.

A Letter, *to Sir* George Carey, *in* France, *upon sending him his* Writing, In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ.

My very good Lord;

BEing asked the Question, by this Bearer, an old Servant, of my *Brother Anthony Bacons*, whether I would command him any thing into *France*; And being, at better leisure, than I would, in regard of Sickness; I began to remember, that neither your Business, nor mine, (though great, and continual,) can be, upon an an exact account, any just Occasion, why so much good will, as hath passed between us, should be so much discontinued, as hath been. And therefore, because one must begin, I thought to provoke, your Remembrance of me, by a Letter: And thinking to fit it, with somewhat, besides Salutations, it came to my Minde, that this last Summer Vacation, by occasion of a *Factious Book*, that endeavoured to verefy, *Misera Femina*, (The Addition of the *Popes Bull*,) upon *Queen Elizabeth*, I did write, a few Lines, in her Memorial; which I thought, you would be pleased to read; both for the Argument; And because, you were wont, to bear Affection, to my Penn. *Verum, ut aliud ex alio*, if it came handsomly to pass, I would be glad, the *President de* * *Thou*, (who hath written an *History*, as you know, of that Fame, and Diligence,) saw it: Chiefly, because I know not, whether it may not serve him, for some use, in his *Story*: wherein, I would be glad, he did right to the Truth, and to the Memory, of that *Lady*, as I perceive, by that he hath already written, he is well enclined to doe. I would be glad also, it were some Occasion, (such as Absence may permit,) of some Acquaintance, or mutual Notice, between us. For though he hath, many wayes, the precedence, (chiefly in worth,) yet this is common to us both, that we serve *our Soveraigns*, in places of *Law*, eminent: And not our Selves onely, but our *Fathers*, did so before us: And lastly, that both of us, love *Learning*, and *Liberal Sciences*, which was ever, a Bond of Friendship, in the greatest Distance, of Places. But of this, I make no further Request, than your Occasions, and Respects, (to me unknown,) may further, or limit; My Principal Purpose being, to salute you, and to send you this Token. Whereunto I will add, my very kinde Commendations, to my *Lady*; And so commit you both, to *Gods* Holy Protection.

* *Thuanus.*

A

A Letter, *to my* Lord Mayour, *upon a Proceeding, in a Private Cauſe.*

MY very good *Lord*; I did little expect, when I left your *Lordſhip* laſt, that there would have been, a Proceeding againſt Mr. *Burnard*, to his Overthrow. Wherein I muſt confeſs my Self, to be, in a ſort, Acceſſary: Becauſe, he relying upon me, for Counſel, I adviſed that Courſe, which he followed. Wherein now I begin, to queſtion my ſelf, whether in preſerving my Reſpects, unto your *Lordſhip*, and the Reſt, I have not failed, in the Duty, of my Profeſſion, towards my Client. For certainly, if the words had been hainous, and ſpoken in a malicious faſhion, and in ſome publick place, and well proved; And not a Prattle, in a Tavern, caught hold of by one, who, (as I hear) is a detected Sycophant (*Standiſh* I mean;) yet I know not, what could have been done more, than to impoſe upon him, a grievous Fine; And to require, the Levying of the ſame; And to Take away his means of Life, by his *Diſfranchiſement*; And to commit him, to a Defamed Priſon, during *Chriſtmaſs*; In Honour whereof, the Priſoners, in other Courts, doe, commonly, of grace, obtain ſome Enlargement. This Rigor of Proceeding, (to tell your *Lordſhip*, and the reſt, as my good Friends, my Opinion, plainly,) tendeth not to ſtrengthen *Authority*, which is beſt ſupported, by Love, and Fear, intermixed; But rather, to make People diſcontented, and Servile; eſpecially, when ſuch Puniſhment is inflicted, for words, not by Rule of *Law*, but by a *Juriſdiction* of *Diſcretion*, which would evermore, be moderately uſed. And I pray *God*, whereas Mr. *Recorder*, when I was with you, did well, and wiſely, put you in mind, of the Admonitions, you often received from my *Lords*, that you ſhould bridle unruly Tongues; That thoſe kind of Speeches, and Rumours, whereunto thoſe Admonitions doe referr, which are concerning the *State*, and *Honour thereof*, doe not paſs too licentiouſly, in the *City*, unpuniſhed; while theſe Words, which concern your particular, are ſo ſtraightly enquired into, and puniſhed with ſuch Extremiy. But theſe Things, your own wiſdom, (firſt, or laſt,) will beſt repreſent unto you. My writing unto you at this time, is, to the end, that howſoever I doe take it ſomewhat unkindly, that my Mediation prevailed no more; yet I might preſerve, that further Reſpect, that I am willing to uſe, unto ſuch a State, in delivering my Opinion, unto you, freely, before I would be of Counſel, or move any thing, that ſhould croſs your Proceedings; which, notwithſtanding, (in caſe, my Client, can receive no Relief, at your hands;) I muſt, and will doe. Continuing, nevertheleſs, in other Things, my wonted good Affection, to your Selves, and your Occaſions.

A Letter, *to my* Lord Treaſurer Salisbury, *upon a* New-years Tide.

It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

I Would Entreat, the *New year*, to anſwer for the *Old*, in my humble Thanks to your *Lordſhip*; Both for many your Favours, and chiefly, that upon the Occaſion, of Mr. *Attorneys* Infirmity, I found your *Lordſhip*, even as I could wiſh. This doth encreaſe a deſire in me, to expreſs my Thankfull minde, to your *Lordſhip*; Hoping, that though I finde Age, and Decayes, grow upon me, yet I may have a Flaſh, or two, of Spirit, left to doe you Service. And I doe proteſt before *God*, without Complement, or any light Vanity of Minde, that if I knew, in what Courſe of Life, to doe you beſt Service, I would take it, and make my Thoughts, which now fly to many Pieces, to be reduced to that Center. But all this, is no more, than I am; which is not much: But yet the Entire of him, that is, &c.

A Letter, *to his* Majeſty, *concerning* Peachams *Cauſe*, January 21. 1614.

It may pleaſe your Excellent Majeſty,

IT grieveth me exceedingly, that your *Majeſty*, ſhould be ſo much troubled, with this Matter of *Peacham*; whoſe *Raging Devil*, ſeemeth to be turn'd, into a *Dumb Devil*. But although, we are driven, to make our way, through *Queſtions*, (which I wiſh were otherwiſe,) yet I hope well, the End will be good. But then, every Man, muſt put too, his Helping Hand; For elſe, I muſt ſay to your *Majeſty*, in this, and the like Caſes, as St. *Paul* ſaid, to the *Centurion*, when ſome of the Mariners, had an Eye, to the Cockboat; *Except theſe ſtay in the Ship, ye cannot be ſafe*. I finde, in my *Lords*, great, and worthy, Care, of the Buſineſs. And for my part, I hold my Opinion, and am ſtrengthned in it, by ſome *Records*, that I have found. *God* preſerve your *Majeſty*.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble, and devoted *Subject*, and *Servant*.

A Letter, *to the* King, *touching* Peachams *Cauſe.* January 27. 1614.

It may pleaſe your excellent Majeſty,

THis Day, in the Afternoon, was read, your *Majeſties* Letters, of Direction, touching *Peacham*; which becauſe it concerneth properly the Duty of my Place, I thought it fit, for me, to give your *Majeſty*, both a ſpeedy, and a private, Account thereof; That your *Majeſty* knowing Things, clearly, how they paſs, may have the true Fruit, of your own Wiſdom, and clear-Seeing Judgement, in Governing the *Buſineſs*.

Firſt, for the *Regularity*, which your *Majeſty*, (as a Maſter in Buſineſs of *Eſtate*,) doth prudently preſcribe, in Examining, and taking Examinations, I ſubſcribe to it; Onely, I will ſay for my Self; that I was not, at this time, the Principal Examiner.

For the Courſe, your *Majeſty* directeth, and commandeth, for the feeling of the *Judges*, of the *Kings Bench*, their Several Opinions, by diſtributing our Selves, and enjoyning Secrecy; we did firſt, finde an Encounter, in the Opinion, of my *Lord Cooke*; who ſeemed to affirm, that ſuch particular, and, (as he call'd it,) *Auricular* Taking of Opinions, was not according to the Cuſtom of this *Realm*; And ſeemed to divine, that his *Brethren*, would never doe it. But when I replyed, that it was our Duty, to purſue your *Majeſties* Directions; And it were not amiſs, for his *Lordſhip*, to leave his *Brethren*, to their own Anſwers; It was ſo concluded; and his *Lordſhip*, did deſire, that I mought conferr with Himſelf; And Mr. *Serjeant Mountague*, was named, to ſpeak with *Juſtice Crooke*; Mr. *Serjeant Crew*, with *Juſtice Houghton*; and Mr. *Solliciter*, with *Juſtice Dodderidge*. This done, I took my Fellows aſide, and adviſed, that they ſhould preſently ſpeak with the 3. *Judges*, before I could ſpeak with my *Lord Cooke*, for doubt of Infuſion; And that they ſhould not, in any caſe, make any doubt to the *Judges*, as if they miſtruſted, they would not deliver any Opinion apart, but ſpeak reſolutely to them, and onely make their Comming to be, to know, what time they would appoint, to be attended with the Papers. This ſorted not amiſs; For Mr. *Solliciter*, came to me, this Evening, and related to me, that he had found *Judge Dodderidge*, very ready, to give Opinion, in ſecret; And fell upon the ſame reaſon, which upon your *Majeſties* firſt *Letter*, I had uſed to my *Lord Cooke*, at the *Council Table*; which was, that every *Judge*, was bound, expreſly, by his *Oath*, to give your *Majeſty* Counſel, when he was called; And whether he ſhould doe it, joyntly, or ſeverally, that reſted, in your *Maieſties* good pleaſure, as you would require it. And though the Ordinary Courſe, was to aſſemble

aſſemble them, yet there mought intervene Caſes, wherein the other Courſe was more convenient. The like Anſwer made *Juſtice Crook*. *Juſtice Houghton*, who is a ſoft Man, ſeemed deſirous, firſt, to conferr; Alleging, that the other 3. *Judges*, had all ſerved the *Crown*, before they were *Iudges*, but that he had not been much acquainted, with Buſineſs, of this Nature.

We purpoſe therefore, forthwith, they ſhall be made acquainted with the *Papers*; And if that could be done, as ſuddainly, as this was, I ſhould make ſmall doubt of their Opinions: And howſoever, I hope, Force of Law, and Preſident, will bind them to the Truth: Neither am I wholly out of hope, that my *Lord Cooke* himſelf, when I have, in ſome dark manner, put him in doubt, that he ſhall be left alone, will not continue ſingular.

For *Owen*, I know not the reaſon, why there ſhould have been no Mention made thereof, in the laſt Advertiſement: For I muſt ſay for my Self, that I have loſt no moment of Time in it, as my *Lord of Canterbury* can bear me witneſs. For having received, from my *Lord*, an *Additional*, of great Importance; which was, that *Owen*, of his own Accord, after Examination, ſhould compare the Caſe of your *Majeſty*, (if you were *Excommunicate*,) to the Caſe, of a Priſoner, Condemned at the Barr; which *Additional* was ſubſcribed by one Witneſs; but yet I perceived it was ſpoken aloud, and in the Hearing of others; I preſently ſent down a Copy thereof, which is now come up, atteſted with the Hands, of 3. more, leſt there ſhould have been, any Scruple, of *Singularis Teſtis*; So as for this Caſe, I may ſay, *Omnia parata*; And we expect, but a Direction, from your *Majeſty*, for the Acquainting the *Iudges* ſeverally; Or the 4. *Iudges*, of the *Kings Bench*, as your *Majeſty* ſhall think good.

I forget not, nor forſlow not, your *Majeſties* Commandement, touching *Recuſants*; Of which, when it is ripe, I will give your *Majeſty*, a true Account, and what is poſſible to be done, and where the Impediment is. Mr. *Secretary*, bringeth *Bonam Voluntatem*, but he is not verſed much, in theſe things; And ſometimes urgeth the *Concluſion*, without the *premiſes*, and by haſte hindreth. It is my *Lord Treaſurer*, and the *Exchequer*, muſt help it, if it be holpen. I have heard more wayes than one, of an offer of 20000 *l. per Annum*, for farming, the Penalties of Recuſants, not including any Offence *Capital*, or of *Premunire*; wherein I will preſume to ſay, that my poor Endeavours, ſince I was, by your great, and ſole grace, your *Atturney*, have been no ſmall Spurrs, to make them feel your *Laws*, and ſeek this *Redemption*; Wherein, I muſt alſo ſay, my *Lord Cooke* hath done his part: And I doe aſſure your *Majeſty*, I know it, ſomewhat inwardly, and groundedly, that by the Courſes we have taken, they conform daily, and in great Numbers; And I would to *God*, it were as well a *Converſion*, as a *Conformity*;

But if it ſhould die, by Diſpenſation, or Diſſimulation, then I fear, that whereas your *Majeſty*, hath now, ſo many ill Subjects, poor, and detected, you ſhall then have them, rich and diſſembled. And therefore, I hold this offer, very conſiderable, of ſo great an Increaſe, of *Revenew*; If it can paſs, the *fiery Trial*, of *Religion*, and *Honour*; which I wiſh, all *Projects* may paſs.

Thus, in as much, as I have made to your *Majeſty*, ſomewhat a naked, and particular account, of Buſineſs, I hope your *Majeſty*, will uſe it accordingly. *God* preſerve your *Majeſty*.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble, and devoted *Subject*, and *Servant*.

A Letter, *reporting the State, of my* Lord Chancellers *Health.* Jan. 29. 1614.

It may pleaſe your excellent Majeſty,

BEcauſe I know your *Majeſty*, would be glad, to hear, how it is, with my *Lord Chanceller*; And that it pleaſed him, out of his antient and great Love, to me; which, many times, in Sickneſs, appeareth moſt; To admit me, to a great deal of Speech, with him, this afternoon; which, during theſe three dayes, he hath ſcarcely done to any; I thought it mought be pleaſing to your *Majeſty*, to certify you, how I found him. I found him in bed, but his Spirits freſh, and good, ſpeaking ſtoutly, and without being ſpent, or weary; And both willing, and Beginning of himſelf, to ſpeak, but wholly of your *Majeſties* Buſineſs. Wherein I cannot forget, to relate, this particular; That he wiſhed, that his Sentencing of *I. S.* at the day appointed, mought be his laſt Work, to conclude his Services, and expreſs his Affection, towards your *Majeſty*. I told him, I knew your *Majeſty*, would be very deſirous, of his Preſence, that day, So it mought be, without prejudice; But otherwiſe, your *Majeſty*, eſteemed a *Servant*, more than a *Service*; ſpecially ſuch a *Servant*. Not to trouble your *Majeſty*; Though good Spirits, in Sickneſs, be uncertain Kalenders, yet I have very good Comfort of him, and I hope by that day, &c.

A Letter, *to the* King, *giving him an Account of* Peachams *Buſineſs, and ſome others*, Jan. 31. 1614.

It may pleaſe your excellent Majeſty,

I Received, this Morning, by Mr. *Murray*, a Meſſage, from your *Majeſty*, of ſome warrant, and confidence, that I ſhould advertiſe your *Majeſty*, of your buſineſs, wherein I had part. Wherein, I am firſt, humbly, to thank your *Majeſty*, for your good acceptation, of my Endeavours, and Service; which I am not able to furniſh, with any other Quality, ſave Faith, and Diligence.

For *Peachams* Caſe, I have, ſince my laſt Letter, been with my Lord *Cooke*, twice; Once before Mr. *Secretaries* going down, to your *Majeſty*; And once ſince, which was yeſterday: At the Former, of which times, I delivered him *Peachams papers*; And at this Latter, the *Preſidents*, which I had, with care, gathered, and ſelected: For theſe Degrees, and order, the Buſineſs required.

At the former, I told him, that he knew my Errand, which ſtood upon two points: The one to inform him, of the particular Caſe, of *Peachams Treaſons*; (For I never give it, other word, to him;) The other, to receive his Opinion, to my Self, and in ſecret, according to my Commiſſion, from your *Majeſty*.

At the former time, he fell, upon the ſame Allegation, which he had begun, at the *Council Table*; that *Iudges*, were not to give Opinion, by Fractions, but entirely, according to the Vote, whereupon they ſhould ſettle, upon conference: And that, this *Auricular* Taking of Opinions, ſingle, and apart, was new, and dangerous; And other words, more vehement, than I repeat.

I replyed, in Civil, and plain, Terms; That I wiſht his *Lordſhip*, in my love to him, to think better of it; For that this, that his *Lordſhip* was pleaſed, to put into great Words, ſeemed to me, and my Fellows, when we ſpake of it, amongſt our ſelves, a reaſonable, and familiar Matter, For a *King* to conſult with his *Iudges*, either aſſembled, or ſelected; or one, by one. And then, to give him a little Outlet, to ſave his firſt Opinion, (wherewith he is moſt commonly in love,) I added, that *Iudges*, ſome times, might make a Sute, to be ſpared, for their Opinion, till they had ſpoken with their *Brethren*; But, if the *King*, upon his own Princely Judgement, for Reaſon of *Eſtate*, ſhould think it fit, to have it otherwiſe, and ſhould ſo demand it, there was no declining: Nay, that it touched, upon a Violation, of their *Oath*, which was, to counſel the *King*, without Diſtinction, whether it were joyntly, or ſeverally. Thereupon, I put him the Caſe, of the *Privy Council*; As if your *Majeſty*, ſhould be pleaſed, to command any of

of them, to deliver their Opinion, apart, and in private; whether it were a good Answer, to deny it, otherwise, than if it were propounded, at the Table. To this he said, That the Cases were not alike, because this concern'd Life. To which I replyed, That Questions of *Estate*, mought concern Thousands of Lives, and many Things more precious, than the Life, of a particular; As *War*, and *Peace*, and the like.

To conclude, his *Lordship*, *tanquam Exitum quærens*, desired me, for the time, to leave with him, the *Papers*, without pressing him, to consent, to deliver a private Opinion, till he had perused them. I said, I would; And the more willingly, because I thought his *Lordship*, upon due consideration, of the *Papers*, would finde the Case, to be so clear a Case, of *Treason*, as he would make no difficulty, to deliver his Opinion, in private; And so I was perswaded, of the rest, of the *Iudges*, of the *Kings Bench*; who likewise, (as I partly understood,) made no Scruple, to deliver their Opinion, in private. Whereunto he said, (which I noted well,) That his Brethren were wise Men; And that, they might make a shew, as if they would give an Opinion, as was required; But the end would be, that it would come to this; They would say, they doubted of it, and so pray advice, with the rest. But to this I answered, that I was sorry, to hear him say so much, lest, if it came so to pass, some that loved him not, might make a Construction, that that, which he had foretold, he had wrought. Thus your *Majesty* see's, that as *Solomon* saith; *Gressus nolentis tanquam in Sepi spinarum*; It catcheth upon every Thing.

The latter Meeting, is yet, of more Importance; For then, comming armed, with divers presidents, I thought, to set in, with the best strength, I could, and said; That before I descended, to the Record, I would break the *Case*, to him thus. That it was true, we were to proceed, upon the antient *Statute* of *King Edward the* 3. because other *Temporary Statutes* were gone; And therefore, it must be said in the *Indictment*; *Imaginatus est, et Compassavit, Mortem, et finalem Destructionem, Domini Regis*: Then must the particular *Treasons* follow in this manner; viz. *Et quod, ad perimplendum nefandum Propositum suum, composuit, & conscripsit, quendam detestabilem, et venenosum libellum, sive scriptum, in quo inter alia proditoria, continetur*, &c. And then the principal passages of *Treason*, taken forth of the *Papers*, are to be entred, *in hæc Verba*; And with a Conclusion, in the End; *Ad Intentionem, quod Ligeus Populus, et Veri Subditi, Domini Regis, cordia em suum amorem, a Domino Rege retraherent, et ipsum Dominum Regem relinquerent, & Guerram, et Insurrectionem, contra eum, levarent, et facerent*, &c. I have, in this former, followed the antient Stile, of the *Indictments*, for brevity sake, though when we come to the Business it self, we shall enlarge it, according to the use of the later times. This I represented to him, (being a thing he is well acquainted with,) that he might perceive, the

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Platform of that was intended, without any Miſtaking, or Obſcurity. But then I fell to the matter it ſelf, to lock him in, as much as I could, *viz.*

That there be 4. Means or manners, whereby the *Death* of the *King*, is compaſſed, and imagined.

The firſt, by ſome particular *Fact*, or *Plot*.

The ſecond, by *Diſabling* his *Title*; As by affirming, that he is not *lawfull King*; Or that another ought to be *King*; Or that hee is an *Vſurper*; Or a *Baſtard*; Or the like.

The third, by *Subjecting* his *Title*, to the *Pope*; and thereby Making him, of an *Abſolute King*, a *Conditional King*.

The fourth, by *Diſabling* his *Regiment*, and making him appear, to be incapable, or indign, to reign.

Theſe things, I relate to your *Majeſty*, in ſumm, as is fit; which when, I opened to my *Lord*; I did inſiſt a little more upon, with more efficacy and edge, and Authority of *Law*, and *Record*, than I can now expreſs.

Then I placed *Peachams Treaſon*, within the laſt Diviſion, agreeable to divers preſidents, whereof I had the *Records* ready; And concluded, that your *Majeſties* Safety, and Life, and Authority, was thus by Law inſcanſed, and quartered; And that it was in vain, to fortify, on Three of the ſides, and ſo leave you open on the Fourth.

It is true, he heard me, in a grave faſhion, more than accuſtomed, and took a Pen, and took notes of my Diviſions; And when he read the *Preſidents*, and *Records*, would ſay; This you mean falleth within your firſt, or your ſecond, Diviſion. In the end, I expreſly demanded his Opinion, as that, whereto both he, and I was enjoyned. But he deſired me, to leave the *Preſidents*, with him, that he might adviſe upon them. I told him, the reſt of my *Fellows*, would diſpatch their part, and I ſhould be behinde with mine; which I perſwaded my Self, your *Majeſty* would impute, rather to his Backwardneſs, than my Negligence. He ſaid, as ſoon as I ſhould underſtand, that the reſt were ready, he would not be long after, with his Opinion.

For *I. S.* your *Majeſty* knoweth, the day draweth on; And my *Lord Chancellers* Recovery, the Seaſon, and his Age, promiſing, not to be too haſty. I ſpake with him, on *Sunday*, at what time, I found him in Bed, but his Spirits ſtrong, and not ſpent, or wearied; And ſpake wholly of your Buſineſs, leading me from one Matter, to another. And wiſhed, and ſeemed to hope, that hee might attend the day, for *I. S.* and it were, (as he ſaid,) to be his laſt work, to conclude his Services, and expreſs his Affection, towards your *Majeſty*. I preſumed to ſay to him, that I knew your *Majeſty*, would be exceeding deſirous, of his being preſent that day,

ſo

ſo as that it mought be, without prejudice, to his continuance; But that, otherwiſe, your *Majeſtie* eſteemed a *Servant*, more than a *Service*; eſpecially ſuch a *Servant*. Surely, in mine Opinion, your *Majeſty* were better, put off the day, than want his preſence, conſidering the Cauſe of the putting off, is ſo notorious; And then the *Capital*, and the *Criminal*, may come together, the next *Term*.

I have not been unprofitable, in helping to diſcover, and examine, within theſe few dayes, a late *Patent*, by Surreption obtained from your *Majeſty*, of the greateſt *Foreſt*, in *England*, worth 30000 *l.* under Colour, of a Defective Title, for a matter of 400 *l.* The Perſon muſt be named, becauſe the *Patent*, muſt be queſtioned. It is a great Perſon, my *Lord of Shrewsbury*; Or rather, (as I think,) a greater than he, which is my *Lady of Shrewsbury*. But I humbly pray your *Majeſty*, to know this firſt, from my *Lord Treaſurer*; who, methinks, groweth even ſtudious, in your Buſineſs. *God* preſerve your *Majeſty*.

Your *Majeſties* moſt humble and devoted, *Subject*, and *Servant*.

The rather, in regard of Mr. Murray's *Abſence, I humbly pray your* Majeſty, *to have a little regard, to this* Letter.

A Letter, *to the* King, *touching my* Lord Chancellers *Amendment, and the putting off, of* J. S. *his* Cauſe. February 7. 1614.

It may pleaſe your excellent Majeſty,

MY *Lord Chancellor*, ſent for me, to ſpeak with me, this Morning, about 8. of the clock. I perceive, he hath now, that *Signum Sanitatis*, as to feel better his former weakneſs. For it is true, I did a little miſtruſt, that it was but a *Boutade*, of Deſire, and good Spirit, when he promiſed himſelf, ſtrength for Friday, though I was worn, and carried with it. But now, I finde him, well inclined, to uſe, (ſhould I ſay) your *Liberty*, or rather your *Interdict*, ſignifyed by Mr. *Secretary*, from your *Majeſty*. His *Lordſhip*, ſhewed me alſo, your own *Letter*, whereof he had told me before, but had not ſhewed it me. What ſhall I ſay? I doe much admire, your Goodneſs, for writing ſuch a *Letter*, at ſuch a time.

He had ſent alſo, to my *Lord Treaſurer*, to deſire him, to come to him about that time. His *Lordſhip* came; And, not to trouble your

your *Majeſty*, with circumſtances, both their *Loraſhips* concluded, my Self preſent, and concurring; That it could be no prejudice, to your *Majeſties* Service, to put off the day, for I. S. till the next *Term*. The rather, becauſe there are Seven, of your *Privy Council*, which are at leaſt, Numerus', and part of the Court, which are by Infirmity, like to be abſent; That is, my Lord *Chanceller*, my Lord *Admiral*, my Lord of *Shrewsbury*, my Lord of *Exceter*, my Lord *Zouch*, my Lord *Stanhope*, and Mr. *Chanceller* of the *Dutchy*: wherefore they agreed, to hold a Council, too morrow, in the afternoon, for that purpoſe.

It is true, that I was alwayes of Opinion, that it was no time loſt; And I doe think ſo, the rather, becauſe I could be content, that the Matter of *Peacham*, were firſt ſetled, and put to a point. For there be, perchance, that would make the Example upon I.S. to ſtand for all. For *Peacham*, I expect, ſome account, from my *Fellows*, this day. If it ſhould fall out otherwiſe, then, I hope, it may not, be left ſo. Your *Majeſty*, in your laſt *Letter*, very wiſely, put in a Disjunctive, that the *Iudges*, ſhould deliver an Opinion, privately, either to my Lord *Chanceller*, or to our Selves, diſtributed: His Sickneſs, made the later way, to be taken: But the other may be reſerved, with ſome Accommodating, when we ſee, the ſucceſs of the Former.

I am appointed, this day, to attend my Lord *Treaſurer*, for a Propoſition, of Raiſing Profit, and Revenew, by *Infranchiſing Copyholders*. I am right glad, to ſee the *Patrimonial* part of your Revenew, well look'd into, as well as the *Fiſcal*. And I hope it will ſo be, in other parts, as well as this. *God* preſerve your *Majeſtie*.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble, and devoted, *Subject*, and *Servant*.

A Letter, *to the* King, *of account, of* Owens *Cauſe, &c.* 11 February, 1614.

It may pleaſe your excellent Majeſty,

MY Self, with the reſt, of your *Counſel Learned*, confered with my *Lord Cooke*, and the reſt of the *Iudges*, of the *Kings Bench*, onely, being met at my *Lords* Chamber, concerning the buſineſs of *Owen*. For although it be true, that your *Maieſty*, in your *Letter*, did mention, that the ſame Courſe, might be held, in the Taking of Opinions, apart, in this, which was preſcribed, and uſed, in *Peachams* Cauſe; yet both my *Lords* of the *Council*, and we amongſt our Selves, holding it, in a Caſe ſo clear, not needfull; But rather that it would import, a diffidence in us, and deprive us, of the means, to debate it, with the *Judges*, (if cauſe were) more ſtrong-

ly, (which is ſomewhat,) we thought beſt, rather to uſe this Form.

The *Judges* deſired us, to leave the *Examinations*, and *Papers*, with them, for ſome little time, to conſider, (which is a thing they uſe;) But, I conceive, there will be, no manner of Queſtion, made of it. My *Lord Chief Juſtice*, to ſhew forwardneſs, (as I interpret it,) ſhewed us paſſages of *Suarez*, and others, thereby to prove, that though your *Majeſty*, ſtood not Excommunicate, by particular Sentence, yet by the General *Bulls*, of *Cœna Domini*, and others, you were, upon the matter, Excommunicate; And therefore, that the *Treaſon* was, as *De præſenti*. But I, that foreſee, that if that Courſe ſhould be held, when it commeth to a publick day, to diſſeminate to the Vulgar, an Opinion, that your *Majeſties* Caſe is all one, as if you were *de Facto*, particularly, and expreſly, *Excommunicate*, it would but encreaſe, the danger of your Perſon, with thoſe, that are Deſperate Papiſts; And that it is needleſs; Commended my *Lords* Diligence, but withall, put it by; And fell upon the other Courſe, (which is the true way;) That is, that whoſoever ſhall affirm, *in Diem*, or *ſub Conditione*, that your *Majeſty*, may be deſtroyed, is a *Traytor*, *de præſenti*; For that, he maketh you, but Tennant for Life, at the will of another. And I put, the *Duke* of *Buckinghams* Caſe, who ſaid; That if the *King*, *cauſed him to be arreſted*, *of Treaſon*, *he would ſtab him*; And the Caſe, of the *Impoſtureſs*, *Elizabeth Barton*, that ſaid, *That if King Henry the* 8. *took not his Wife again*, [redacted]*harine Dowager*, *he ſhould be no longer King*; And the like.

It may be, theſe particulars, are not worth the Relating. But becauſe, I find nothing in the World, ſo important to your Service, as to have you throughly informed, (the Ability of your Direction conſidered,) it maketh me thus to doe; Moſt humbly praying your *Majeſty*, to admoniſh me, if I be over-troubleſom.

For *Peacham*, the reſt of my Fellowes, are ready, to make their *Report*, to your *Majeſty*, at ſuch time, and in ſuch manner, as your *Majeſty* ſhall require it. My Self yeſterday, took my Lord *Cooke* aſide, after the reſt were gone, and told him, all the reſt were ready, and I was now to require, his *Lordſhips* Opinion, according to my Commiſſion. He ſaid, I ſhould have it; And repeated that, twice, or thrice, as thinking he had gone too farr, in that kinde of Negative, (to deliver any Opiuion apart,) before; And ſaid, he would tell it me, within a very ſhort time, though he were not that inſtant ready. I have toſſed this Buſineſs, in *omnes partes*, whereof I will give your *Majeſty* knowledge, when time ſerveth. *God* preſerve your *Majeſty*.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble, and devoted,
Subject, and *Servant*.

A

A Letter, *to the* King, *about a Certificate, of my* Lord Cooke. Feb. 14. 1614.

It may pleaſe your excellent Majeſty,

I Send your *Majeſty*, encloſed, my *Lord Cookes Anſwers*. I will not call them *Reſcripts*; Much leſs *Oracles*. They are of his own hand, and offered to me, as they are, in writing, though I am glad of it, for mine own Diſcharge. I thought it my duty, as ſoon as I received them, inſtantly, to ſend them to your *Majeſty*; And forbear, for the preſent, to ſpeak further of them. I, for my part, (though this *Muſcovia Weather*, be a little too hard, for my *Conſtitution*;) was ready, to have waited, upon your *Majeſty*, this day, all reſpects ſet aſide; But my *Lord Treaſurer*, in reſpect of the ſeaſon, and much other Buſineſs, was willing to ſave me. I will only conclude, touching theſe Papers, with a *Text*, Divided, I can not ſay; *Oportet iſthæc fieri*; But I may ſay; *Finis autem nondum*. *God* preſerve your *Majeſty*.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble, and devoted *Subject*, and *Servant*.

A Letter, *to the* King, *touching Matter, of his* Revenew, *and* Profit. April 25. 1615.

It may pleaſe your Majeſty,

I May remember, what *Tacitus* ſaith, by occaſion, that *Tiberius*, was often, and long, abſent, from *Rome*; *In Vrbe, et parvâ, et magnâ, Negotia, Imperatorem ſimul premunt*; But ſaith He, *In receſſu, dimiſſis rebus, minoris momenti, ſummæ rerum magnarum magis agitantur*. This maketh me think, it ſhall be no Incivility, to trouble your *Majeſty*, with buſineſs, during your aboad from *London*; Knowing, that your *Majeſties* Meditations, are the principal wheel, of your Eſtate; And being warranted, from a former Commandement, which I received from you.

I doe now, onely ſend your *Majeſty*, theſe *Papers* encloſed; becauſe I doe greatly deſire, ſo farr forth, to preſerve my credit with you, as thus; That whereas lately, (perhaps, out of too much Deſire, which induceth too much beleef,) I was bold to ſay, that I thought it as eaſie for your *Majeſty*, to come out of Want, as to goe forth of your *Gallery*; your *Majeſty*, would not take me, for a Dreamer, or a Projectour; I ſend your *Majeſty* therefore, ſome Grounds of my Hopes. And for that *Paper*, which I have gathered, of *Increaſments ſperate*, I beſeech you, to give me leave, to think;

that if any of the particulars, doe fail, it will be rather, for want of *workmanship*, in thoſe that ſhall deal in them, than want of *Materials*, in the Things themſelves. The other *Paper*, hath many Diſcarding Cards; And I ſend it chiefly, that your *Majeſty*, may be the leſs ſurprized, by *Projectors*; who pretend, ſometimes, great Diſcoveries, and Inventions in Things, that have been propounded, and, perhaps, after a better faſhion, long ſince. *God* Almighty preſerve your *Majeſty*.

Your Majeſties, moſt humble, and devoted,
Subject, and *Servant*.

A Letter, *to the* King, *reporting the Day of Hearing, of* I. S. *his Cauſe, in the* Starre-Chamber. 29 April 1615.

It may pleaſe your excellent Majeſty,

I. S. his Day is paſt, and well paſt. I hold it to be *Janus Bifrons*; It hath a good Aſpect, to that which is paſt; And to the Future: And doth both ſatisfie, and prepare. All did well: My *Lord Chief Juſtice*, delivered the Law, for the *Benevolence*, ſtrongly; I would he had done it timely. Mr. *Chanceller* of the *Exchequer* ſpake finely, ſomewhat after the manner, of my late Lord *Privy Seal*; Not all out ſo ſharply, but as elegantly. Sir *Thomas Lake*, (who is alſo new, in that *Court*,) did very well, familiarly, and Counſeller-like. My Lord of *Pembroke*, (who is likewiſe a ſtranger there,) did extraordinarily well, and became himſelf well, and had an evident Applauſe. I meant well alſo; And becauſe my *Information*, was the Ground; having ſpoken out of a few Heads, which I had gathered; (For I ſeldom doe more,) I ſet down, as ſoon, as I came home, curſorily, a Frame of that, I had ſaid; Though I perſwade my ſelf, I ſpake it, with more life. I have ſent it to Mr. *Murray*, ſealed; If your *Majeſty*, have ſo much idle time, to look upon it, it may give ſome light, of the Dayes work: But I moſt humbly pray your *Majeſty*, to pardon the Errours. *God* preſerve you ever.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble *Subject*,
and devoted *Servant*.

A Letter, *to the* King, *concerning the* New Company: Auguſt 12. 1615.

It may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

YOur *Majeſty*, ſhall ſhortly receive *the Bill*, for the *Incorporation*, of the *New Company*; together with *a Bill*, for the *Privy Seal*, being a Dependancy thereof. For this Morning, I ſubſcribed, and docketted, them both. I think it therefore now time, to repreſent to your *Majeſties* high wiſdom, that which I conceive, and have had long in my minde, concerning your *Majeſties* ſervice, and honourable profit in this Buſineſs.

This *Project*, which hath proceeded, from a worthy Service, of the *Lord Treaſurer*, I have, from the beginning, conſtantly affected; As may well appear, by my ſundry Labours, from time to time, in the ſame. For I hold it, a worthy character, of your *Majeſties Reign*, and *Times*; Inſomuch, as though your *Majeſty*, mought have, at this time, (as is ſpoken,) a great Annual Benefit, for the Quitting of it, yet I ſhall never be the Man, that ſhould wiſh your *Majeſty*, to deprive your Self, of that *Beatitude*; *Beatius eſt dare, quam accipere*; In this cauſe; But to ſacrifice your profit, (though as your *Majeſties* State is, it be precious to you,) to ſo great a Good of your *Kingdom*: Although this *Project*, is not without a Profit, immediate, unto you, by the encreaſing of *Cuſtomes*, upon the *materials*, of *Dyes*.

But here is the Caſe. The *New Company*, by this *Patent*, and *Privy Seal*, are to have two Things, wholly diverſe, from the firſt Intention; Or rather, *Ex Diametro*, oppoſite unto the ſame; which nevertheleſs, they muſt, of neceſſity have, or elſe the *Work* is overthrown. So as I may call them *Mala Neceſſaria*, but yet withall *Temporarie*. For, as Men make Warr, to have Peace, ſo theſe *Merchants*, muſt have licenſe, for *whites*, to the end, to baniſh *whites*; And they muſt have licenſe, to uſe *Teyntours*, to the end to baniſh *Teyntours*.

This is therefore that I ſay; your *Majeſty*, upon theſe two points, may juſtly, and with honour, and with preſervation of your firſt Intention, inviolate, demand Profit in the Interim, as long as theſe unnatural points continue, and then to ceaſe: For your *Majeſty*, may be pleaſed to obſerve, that they are to have all the *Old Companies* Profit, by the *Trade* of *whites*; They are, again to have, upon the proportion of *Cloathes*, which they ſhall vent, died, and dreſſed, the *Flemmings* profit, upon the *Teyntour*. Now then I ſay; As it had been, too good Husbandry, for a *King*, to have taken profit of them, if the Project could have been effected at once, (as was voiced;) So on the other ſide, it might be, perchance, too little

tle Husbandry, and Providence, to take nothing of them, for that, which is meerly lucrative to them, in the mean time. Nay, I say further, this will greatly conduce, and be a kinde of Security, to the End desired. For I alwayes feared, and doe yet fear, that when Men, by condition *Merchants*, though never so honest, have gotten into their Hands, the *Trade* of *Whites*, and the *Dispensation* to *Teyntour*; wherein they shall reap profit, for that, which they never sowed; But have gotten themselves Certainties, in respect of the States hopes; They are like enough, to sleep upon this, as upon a Pillow; And to make no haste, to goe on with the rest. And though it may be said, that that is a thing, will easily appear to the State, yet, (no doubt,) means may be devised, and found, to draw the Business in length. So that I conclude, that if your *Majesty*, take a profit of them, in the *Interim*, (considering you refuse profit, from the *Old Company*,) it will be both Spurr, and Bridle, to them, to make them Pace aright, to your *Majesties* End.

This in all humbleness, according to my vowed Care, and Fidelity, being no Mans Man, but your *Majesties*, I present, leave, and submit, to yonr *Majesties* better Judgement; And I could wish, your *Majesty* would speak, with Sir *Thomas Lake* in it; who, besides his good Habit, which he hath in business, beareth, (methinks,) an indifferent Hand in this particular; And (if it please your *Majesty*,) it may proceed, as from your Self, and not as a Motion, or Observation, of mine.

Your *Majesty*, need not, in this, to be streightned in time; As if this must be demanded, or treated, before you sign their *Bill*. For I, foreseeing this, and foreseeing, that many things mought fall out, which I could not foresee, have handled it so, as with their good Contentment, there is a *Power* of *Revocation*, inserted into their *Patent*. And so commending your *Majesty*, to *Gods* blessed, and precious Custody; I rest,

Your *Majesties*, most humble, and devoted,
Subject, and *Servant*.

A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, touching Ropers place. January 22. 1615.

SIR, Sending to the *King*, upon Occasion, I would not fail, to salute you, by my *Letter*; which, that it may be more than two lines, I add this for News; That as I was sitting, by my Lord *Chief Justice*, upon the *Commission*, for the Indicting, of the *Great Person*; One of the *Iudges* asked Him, whether *Roper* were dead? He

He ſaid, He, for his part, knew not; Another of the *Judges* anſwered; It ſhould concern you, my *Lord*, to know it. Whereupon he turned his Speech to me, and ſaid; No, Mr. *Atturney*, I will not wraſtle, now in my latter times. My *Lord*, (ſaid I,) you ſpeak like a wiſe Man. Well, (ſaith he,) they have had no luck with it, that have had it. I ſaid again, *Thoſe dayes be paſt*. Here you have the *Dialogue*, to make you merry. But in ſadneſs, I was glad to perceive he meant not to conteſt. I can but honour, and love you, and reſt,

Your aſſured Friend and
Servant.

A Letter, *to the* King, *adviſing, how to break off, with the New Company.* February 3. 1615.

It may pleaſe your excellent Majeſty,

I Spake, yeſternight, long, with my *Lord Cooke*; And for the *Rege inconſulto*, I conceive by him, it will be, *An amplius deliberandum cenſeo*, (as I thought at firſt,) ſo as, for the preſent, your *Majeſty*, ſhall not need, to renew your Commandement of Stay. I ſpake with him, alſo, about ſome Propoſitions, concerning your *Majeſties* caſual Revenew; wherein, I found him, to conſent with me, fully; Aſſuming, nevertheleſs, that he had thought of them before: But it is one Thing, to have the Vapour of a Thought; Another, to digeſt Buſineſs aright. He, on his part, imparted to me, diverſe Things, of great weight, concerning the Reparatton, of your *Majeſties* Means, and *Finances*, which I heard gladly; Inſomuch, as he perceiving the ſame, I think, was the readier, to open himſelf to me, in one Circumſtance, which he did much inculcate. I concurr fully with him, that they are to be held ſecret: For I never ſaw, but that Buſineſs, is like a Child, which is framed inviſibly in the Wombe; And if it come forth too ſoon, it will be abortive. I know, in moſt of them, the Proſecution muſt reſt, much, upon my Self. But I, that had the Power, to prevail, in the *Farmers* Caſe, of the *French wines*, without the help, of my Lord *Cooke*, ſhall be better able; to goe through theſe, with his help, the ground being no leſs juſt. And this I ſhall ever add of mine own, that I ſhall ever reſpect your *Majeſties* Honour, no leſs than your Profit; And ſhall alſo take care, according to my penſive manner, that that, which is good, for the preſent, have not in it, hidden Seeds of future Inconveniences.

The Matter, of the *New Company*, was referred, to me by the *Lords*, of the *Privy Council*; wherein, after ſome private Speech, with Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, I made that *Report*, which I held, moſt agreeable to Truth, and your *Maieſties* Service. If this *New Company*,

pany, break, it muſt either, be put upon the *Patent*, or upon the *Order*, made by themſelves. For the *Patent*, I ſatisfied the *Board*, that there was no Title in it, which was not, either *Verbatim*, in the *Patent*, of the *Old Company*; Or by ſpecial warrant, from the *Table*, inſerted. My *Lord Cooke*, with much reſpect to me, acknowledged, but diſliked the *Old Patent* it ſelf, and diſclaimed, his being at the *Table*, when the Additions were allowed. But, in my Opinion, (howſoever my *Lord Cooke*, to magnify his Science in *Law*, draweth every thing, (though ſometimes unproperly, and unſeaſonably,) to that kinde of Queſtion,) it is not convenient, to break the Buſineſs, upon thoſe Points. For conſidering, they were but Clauſes, that were in the former *Patents*, and in many other *Patents*, of *Companies*; And that the *Additions*, likewiſe, paſſed the Allowance, of the *Table*, it will be, but clamoured, and, perhaps, conceived, that to quarrel them now, is but an Occaſion taken; And that the *Times* are changed, rather than the *Matter*. But that, which preſerveth entire your *Majeſties* Honour, and the Conſtancy of your Proceedings, is to put the Breach, upon their *Orders*.

For this Light, I gave in my *Report*, which the *Table* readily apprehended, and much approved; That if the *Table*, reject their *Orders*, as unlawfull, and unjuſt, it doth free you, from their Contract: For whoſoever contracteth, or undertaketh any thing, is alwayes underſtood, to perform it, by lawfull means; So as, they have plainly abuſed the State; if that which they have undertaken, be either impoſſible, or unjuſt.

I am bold, to preſent this Conſideration, to that excellent Faculty, of your *Majeſties* Judgement; becauſe, I think, it importeth that future Good, which may grow to your *Majeſty*, in the cloſe, of this Buſineſs; That the Falling off, be without all Exception. *God* have you in his precious Cuſtody.

Your *Majeſties*', moſt humble, and bounden, *Subject*, and *Servant*.

A Letter, *to the* King, *touching the* Lord Chancellers *Sickneſs.* Feb. 9. 1615.

It may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

I Am glad, to underſtand, by Mr. *Murray*, that your *Majeſty*, accepteth well, of my poor Endeavours, in opening unto you, the paſſages of your Service; That Buſineſs may come the leſs crude, and the more prepared, to your *Royal Judgement*; the perfection whereof, as I cannot expect, they ſhould ſatisfy, in every particular,

cular, ſo I hope, through my Aſſiduity, there will reſult a good *Total*.

My *Lord Chancellers* Sickneſs, falleth out, *duro Tempore*. I have alwaies known him, a wiſe Man, and of juſt Elevation, for *Monarchy*: But your *Majeſties* ſervice muſt not be Mortal. And if you leeſe him, as your *Majeſty* hath, now of late, purchaſed many Hearts, by depreſſing the *wicked*: So *God*, doth miniſter unto you, a Counterpart, to doe the like, by raiſing the *Honeſt*. *God* evermore preſerve your *Majeſty*.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble *Subject*,
and bounden *Servant*.

A Letter, *to the* King, *of my Lord* Chancellers *Amendment, and the Difference begun, between the* Chancery, *and* Kings Bench, *Feb.* 15. 1615.

It may pleaſe your excellent Majeſty,

I Doe find, (*God* be thanked,) a ſenſible Amendment, in my *Lord Chanceller*. I was with him yeſterday in private conference, about half an Hour: And this day again, at ſuch time, as he did ſeal, which he endured well, almoſt the ſpace of an Hour, though the Vapour of Wax, be offenſive to him. He is free from a *Feaver*, Perfect in his powers, of *Memory*, and *Speech*; And not hollow, in his *Voice*, nor *Look*; He hath no panting, or labouring, *Reſpiration*; Neither are his *Coughs* dry, or weak: But whoſoever thinketh, his Diſeaſe is but *Melancholy*, he maketh no true Judgement of it; For it is, plainly, a formed, and deep *Cough*, with a *Pectoral ſurcharge*; So that, at times, he doth almoſt, *Animam agere*. I forbear, to advertiſe your *Majeſty*, of the Care I took, to have Commiſſions in readineſs, becauſe Mr. *Secretary Lake*, hath let me underſtand, he ſignifyed as much, to your *Majeſty*: But, I hope, there ſhall be no uſe, for them, at this time. And, as I am glad, to advertiſe your *Majeſty*, of the Amendment, of your *Chancellers Perſon*; So I am ſorry, to accompany it, with an Advertiſement, of the Sickneſs, of your *Chancery Court*, though, (by the Grace of *God*,) that Cure will be much eaſier, than the other. It is true, I did lately write to your *Majeſty*, that for the Matter, of the *Habeas Corpora*, (which was the third Matter in *Law*, you had given me in charge;) I did think, the Communion in Service, between my Lord *Chanceller*, and my Lord *Chief Juſtice*, in the great Buſineſs of *Examination*, would ſo joyn them, as they would not ſquare, at this time; But pardon me, (I humbly pray your *Majeſty*,) if I have too Reaſonable Thoughts.

And yet, that which happened, the laſt day, of the Term, concerning certain *Indictments*, in the Nature of *Premunire*, preferred into the *Kings Bench*, but not found; Is not ſo much, as is voiced abroad; (though I muſt ſay, it is *omni tempore Nimium, et hoc tempore Alienum*;) And therefore, I beſeech your *Majeſty*, not to give any Beleeving Ear, to Reports, but to receive the Truth, from me, that am your *Atturney General*, and ought to ſtand indifferent, for *Juriſdictions*, of all *Courts*; which Account, I cannot give your *Majeſty* now, becauſe I was then abſent: And ſome are now abſent, which are properly, and authentically, to inform me, touching that which paſſed. Neither let this, any wayes, disjoynt, your other Buſineſs; For there is a time, for all things; And this very Accident, may be turned, to Good. Not that I am of Opinion, that that ſame Cunning Maxim, of *Separa, & Impera*, which ſometimes holdeth in *Perſons*, can well take place in *Juriſdictions*; But becauſe, ſome good Occaſion, by this Exceſs, may be taken, to ſettle that, which would have been more dangerous, if it had gone out, by little and little. *God* ever preſerve your *Majeſty*.

Your Majeſties, moſt humble *Subject*, and
moſt bounden *Servant*.

A Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *touching the* Difference, *between the* Court of Chancery, *and the* Kings Bench. Febr. 19. 1615.

SIR, I received, this Morning, from you, two *Letters*, by the ſame Bearer; The one written before, the other, after his *Majeſty* had received my laſt.

In this *Difference*, between the two Courts, of *Chancery*, and *Kings Bench*; (For ſo I had rather take it, for this Time, than between the Perſons, of my Lord *Chancellor*, and my Lord *Chief Juſtice*,) I marvail not, if Rumour get way, of true Relation. For I know *Fame* hath *ſwift wings*; Specially that, which hath *black Feathers*: But within theſe two dayes, (For ſooner I cannot be ready,) I will write unto his *Majeſty*, both the Narrative truly, and my Opinion ſincerely; Taking much comfort, that I ſerve ſuch a *King*, as hath *Gods* Property, in diſcerning truly, of Mens Hearts. I purpoſe, to ſpeak, with my Lord *Chancellor*, this day; And ſo to exhibite, that *Cordial*, of his *Majeſties Grace*; As I hope, that other Accident, will rather rouze, and raiſe his Spirit, than deject him, or encline him to Relapſe. Mean while, I commend the Wit, of a mean Man, that ſaid this other day; *Well, the next Term, you ſhall have an old man, come with a Beeſom of Wormwood, in his*

his Hand, that will ſweep away all this. For it is, my Lord *Chancellers* Faſhion, ſpecially towards the Summer, to carry a Poſie of Wormwood. I write this Letter in Haſte, to return your Meſſenger with it. *God* keep you, and long, and happily, may you ſerve his *Majeſty*.

Your true and affectionate Servant.

Sir, *I thank you for your Inward* Letter;
I have burned it, as you commanded.
But the Fire it hath kindled in me; will
never be extinguiſhed.

A Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *touching a Motion, to ſwear him Counſeller:* Febr. 21. 1615.

SIR, My Lord *Chancellers* Health, growing with the Dayes, and his Reſignation, being an Uncertainty, I would be glad, you went on, with my firſt Motion, my ſwearing *Privy Counſeller*. This I deſire, not ſo much, to make my Self, more ſure of the other; and to put it paſt Competition; (For herein, I reſt wholly upon the *King*, and your excellent ſelf,) But, becauſe I finde hourly, that I need this Strength, in his *Majeſties* ſervice; Both for my better warrant, and ſatisfaction of my Conſcience, that I deal not in Things, above my Vocation; And for my better Countenance, and Prevailing, where his *Majeſties* ſervice, is, under any pretext, oppoſed, I would it were diſpatched.. I remember, a greater Matter than this, was diſpatched, by a Letter, from *Royſton*; which was, the Placing of the *Arch-Biſhop*, that now is: And I imagine, the King did it on purpoſe, that the Act mought appear, to be his own.

My Lord *Chanceller* told me, yeſterday, in plain Terms, that if the *King*, would ask his opinion, touching the Perſon, that he would commend, to ſucceed him, upon Death, or Diſability, he would name me, for the fitteſt Man. You may adviſe, whether uſe, may not be made, of this offer.

I ſent, a pretty while ſince, a *Paper*, to Mr. *John Murrey*; which was, indeed, a little Remembrance, of ſome Things paſt; concerning my honeſt, and faithfull Services to his *Majeſty*; Not by way of Boaſting, (from which I am farr,) but as Tokens, of my ſtudying his Service, uprightly, and carefully. If you be pleaſed, to call for the Paper, which is with Mr. *John Murrey*; And to find a fit time, that his *Maieſty*, may caſt an eye upon it, I think it will doe no Hurt: And I have written to Mr. *Murrey*, to deliver the *Paper*, if you call for it. *God* keep you in all Happineſs.

Your trueſt Servant.

A Letter, *to the* King, *concerning the* Premunire, *in the* Kings Bench, *againſt the* Chancery. Febr. 21. 1615.

It may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

I Was yeſterday, in the Afternoon, with my Lord *Chanceller*, according to your Commandement, which I received by the *Maſter of the Horſe*; And finde the *Old Man*, well comforted; Both towards *God*, and towards the World, and that ſame middle Comfort, which is Divine, and Humane, proceeding from your *Majeſty*, being *Gods Lieutenant*, on Earth, I am perſwaded, hath been a great Cauſe, that ſuch a Sickneſs, hath been portable, to ſuch an Age. I did not fail, in my Conjecture, that this *Buſineſs*, of the *Chancery*, hath ſtirred him; He ſheweth to deſpiſe it, but he is full of it; And almoſt, like a young *Duelliſt*, that finderh himſelf behind hand.

I will now, as your *Majeſty* requireth, give you a true Relation, of that which hath paſſed; Neither will I decline, your *Royal* Commandement, for delivering my Opinion alſo, though it be a tender Subject, to write on; But I, that account my Being, but as an Accident to my ſervice, will neglect no duty upon Self-Safety.

Firſt, it is neceſſary, I let your *Majeſty* know, the *Ground* of the *Difference*, between the Two *Courts*; that your *Majeſty*, may the better underſtand the *Narrative*.

There was a *Statute* made, 27 *Edw.*3. Cap. 1. which (no doubt) in the principal Intention thereof, was ordained, againſt thoſe, that ſued to *Rome*; wherein there are Words, ſomewhat general, againſt any, that *queſtioneth, or impeacheth, any Judgement, given in the Kings Courts, or in any other Court.* Vpon theſe doubtfull words (*other Courts,*) the Controverſie groweth. For the ſounder Interpretation, taketh them, to be meant, of thoſe *Courts*, which though, locally, they were not held at *Rome*, or where the *Popes* Chair was, but here within the *Realm*; yet, in their *Juriſdiction*, had their Dependance, upon the Court of *Rome*; As were the Court of the *Legate here*, and the *Courts* of the *Arch-Biſhops*, and *Biſhops*, which were then, but ſubordinate Judgement Seats, to that high *Tribunal* of *Rome*. And for this Conſtruction, the Oppoſition of the Words (if they be well obſerved) between the *Kings Courts*, and *other Courts*, maketh very much: For it importeth, as if thoſe other *Courts*, were not the *Kings Courts*. Alſo, the main Scope of the *Statute*, fortifieth the ſame: And laſtly, the Practice of many Ages. The other *Interpretation*, (which cleaveth to the *Letter*,) expoundeth *the Kings Courts*, to be *the Courts of Law*, only, and *other Courts*, to be *Courts of Equity*, as the *Chancery*, *Exchequer-chamber*, *Dutchy*, &c. Though this alſo flyeth, indeed, from the *Letter*, for that all theſe, are the *Kings Courts*.

There

There is alſo another *Statute*, which is but a ſimple *Prohibition*, and not with a *Penalty*, of a *Premunire*, (as the other is;) *That after Judgements given in the* Kings Courts, *the parties ſhall be in Peace, except the Judgement be undone, by Error, or Attaint*, which is a *Legal form*, of *Reverſal*. And of this alſo, I hold, the Sounder *Interpretation* to be, to ſettle *Poſſeſſions*, againſt *Diſturbances*, and not to take away *Remedy*, in *Equity*, where thoſe *Judgements*, are obtained, *ex Rigore Iuris*, and againſt good Conſcience.

But upon theſe two *Statutes*, there hath been, a late Conceit in ſome, that if a Judgement, paſs, at the Common Law, againſt any, that he may not, after ſue, for Relief in *Chancery*: And if he doth, both *He*, and his *Counſell*, and his *Sollicitours*, yea and the *Iudge* in *Equity* himſelf, are within the Danger, of thoſe *Statutes*.

Here your *Majeſty*, hath the true ſtate, of the *Queſtion*, which I was neceſſarily to open to you firſt, becauſe your *Majeſty*, calleth for this *Relation*; Not as *Newes*, but as *Buſineſs*. Now to the *Hiſtorical part*.

It is the Courſe, of the *Kings Bench*, that they give in Charge to a *Grand Iury*, offences of all Natures, to be preſented within *Middleſex*, where the ſaid *Court* is; And the manner is, to enumerate them, as it were, in *Articles*. This was done by *Iuſtice Crook*, the Wedneſday, before the *Term* ended. And that Article, (*If any Man, after a Iudgement given, had drawn the ſaid Iudgement, to a new Examination, in any other Court*) was by him, ſpecially, given in charge; which had not uſed to be given, in charge before. It is true, it was not ſolemnly dwelt upon, but, as it were, thrown in amongſt the reſt.

The laſt day, of the *Term*; (And that which all Men condemn, the ſuppoſed laſt day, of my Lord *Chancellers* life;) There were two Indictments preferred, of *Præmunire*, for ſuing in *Chancery*, after *Iudgement* in *Common Law*; The one by *Rich. Glanvile*, the other by *William Allen*: The former againſt *Courtney*, the party in *Chancery*, *Gibb* the Counſeller, and *Deurſt* the Clark; The latter, againſt *Alderman Bowles*, and *Humfry Smith*, parties in *Chancery*; Serjeant *More* the Counſeller, *Elias Wood*, Solliciter in the Cauſe, and Sir *John Tindall*, Mr. of the *Chancery*, and an Aſſeſſor, to my *Lord Chanceller*.

For the *Caſes* themſelves, it were too long, to trouble your *Majeſty*, with them; But this I will ſay; If they were ſet on, that preferred them, they were the worſt Marks-men, that ever were, that ſet them on. For there could not have been choſen, two ſuch Cauſes, to the Honour, and Advantage, of the *Chancery*, for the Juſtneſs of the *Decrees*, and the Foulneſs, and Scandal, both of Fact, and perſon, in thoſe that impeach the *Decrees*.

The *Grand Iury*, conſiſting, (as it ſeemeth,) of very Subſtantial, and Intelligent, Perſons, would not finde the *Bills*; Notwithſtanding,

ſtanding, they were clamoured by the parties, and twice ſent back, by the *Court*; And in Concluſion, reſolutely, 17 of 19, found an *Ignoramus*: wherein, for that time, I think, *Ignoramus*, was wiſer, than thoſe that know too much.

Your *Majeſty* will pardon me, if I be ſparing, in delivering to you, ſome other Circumſtances, of *Aggravation*, and of Concurrences, of ſome like Matters, the ſame day; as if it had been ſome *Fatal conſtellation*. They be not things, ſo ſufficiently tryed, as I dare put them, into your Ear.

For my Opinion, I cannot but begin, with this *Preface*; That I am infinitely ſorry, that your *Majeſty*, is thus put, to ſalve, and cure, not onely Accidents of *Time*, but Errours of *Servants*: For I account this, a kinde of *Sickneſs*, of my Lord *Cookes*, that comes, almoſt, in as ill a time, as the *Sickneſs*, of my Lord *Chanceller*. And as (I think,) it was one of the wiſeſt parts, that ever he played, when he went down, to your *Majeſty*, to *Roiſton*, and deſired, to have my Lord *Chanceller*, joyned with him; So this was one of the weakeſt parts, that ever he played, to make all the World perceive, that my Lord *Chanceller*, is ſevered from him, at this time.

But for that, which may concern your Service, which is my End, (leaving other Men to their own wayes;) Firſt, my Opinion is plainly, that my Lord *Cooke*, at this time, is not to be diſgraced; Both becauſe, he is ſo well habituate, for that which remaineth, of theſe *Capital Cauſes*; And alſo, for that, which I finde, is in his Breaſt, touching your Finances, and Matters of Repair, of your *Eſtate*. And, (if I mought ſpeak it,) as I think, it were good, his hopes were at an end, in ſome kinde, ſo I could wiſh, they were raiſed, in ſome other.

On the other ſide, this great, and publick Affront, not only to the Reverend, and well deſerving, perſon, of your *Chanceller*; (And, at a time, when he was thought, to lye, on Dying, which was barbarous;) But to your *High Court* of *Chancery*, which is the *Court*, of your abſolute power; May not, (in my Opinion,) paſs lightly, nor end, onely, in ſome Formal Attonement; But Uſe is to be made thereof, for the ſetling of your *Authority*, and ſtrengthning of your *Prærogative*, according to the true Rules of *Monarchy*.

Now to reconcile, and accommodate theſe two Advices, which ſeem almoſt oppoſite. Firſt, your *Majeſty*, may not ſee it, (though I confeſs it be ſuſpicious,) that my Lord *Cooke* was, any way, aforehand, privy to that, which was done; Or that he did ſet it, or animate it; But onely took the Matter, as it came before him; And that his Errour was onely, that at ſuch a time, he did not divert it, in ſome good manner.

Secondly, if it be true, (as is reported,) that any of the *Puiſne Iudges*, did ſtirr this Buſineſs; Or that, they did openly reviſe, and

and menace the *Jury*, for doing their Conſcience; (As they did, honeſtly, and truly,) I think, that *Iudge*, is worthy, to leeſe his place. And to be plain with your *Majeſty*, I do not think, there is any Thing, a greater *Polychreſton*, or *ad multa utile*, to your Affairs, than upon a juſt, and fit Occaſion, to make ſome Example, againſt the Preſumption, of a *Judge*, in Cauſes, that concern your *Majeſty*: whereby the whole Body, of thoſe *Magiſtrates*, may be contained the better in awe; And it may be, this will light, upon no unfit Subject, of a Perſon, that is Rude, and that no Man cares for.

Thirdly, if there be, no one, ſo much in fault, (which I cannot yet affirm, either way, and there muſt be a juſt *Ground*, *God* forbid elſe;) yet I ſhould think, that the Very Preſumption, of Going ſo far, in ſo high a Cauſe, deſerveth to have that done, which was done in this very caſe, upon the Indictment of *Sergeant Heale*, in *Queen Elizabeths* time; that the Judges, ſhould anſwer it, upon their knees, before your *Majeſty*, or your *Council*, and receive a ſharp Admonition: At which time alſo, my Lord *Wray*, being then *Chief Iuſtice*, ſlipt the Collar, and was forborn.

Fourthly, for the perſons themſelves, *Glanvile*, and *Allen*, which are baſe Fellowes, and turbulent, I think, there will be diſcovered, and proved againſt them, (beſides the preferring of the *Bil's*,) ſuch Combinations, and Contemptuous Speeches, and Behaviours; As there will be good Ground, to call them, and perhaps ſome of their petty *Counſellers*, at *Law*, into the *Starre-Chamber*.

In all this, which I have ſaid, your *Majeſty*, may be pleaſed to obſerve, that I doe not engage you much, in the main point of the *Iuriſdiction*; For which I have a great deal of Reaſon, which I now forbear. But two Things, I wiſh to be done. The one, that your *Maieſty*, take this occaſion, to redouble unto all your *Iudges*, your antient, and true *Charge*, and *Rule*, That you will endure, no Innovating, the Point of *Iuriſdiction*; But will have every *Court*, empaled, within their own Preſidents; And not aſſume to themſelves, new Powers, upon Conceits, and Inventions, of *Law*: The other, that in theſe *high Cauſes*, that touch upon *State*, and *Monarchy*, your *Majeſty* give them ſtraight Charge, that upon any Occaſions intervenient hereafter, they do not make the Vulgar, party to their Conteſtations, by publick Handling them, before they have conſulted with your *Majeſty*, to whom the Reiglement, of thoſe things, onely appertaineth.

To conclude, I am not without hope, that your *Majeſty*, managing this Buſineſs, according to your great Wiſdom; (unto which I acknowledge my Self, not to be worthy, to be Cardholder, or a Candle-holder;) will make profit, of this *Accident*, as a Thing of *Gods* ſending.

Laſtly, I may not forget, to repreſent to your *Majeſty*, that there is

is no Thinking of *Arraignments*, untill theſe Things, be ſomewhat accommodate; And ſome outward, and ſuperficial, Reconciliation, at leaſt, made, between my Lord *Chanceller*, and my Lord *Chief Iuſtice*. For this Accident, is a Banquet, to all the Delinquents Friends. But this is a Thing, that falleth out, naturally, of it Self; In reſpect, of the *Iudges* Going *Circuit*, and my Lord *Chancellers* Infirmity, with Hope of Recovery. And although this ptotraction of Time, may breed ſome doubt of Mutability, yet I have lately learned, out of an excellent *Letter*, of a certain King; *That the Sun ſheweth, ſometimes, watry, to our Eyes, but when the Cloud is gone, the Sun is as before.* *God* ever preſerve your *Majeſtie.*

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble *Subject*, and bounden *Servant.*

A Letter, *to the* King, *of* Advice, *upon the Breach of the* New Company. *Febr:* 25. 1615.

It may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

YOur Privy Council, have wiſely, and truly, diſcerned, of the *Orders*, and *Demands*, of the *New Company*, that they are unlawfull, and unjuſt; And themſelves, have now acknowledged, the Work impoſſible, without them, by their *Petition* in Writing, now regiſtred, in the *Council-Book*: So as this Concluſion, (of their own making,) is become peremptory, and final to themſelves; And the Impoſſibility confeſſed, the Practice, and Abuſe, reſerved to the Judgement, the *State* ſhall make of it,

This Breach then, of this great Contract, is wholly on their part; which could not have been, if your *Majeſty*, had broken, upon the *Patent*: For the *Patent*, was your *Maieſties* Act; The *Orders*, are their Act; And in the former Caſe, they had not been liable, to further Queſtion, now they are.

There reſt two Things, to be conſidered: The one if they, (like *Proteus*, when he is hard held,) ſhall yet again, vary their ſhape; And ſhall quit their *Orders*, convinced of Injuſtice, and lay their Impoſition onely, upon the *Trade* of *Whites*, whether your *Majeſty*, ſhall further expect? The other, if your *Majeſtie* diſſolve them, upon this Breach, on their part, what is further to be done, for the ſetting of the Trade, again, in joynt, and for your own Honour, and profit? In both which points, I will not preſume to give Opinion, but onely, to break the Buſineſs, for your *Majeſties* better Judgement.

For the firſt, I am ſorry, the Occaſion was given, (by my Lord *Cookes* Speech, at this time, of the Commitment of ſome of them;) That they ſhould ſeek, *Omnem movere lapidem*, to help themſelves.

Better

Better it had been, if (as my Lord *Fenton* ſaid to me, that Morning, very judiciouſly, and with a great Deal of Foreſight;) That, for that time, they ſhould have had, a Bridge, made for them, to be gone. But my Lord *Cooke* floweth, according to his own Tides, and not according to the Tides of Buſineſs. The thing, which my Lord *Cook* ſaid, was good, and too little, but, at this time, it was too much. But that is paſt. Howſoever, if they ſhould goe back, and ſeek again, to entertain your *Majeſty*, with new *Orders*, or *Offers*, (as is ſaid to be intended,) your *Majeſty* hath ready, two Anſwers, of *Repulſe*, if it pleaſe your *Majeſty* to uſe them.

The one, that this is now the Fourth time, that they have mainly broken, with your *Majeſty*, and contradicted themſelves. Firſt, they undertook, to dye, and dreſs, all the *Cloathes* of the *Realm*; Soon after, they wound themſelves, into the Trade, of *whites*, and came down to the proportion contracted. Secondly, they ought to have performed that Contract according to their Subſcription, *pro rata*, without any of theſe *Orders*, and *Impoſitions*: Soon after, they deſerted their Subſcription, and had recourſe, to theſe Devices, of *Orders*. Thirdly, if by *Order*, and not by *Subſcription*, yet their *Orders*, ſhould have laid it, upon the *whites*, which is an Unlawfull, and Prohibited, Trade. Nevertheleſs, they would have brought in, lawfull, and ſetled *Trades*, full *Manufactures*, *Merchandize* of all Natures, *Poll-Money*, or *Brotherhood-Money*, and I cannot tell what. And now laſtly, it ſeemeth, they would goe Back, to lay it, upon the *whites*: And therefore, whether you *Majeſty*, will any more reſt, and build this great Wheel, of your *Kingdom*, upon theſe broken, and brittle, Pinns, and try Experiments further, upon the Health, and Body, of your *State*, I leave to your *Princely Judgement*.

The other *Anſwer*, of *Repulſe*, is a kinde of Apposing them, what they will doe, after the three years, contracted for? Which is a point, hitherto, not much ſtirred, though Sir *Lionell Cranfield*, hath ever beaten upon it, in his Speech with me: For after the three years, they are not tyed, otherwayes, than as Trade ſhall give Encouragement; Of which Encouragement, your *Majeſty*, hath a bitter Taſt. And if they ſhould hold on, according to the third years Proportion, and not riſe on, by further gradation, your *Majeſty* hath not your End. No, I fear, and have long feared, that this Feeding of the Foreiner, may be dangerous: For as we may think, to hold up our Cloathing, by Vent of *whites*, till we can dye, and dreſſe; So they, (I mean the *Dutch*,) will think to hold up, their Manufacture, of Dying, and Dreſſing, upon our *whites*, till they can cloath: So as your *Majeſty*, hath the greateſt reaſon, in the World, to make the *New Company*, to come in, and ſtrengthen that part, of their Contract; And they refuſing, (as it is confidently beleeved they will,) to make their Default, more viſible, to all Men.

For the ſecond main part, of your *Majeſties* Conſultation; That is, what ſhall be done, ſuppoſing an abſolute Breach; I have had ſome Speech, with Mr. *Secretary Lake*, and likewiſe with Sir *Lionell Cranfield*; And, (as I conceive,) there may be three wayes, taken into conſideration. The firſt is, that the Old Company be reſtored, who, (no doubt,) are in Appetite, and (as I finde by Sir *Lionell Cranfield*,) not unprepared; And that the *Licences*; The *one*, that of 30000 *Cloathes*, which was the old *Licence*; The other, that of my Lord of *Cumberlands*, which is, without ſtint, (my Lord of *Cumberland* receiving Satisfaction;) be compounded, into one entire *Licence*, without ſtint; And then, that they, amongſt themſelves, take order, for that profit, which hath been offered to your *Majeſty*. This is a plain, and known way, wherin your *Majeſty*, is not an Actour; onely it hath this, that the Work, of Dying, and Dreſſing, *Cloathes*, which hath been ſo much glorifyed, ſeemeth to be wholly relinquiſhed, if you leave there. The ſecond is, that there be a free *Trade*, of *Cloath*, with this Difference; That the Dyed, and dreſſed, pay no *Cuſtome*, and the Whites *double Cuſtom*, it being a Merchandize prohibited, and onely licentiate. This continueth in life, and fame, the *work* deſired, and will have a popular Applauſe. But I doe confeſs, I did ever think, that Trading, in *Companies*, is moſt agreeable to the *Engliſh* Nature, which wanteth that ſame general Vein, of a *Republick*, which runneth in the *Dutch*; And ſerveth to them, inſtead of a Company. And therefore, I dare not adviſe, to adventure, this great Trade, of the *Kingdom*, (which hath been ſo long, under Government,) in a free, or looſe, Trade. The Third is, a Compounded Way of both, which is; To goe on, with the *Trade*, of *whites*, by the *Old Company reſtored*; And that your *Majeſties* Profit be raiſed, by Order amongſt Themſelves; Rather than by *double Cuſtom*, wherein you muſt be the Actour: And that, nevertheleſs, there be added a Privilege, to the ſame *Company*, to carry out *Cloathes*, Dyed, and Dreſſed, *Cuſtom-free*; Which will ſtill continue, as a glorious Beam, of your *Majeſties* Royal Deſign. I hope, and Wiſh, at leaſt, that this, which I have written, may be of ſome uſe, to your *Majeſty*, to ſettle, by the Advice, of the *Lords* about you, this great Buſineſs. At the leaſt, it is the Effect, of my Care, and poor Ability, which, if in me be any, it is given me, to no other end, but faithfully, to ſerve your *Majeſty*. *God* ever preſerve you.

Your *Majeſties*, moſt humble *Subject*, and bounden *Servant*.

A

Another Letter, to Sir George Villiers, touching a Motion, to swear him Counseller. February 27. 1615.

SIR, I humbly pray you, not to think me over-hasty, or much in Appetite, if I put you in Remembrance, of my Motion, of strengthening me, with the Oath, and Trust, of a *Privy Counseller*; Not for mine own strength, (For as to that, I thank *God*, I am armed within,) but for the Strength, of my Service. The Times, I submit to you, who knoweth them best. But sure I am, there were never Times, which did more require, a *Kings Attorney*, to be well armed, and (as I said once to you,) to wear a Gauntlet, and not a Glove. The *Arraignments*, when they proceed; The *Contention*, between the *Chancery*, and *Kings Bench*; The great Cause, of the *Rege Inconsulto*, which is so precious to the *Kings Prerogative*; Diverse other Services, that concern the *Kings Revenew*, and the *Repair* of his *Estate*. Besides, it pleaseth his *Majesty*, to accept well, of my Relations, touching his Business; which may seem, a kind of *Interloping*, (as the *Merchants* call it;) for one that is no *Counseller*. But I leave all unto you, thinking my Self infinitely bounden unto you, for your great Favours; The Beams whereof, I see plainly, reflect upon me, even from others: So that now, I have no greater Ambition, than this; That, as the *King*, sheweth Himself to you, the best *Master*, so I mought be found, your best *Servant*. In which Wish, and Vow, I shall ever rest.

Most devoted, and affectionate, to obey your Commands.

A Letter, to the King, upon some Inclination, of his Majesty, to him, for the Chancellers Place. April 1. 1616.

It may please your most excellent Majesty,

THe last day, when it pleased your *Majesty*, to express your Self, towards me, farr above that, I can deserve, or could expect, I was surprized, by the *Prince* comming in: I most humbly pray your *Majesty*, to accept these few Lines, of Acknowledgement. I never had great Thought, for my Self, further than to maintain, those great Thoughts, which, I confess, I have, for your Service. I know, what Honour is; And I know, what the Times are. But, I thank *God*, with me, my Service is the Principal; And it is farr from me, under Honourable Pretences, to cover base Desires; which I account then to be, when Men referr, too much to Themselves, especially serving such a *King*. I am afraid of Nothing,

but that the Master of the Horse, your Excellent Servant, and I, shall fall out, who shall hold your Stirrop best. But were you Mounted, and Seated, without Difficulties, and Dangers, in your Business, as I desire, and hope to see you; I should, *animo*, desire, to spend the Decline, of my years, in my Studies. Wherein also, I should not forget, to doe him Honour; who, besides his Active, and Politique Vertues, is the best *Penn* of *Kings*, Much more, the best Subject of a *Penn*. *God* ever preserve your Majesty.

Your *Majesties*, most humble *Subject*,
And more, and more, obliged
Servant.

A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, touching his Swearing Counseller, *May* 30. 1616.

SIR, The time is, as I should think, now, or never, for his *Majesty*, to finish his good Meaning towards me; If it please him to consider, what is past, and what is to come.

If I would tender my Profit, and oblige Men unto me, by my Place, and Practice, I could have more profit, than I could devise; And could oblige all the World, and offend none; which is a brave Condition, for a Mans Private. But my Heart, is not, on these Things. Yet, on the other side, I would be sorry, that worthless Persons, should make a Note, that I get Nothing, but Pains, and Enemies; And a little Popular Reputation, which followeth me, whether I will, or no. If any thing, be to be done, for your self, I should take infinite Contentment, that my Honour, might wait upon yours: But I would be loath, it should wait upon any Mans else. If you would put your strength, to this Business, it is done; And that done, many Things more, will begin. *God* keep you ever; I rest,

Your true, and devoted, *Servant*.

A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, upon the Choice, his Majesty gave him, whether he would be Sworn Counseller, or have Assurance, to succeed the Chancellor, *June* 3. 1616.

SIR, The *King* giveth me a noble choice; And you are the Man, my Heart ever told me, you were. Ambition would draw

draw me, to the latter part of the Choice; But, in respect of my hearty wishes, that my *Lord Chancellor*, may live long; And the small Hopes I have, that I shall live long, my self; And above all, because I see, his *Majesties* Service, daily, and infinitely, bleedeth; Towards which, I perswade my self, (vainly perhaps, but yet in mine own thoughts, firmly, and constantly;) that I shall give, when I am of the *Table*, some effectual Furtherance, (as a poor *Thred* of the *Labyrinth*, which hath no other Vertue, but an united Continuance, without Interruption, or Distraction;) I doe accept of the former, to be *Counseller*, for the present; and to give over *pleading* at *Barr*; Let the other Matter rest upon my *Proof*, and his *Majesties* Pleasure, and the *Accidents* of *Time*. For to speak plainly, I would be loath, that my *Lord Chancellor*, to whom I owe most, after the King, and your *Self*, should be locked to his *Successour*, for any Advancement, or Gracing, of me. So I ever remain.

Your true, and most devoted,
and obliged, Servant.

To his very Honourable *good Friend, Sir* George Villiers, Master *of the* Horse, *to his* Majesty, *and of the most Noble* Order *of the* Garter. *June* 11. 1616.

SIR, I send his *Majesty*, a Draught, of the *Act of Counsel*, concerning the *Judges Letter*; penned, as near as I could, to his *Majesties* Instructions, received in your presence. I then told his *Majesty*, my Memory was not able, to keep way with his; And therefore his *Majesty* will pardon me, for any Omissions, or Errours; And be pleased, to supply, and reform the same. I am preparing, some other Materials, for his *Majesties* excellent Hand, concerning Business, that is comming on. For since his *Majesty*, hath renewed my Heart within me, methinks, I should double my endeavours. *God* ever preserve, and prosper you; I rest.

Your most devoted, and bounden,
Servant.

A Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *for the Restoring of* Doctor Burgis, *to preach. June* 12. 1616.

SIR, I doe think, you may doe your self Honour, and, (that which is more,) doe a good Work, if you will assist, and perfect, a Motion begun, (and that upon a good Ground,) both of

Sub-

Submiſſion, and Conformity,) for the reſtoring, of Doctor *Burgis*, to Preach; And I wiſh, likewiſe, that if *Graies Inn* ſhould think good, (after he is free from the *State*,) to chuſe him, for their *Preacher*, his *Majeſty* ſhould not be againſt it; For certainly, we ſhould watch him well, if he ſhould flye forth; So as he cannot be placed, in a more fate *Auditory*. This may ſeem a Trifle, but I doe aſſure you, I doe ſcarce know a particular, wherein you may open, more honeſt Mouthes, to ſpeak Honour of you, than this. And I doe extremely deſire, there may be a full Cry, from all ſorts of People, (eſpecially the beſt,) to ſpeak, and to trumpet out, your Commendations. I pray you take it to Heart, and doe ſomewhat in it. I reſt.

Your devoted and Bounden Servant.

A Letter, to Sir George Villiers, of Advice, concerning Ireland; From Gorhambury, to Windſore. July 5. 1616.

SIR, Becauſe I am uncertain, whether his *Majeſty*, will put to a point, ſome Reſolutions, touching *Ireland*, now at *Windſore*; I thought it my duty, to attend his *Majeſty*, by my *Letter*, and thereby to ſupply my Abſence. For the Renewing, of ſome former *Commiſſions*, for *Ireland*; And the Framing, of a new *Commiſſion*, for the Wards, and the *Alienation*, (which appertain properly to me, as his *Majeſties Atturney*, and have been accordingly referred by the *Lords*;) I will undertake, that they are prepared, with a greater care, and better applications, to his *Majeſties* Service in that *Kingdom*, than heretofore they have been. And therefore of that I ſay no more. And for the *Inſtructions*, of the new *Deputy*, they have been ſet down, by the two *Secretaries*, and read to the *Board*; And being things, of an ordinary nature, I doe not ſee, but they may paſs. But there have been three *Propoſitions*, and *Counſels*, which have been ſtirred, which ſeem to me, of very great Importance; wherein, I think my Self bound, to deliver to his *Majeſty*, my *Advice*, and *Opinion*, if they ſhould now come in *Queſtion*.

The firſt is, touching the *Recuſant Magiſtrates*, of the *Towns*, of *Ireland*, and the *Commonalties* themſelves, their Electours, what ſhall be done? Which Conſultation ariſeth, from the late Advertiſements, of the two *Lords Juſtices*, upon the Inſtance, of the two *Towns*, *Limrick*, and *Kilkenny*; In which Advertiſements, they repreſent the Danger only, without giving any Light, for the Remedy

medy; Rather warily for themselves, than agreeable to their Duties, and places.

In this point, I humbly pray his *Majesty*, to remember, that the Refusal is not, of the *Oath of Allegiance*, (which is not enacted in *Ireland*;) but of the *Oath of Supremacy*, which cutteth deep, into Matter of Conscience. Also, that his *Majesty* will, out of the depth, of his Excellent Wisdom, and Providence, think, and as it were, calculate with himself; Whether Time, will make more, for the Cause of Religion, in *Ireland*, and be still more, and more, propitious; Or whether Deferring Remedies, will not make the Case more difficult. For if *Time*, give his *Majesty* Advantage, what needeth precipitation, to extreme Remedies? But if *Time*, will make the case more desperate, then his *Majesty*, cannot begin, too soon. Now in my Opinion, Time will open, and facilitate Things, for *Reformation* of *Religion* there; And not shut up, or lock out, the same. For first, the *Plantations* going on, and being, principally, of *Protestants*, cannot but mate the other party, in Time: Also, his *Majesties* Care, in placing good *Bishops*, and good *Divines*; In amplifying the *Colledge* there; And in looking, to the Education, of *Wards*, and such like; As they are, the most Natural Means, so are they like, to be the most effectual, and happy, for the Weeding out of *Popery*, without using the *Temporal Sword*; So that, I think, I may truly conclude, that the Ripeness of *Time*, is not yet come.

Therefore my Advice is, in all Humbleness, that this hazardous Course, of Proceeding, to tender the Oath, to the *Magistrates* of *Towns*, proceed not, but dye by degrees: And yet, to preserve the Authority, and Reputation, of the former *Council*, I would have somewhat done; which is, that there be a proceeding, to *Seizure*, of *Liberties*; But not, by any Act of Power, but by *Quo Warranto*, or *Scire facias*; which is a *Legal Course*; And will be the Work of three, or four, *Termes*; By which time, the Matter will somewhat cool.

But I would not, (in any case,) that the Proceedings, should be with both *Towns*, which stand now in contempt, but with one of them, onely: choosing that, which shall be thought most fit. For if his *Majesty*, proceed with both, then all the *Towns*, that are in the like case, will think it a common Cause; And that it is, but their Case too day, and their own too morrow. But if his *Majesty* proceed, but with one, the Apprehension, and Terrour, will not be so strong; For they will think, it may be their Case, to be spared, as well, as prosecuted; And this is the best Advice, that I can give to his *Majesty*, in this Streight; And of this Opinion, seemed my *Lord Chancellor*, to be.

The Second *Proposition* is this: It may be, his *Majesty* will be moved, to reduce, the Number, of his *Council*, of *Ireland*, which is now almost Fifty, to Twenty, or the like Number; In respect, that

that the Greatneſs of the Number, doth both embaſe the *Authority*, of the *Councel*, and divulge the Buſineſs. Nevertheleſs, I hold this *Propoſition*, to be rather ſpecious, and ſolemn, than needfull, at this time; For certainly, it will fill the *State*, full of Diſcontentment; which, in a Growing, and unſetled Eſtate, ought not to be.

This I could wiſh, that his *Majeſty*, would appoint a ſelect *Number*, of *Counſellours* there, which might deal, in the *Improvement*, of his *Revenew*; (Being a Thing not fit to paſs, through too many Hands;) And the ſaid ſelected *Number*, ſhould have dayes of Sitting, by themſelves. At which, the reſt of the *Councel*, ſhould not be preſent; which being once ſetled, then other principal Buſineſs of *State*, may be handled at thoſe Sittings, and ſo the reſt begin to be diſuſed, and yet retain their Countenance, without Murmur, or Diſgrace.

The Third *Propoſition*, as it is moved, ſeemeth to be pretty, if it can keep promiſe: For it is thus. That a Means, may be found, to re-enforce his *Majeſties Army*, by 500, or a 1000 Men; And that, without any Penny Encreaſe, of Charge. And the Means ſhould be, that there ſhould be a Commandement of a Local Removing, and transferring ſome *Companies*, from one *Province*, to another: whereupon it is ſuppoſed, that many, that are planted, in Houſe, and Lands, will rather leeſe their Entertainment, than remove; And thereby, new Men may have their Pay, and yet the old, be mingled in the *Country*, for the Strength thereof.

In this *Propoſition*, two things may be feared: The one, *Diſcontent* of thoſe, that ſhall be put off: The other, that the Companies ſhall be ſtuffed with *Novices*, and *Tyrones*, inſtead of *Veterani*. I wiſh therefore, that this *Propoſition*, be well debated, ere it be admitted. Thus having performed that, which Duty binds me to; I commend you, to *Gods* beſt preſervation.

Your moſt devoted, and bounden
Servant.

A Letter, *from the* Kings Atturney General, *to the* Maſter *of the* Horſe, *upon the ſending, of his* Bill, *for* Viſcount.

Auguſt 5. 1616.

SIR, I ſend you the *Bill*, for his *Majeſties Signature*, reformed, according to his *Majeſties* Amendments, both in the two places, (which, I aſſure you, were both altered, with great Judgement;) And in the Third place, which his *Majeſty* termed a *Queſtion* onely. But he is an idle Body, that thinks his *Majeſty*, asks an idle *Queſtion*; And therefore, his *Majeſties* Queſtions, are to be anſwered,

red, by *Taking away*, the Cauſe of the *Queſtion*, and not by *Replying*.

For the *Name*, his *Majeſties Will*, is a *Law*, in thoſe things; And to ſpeak Truth, it is a well-ſounding, and Noble Name, both here, and abroad: And being your proper *Name*, I will take it, for a good Sign, that you ſhall give Honour, to your *Dignity*, and not your Dignity to you. Therefore I have made it *Viſcount Villiers*: And for your *Baronry*, I will keep it for an *Earldom*: For though the other, hadbeen more orderly, yet that is as uſual, and both alike good in *Law*.

For *Ropers* place, I would have it, by all means, diſpatched. And therefore, I marvail, it lingreth. It were no good manners, to take the Buſineſs, out of my Lord *Treaſurers* hands; And therefore, I purpoſe, to write to his *Lordſhip*, if I hear not from him, firſt, by Mr. *Deckom*. But if I hear of any Delay, you will give me leave, (eſpecially ſince the *King* named me,) to deal with Sir *John Roper*, my Self; For neither I, nor my *Lord Treaſurer*, can deſerve any great thanks of you, in this Buſineſs, conſidering the *King* hath ſpoken to Sir *John Roper*, and he hath promiſed; And beſides, the thing it ſelf, is ſo reaſonable, as it ought, to be as ſoon done, as ſaid. I am now gotten, into the *Countrey*, to my Houſe, where I have ſome little Liberty, to think of that, I would think of, and not of that, which other Men, Hourly break my Head withall, as it was at *London*. Upon this, you may conclude, that moſt of my Thoughts, are of his *Majeſty*; And then, you cannot be farr off. *God* ever keep you, and proſper you. I reſt alwayes,

Your true, and moſt devoted,
Servant.

A Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *upon the Sending, his Patent, of* Viſcount Villiers, *to be Signed.* *Auguſt* 12. 1616.

SIR, I have ſent you, now, your Patent, of Creation, of *Lord Blechley*, of *Blechly*, and of *Viſcount Villiers*. *Blechley* is your own; And I liked, the ſound of the Name, better than *Whaddon*: But the Name, will be hid, for you will be called *Viſcount Villiers*. I have put them both in a *Patent*, after the manner of the Patent of Arms, where *Baronries* are joyned. But the chief Reaſon was, becauſe I would avoid double *Prefaces*; which had not been fit: Nevertheleſs *Ceremony* of *Roabing*, and otherwiſe, muſt be double: And now, becauſe I am in the *Country*, I will ſend you, ſome of my *Country Fruits*, which, with me, are good *Meditations*; which, when I am in the *City*, are choaked with Buſineſs.

After that the *King*, ſhall have watred, your new *Dignities*, with his Bounty, of the Lands, which he intends you; And that, ſome other things, concerning your means, which are now likewiſe in Intention, ſhall be ſetled upon you; I doe not ſee, but you may think, your private Fortunes eſtabliſhed; And therefore, it is now time, that you ſhould refer your Actions, chiefly, to the Good, of your *Soveraign*, and your *Country*. It is the life, of an Oxe, or a Beaſt, alwaies to eat, and never to exerciſe; But Men are born, (eſpecially *Chriſtian Men*,) not to cramm in their *Fortunes*, but to exerciſe their *Vertues*; And yet, the other, have been the unworthy, and, ſometimes, the unlucky humour, of great Perſons, in our Times; Neither will your further *Fortune*, be the further off. For aſſure your ſelf, that *Fortune*, is of a womans Nature, that will ſooner follow you by ſlighting, than by too much Wooing: And in this Dedication, of your Self to the Publick, I recommend unto you, principally, that which I think, was never done, ſince I was born; And which not done, hath bred, almoſt, a Wilderneſs, and Solitude, in the *Kings* Service: which is, that you countenance, and encourage, and advance, able, and vertuous Men, in all Kindes, Degrees, and Profeſſions. For in the time of ſome late great Counſellours, when they bare the Sway, able Men, were by deſign, and of purpoſe, ſuppreſſed: And though, now ſince, Choice goeth better, both in *Church*, and *Commonwealth*, yet Money, and Turn-Serving, and Cunning Canviſes, and Importunity, prevail too much. And in places of Moment, rather make Able and Honeſt Men, yours, than advance thoſe, that are otherwiſe, becauſe they are yours: As for Cunning and Corrupt Men, you muſt, I know, ſometimes uſe them, but keep them at a diſtance; And let it appear, that you make uſe of them, rather than that they lead you. Above all, depend wholly, (next to *God*,) upon the *King*; And be ruled, (as hitherto you have been,) by his Inſtructions; For that's beſt for your Self. For the *Kings* Care, and Thoughts, concerning you, are according to the Thoughts, of a *great King*; whereas your Thoughts, coucerning your Self, are, and ought to be, according to the Thoughts of a *Modeſt Man*. But let me not weary you. The Summe is, that you think *Goodneſs*, the beſt part of *Greatneſs*; And that you remember, whence your Riſing comes, and make return accordingly. *God* ever keep you.

A Letter, *to the* King, *touching Sir* George Villiers *Patent*, *for* Baron *of* Blechley, *and* Viſcount Villiers. Auguſt 12. 1616.

It may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

I Have ſent, Sir *George Villiers Patent*, drawn again, containing alſo a *Baronry*; The Name, *Blechley*, which is his own; And to my Thinking, ſoundeth better, than *Whaddon*. I have included both, in one *Patent*, to avoid a double *Preface*, and as hath been uſed, in the *Patents*, of *Earls*, of like nature. Nevertheleſs, the *Ceremony* of *Roabing*, and otherwiſe, is to be double, as is alſo uſed, in like caſe of Earls.

It reſteth, that I expreſs unto your *Majeſty*, my great Joy, in your Honouring, and Advancing, this *Gentleman*: whom to deſcribe, not with Colours, but with true Lines, I may ſay this; Your *Majeſty*, certainly, hath found out, and choſen, a ſafe Nature, a capable Man, and honeſt Will, Generous and Noble Affections, and a Courage well lodged; And one that, I know, loveth your *Majeſty*, unfeignedly; And admireth you as much, as is in a Man, to admire his *Soveraign*, upon Earth. Onely, your *Majeſties School*, (wherein, he hath already ſo well profited, as in this Entrance upon the Stage, being the Time of greateſt Danger, he hath not committed any manifeſt Errour;) will add Perfection, to your *Majeſties* comfort, and the great Contentment, of your *People*. *God* ever preſerve, and proſper, your *Majeſty*. I reſt in all Humbleneſs,

Your *Majeſties*, moſt bounden, and
moſt devoted, *Subject*, and *Servant*.

A Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *upon the Sending, of his* Patent, *for the Creation*, *of* Viſcount, *Sealed* *Auguſt* 20. 1616.

SIR, I took much Contentment, in that, I perceive by your *Letter*, that you took, in ſo good part, the Freedom of my Advice; And that your Self, in your own Nature, conſented therewith. Certainly, no Service is comparable, to good Counſell; And the Reaſon is, becauſe no Man, can doe ſo much, for another, as a Man, may doe for himſelf: Now good *Counſel*, helpeth a Man, to help himſelf. But you have ſo happy a *Maſter*, as ſupplyeth all. My Service, and good will, ſhall not be wanting.

It was graciouſly, and kindly, done alſo, of his *Majeſty*, towards me, to tell you, that you were beholding to me. But it muſt be then, for Thinking of you, as I doe. For otherwiſe, for Speaking, as I think, it is but the part of an Honeſt Man. I ſend you your *Patent*, whereof *God* give you Joy: And I ſend you here, incloſed, a little Note of Remembrance, for that part of the *Ceremony*, which concerneth the *Patent*: For as for other *Ceremonies*, I leave to others.

My *Lord Chanceller*, diſpatcht your *Patent*, preſently, upon the Receit; And writ to me, how glad he was of it, and how well he wiſhed you. If you writ to him, a few words of Thanks, I think, you ſhall doe well. *God* keep you, and proſper you. I ever reſt

Your true, and moſt devoted,
Servant.

A Letter, *to Sir* George Villiers, *acknowledging the* Kings *Favour in granting, ſome Suite of his. Auguſt* 22. 1616.

SIR, I am more, and more, bound, unto his *Majeſty*, who, I think, knowing me, to have other Ends, than Ambition, is contented, to make me Judge, of mine own Deſires. I am now beating my Brains, (amongſt many Cares, of his *Majeſties* Buſineſs,) touching the Redeeming the Time, in this Buſineſs of *Cloath*. The great Queſtion is; How to miſs, or how to mate the *Flemmings*; How to paſs by them, or how to paſs over them.

In my next Letter, I ſhall alter your Stile; But I ſhall never, whilſt I breath, alter mine own Stile; In being

Your true, and moſt devoted,
Servant.

The Lord Keepers *Letter*, to the Univerſity, in anſwer, of their Congratulation, at his firſt Comming to that place:

To the Renowned Univerſity of Cambridge, *his Dear, and Reverend,* Mother.

I Am Debtor to you of your *Letters*, and of the Time, likewiſe, that I have taken, to anſwer them; But as ſoon as I could chuſe, to think on, I thought good, to let you know, That although, you

you may erre much, in your valuation of me, yet you ſhall not be deceived, in your Aſſurance: And for the other part alſo, though the manner be, to mend the *Picture*, by the *Life*; yet I would be glad, to mend the *Life*, by the *Picture*, and to become, and be, as you expreſs me to be. Your Gratulations, ſhall be no more welcom to me, than your Buſineſs, or occaſions; which I will attend; and yet not ſo, but that I ſhall endeavour, to prevent them, by my care of your Good. And ſo I commend you, to *Gods* goodneſs.

Your moſt loving, and aſſured
Friend, and *Sonne*,
Fr. Bacon. *Cuſtos Sigilli.*

Gorhambury, Apr. 12. 1617.

A Letter *of King* James, *written to his* Lordſhip, *when he was* Lord Chanceller, *with his* Majeſties *own Hand, upon the ſending to him, his* Book, *of* Inſtauratio Magna, *then newly publiſhed.*

MY *Lord*, I Have received your *Letter*, and your *Book*, than the which, you could not have ſent, a more acceptable Preſent unto me. How thankfull I am for it, cannot better be expreſſed by me, than by a firm Reſolution, I have taken; Firſt, to read it thorough, with care, and attention; Though I ſhould ſteal, ſome Hours, from my Sleep; Having otherwiſe, as little ſpare time, to read it, as you had, to write it. And theu to uſe the liberty, of a true Friend, in not ſparing, to ask you the queſtion, in any point, whereof I ſhall ſtand in doubt; (*Nam ejus eſt Explicare, cujus eſt Condere*;) As, on the other part, I will willingly give, a due commendation, to ſuch places, as, in my opinion, ſhall deſerve it. In the mean time, I can, with comfort, aſſure you, that you could not have made choice, of a Subject, more befitting your place, and your univerſal, and Methodick, Knowledge; And, in the general, I have already obſerved, that you jump with me, in keeping the midd way, between the two Extremes; As alſo in ſome particulars, I have found, that you agree fully, with my opinion. And ſo praying *God*, to give your *Work*, as good Succeſs, as your Heart can wiſh, and your Labours deſerve, I bid you heartily farewell.

Octob. 16. 1620. *James Rex.*

OTHER

LETTERS,

BY THE SAME

Honourable Authour,

Written in the Dayes of

QVEEN ELIZABETH.



LONDON,
Printed by *F. L.* for *William Lee*, at the sign of the *Turks-Head*, in *Fleetstreet*, 1657.



OTHER LETTERS, WRITTEN BY THE SAME Honourable Authour.

To my *Lord* of *Essex.*

My singular good Lord,



May perceive, by my *Lord Keeper*, that your *Lordship*, as the time served, signified unto him, an Intention, to conferr with his *Lordship*, at better opportunity; Which, in regard, of your several, and weighty occasions, I have thought good, to put your *Lordship*, in remembrance of; That now, at his Comming to the *Court*, it may bee executed; Desiring your good *Lordship*, nevertheless, not to conceive, out of this my diligence, in solliciting this matter, that I am, either much in *Appetite*, or much in *Hope*. For as for *Appetite*; The *Waters* of *Parnassus*, are not like, the *Waters*, of the *Spaw*, that give a Stomach; But rather, they quench *Appetite*, and *Desires*. And for *Hope*; How can he hope much, that can allege no other Reason, than the Reason of an Evil *Debter*; who will perswade his *Creditour*, to lend him new Summes, and to enter further in with him, to make him satisfie the old? And to her *Majesty*, no other Reason, but the Reason of a *Waterman*; *I am her first Man*, of those, who serve in *Counsel* of *Law*. And so, I commit your *Lordship*, to *Gods* best preservation.

These Letters following, I find not, in his Lordships Register-Book, of Letters; But I am enduced, by the Stile, and other Characters, to own them, to be his.

To my Lord of Essex.

My Lord,

CONceiving that your *Lordship*, came now up, in the person of a good *Servant*, to see your *Soveraign Mistris*; which kinde of *Complements*, are many times, *Instar magnorum Meritorum*; And therefore, that it would be hard for me, to find you, I have committed, to this poor Paper, the humble Salutations of him, that is more yours, than any Mans; And more yours, than any Man. To these Salutations, I add, a due, and joyfull Gratulation, confessing that your *Lordship*, in your last conference with me, before your Journey, spake not in vain, *God* making it good; That you trusted, we should say, *Quis putasset?* Which, as it is sound true, in a happy sense, so I wish, you doe not find, another *Quis putasset*, in the manner, of taking, this so great a *Service*. But, I hope, it is, as he said; *Nubecula est, citò transibit*: And that your *Lordships* Wisdom, and Obsequious Circumspection, and Patience, will turn all to the best. So referring all, to some time, that I may attend you, I commit you to *Gods* best preservation.

To my Lord of Essex.

My Lord,

I Am glad, your *Lordship*, hath plunged, out of your own business. Wherein, I must commend your *Lordship*, as *Xenophon* commended, the *State*, of his *Country*; which was this; *That having chosen, the worst Form of Government, of all others, they governed the best, in that kinde. Hoc, Pace, et Venia tua*, according to my *Charter*. Now, as your *Lordship* is my Witness, that I would not trouble you, whilst your own Cause was in hand; (Though that I know, that the further from the *Term*, the better the time, was to deal for me;) So that being concluded, I presume, I shall be one, of your next Cares. And having communicated with my *Brother*, of some course, either to perfit the first, or to make me some other way; Or rather, by seeming to make me some other way, to perfit the first, wherewith he agreed to acquaint your *Lordship*; I am desirous, for mine own better satisfaction, to speak with your *Lordship*, my self; Which I had rather, were somewhere else, than at Court; And as soon, as your *Lordship*, well assign me, to wait on you. And so in, &c.

To Sir Robert Cecil.

SIR,

YOur *Honour* knoweth, my Manner is, though it be not the wiſeſt way, yet taking it for the honeſteſt, to doe, as *Alexander* did, by his Phyſician; *In drinking the Medicine, and delivering the Advertiſement, of Suſpition*: So I truſt on, and yet do not ſmother, what I hear. I doe aſſure you, *Sir*, that by a wiſe Friend of mine, and not factious toward your *Honour*, I was told, with aſſeveration, that your Honour, was bought, by Mr. *Coventry*, for 2000. Angels; And that you wrought, in a contrary ſpirit, to my *Lord* your *Father*. And he ſaid further, that from your *Servants*, from your *Lady*, from ſome *Counſellours* that have obſerved you in my buſineſs, he knew, you wrought, under hand, againſt me. The truth of which Tale, I doe not believe; you know the Event will ſhew, and *God* will right. But as I reject this Report, (though the Strangeneſs of my Caſe, might make me credulous;) ſo I admit a Conceit, that the laſt Meſſenger, my *Lord*, and your ſelf uſed, dealt ill with your *Honours*; And that VVord, (*Speculation*,) which was in the *Queens* mouth, rebounded from him, as a Commendation: For I am not ignorant, of thoſe little Arts. Therefore, I pray, truſt not him again, in my matter. This was much to write, but I think my Fortune, will ſet me at liberty, who am weary of aſſerviling my Self, to every Mans charity. Thus I, &c.

To Sir John Stanhope.

SIR,

YOur good promiſes ſleep, which it may ſeem, now, no time to awake. But that I doe not finde, that any general Kalender, of Obſervation of time, ſerveth for the *Court*: And beſides, if that be done, which I hope, by this time, is done; And that other matter ſhall be done, which we wiſh may be done, I hope to my poor Matter, the one of theſe great Matters, may clear the way, and the other give the occaſion. And though my *Lord Treaſurer* be abſent; whoſe Health, nevertheleſſe, will enable him, to be ſooner at *Court*, than is expected; eſpecially if this hard weather, (too hard to continue,) ſhall relent; yet we abroad ſay, his *Lordſhips* ſpirit may be there, though his perſon be away. Once I take for a good ground, that her *Majeſties* Buſineſs, ought to keep, neither Vacation, nor Holyday; either in the Execution, or in the Care and preparation, of thoſe, whom her *Majeſty* calleth, and uſeth: And therefore, I would think, no time barred, from remembring that, with ſuch diſcretion, and reſpect, as appertaineth

neth. The Conclusion shall be, to put you in minde, to maintain that which you have kindly begun, according to the Reliaunce, I have, upon the Sincerity, of your Affection, and the Soundnesse of your Judgement. And so I commend you, to *Gods* preservation.

To my Lord of Essex.

It may please your good Lordship,

I Am very sorry, her *Majesty* should take my Motion to travail, in offence. But surely, under her *Majesties* Royal Correction, it is such an Offence, as it should be, an offence to the Sun, when a Man, to avoid the scorching heat thereof, flyeth into the shade. And your *Lordship* may easily think, that having now these twenty years, (For so long it is, and more, since I went, with Sir *Amyas Paulett*, into *France*, from her *Majesties* royal Hand,) I made Her *Majesties* Service, the Scope of my life: I shall never finde a greater grief than this, *Relinquere Amorem Primum*. But since, *principia Actionum, sunt tantùm, in nostrâ potestate*; I hope, her *Majesty*, of her Clemency, yea and Justice, will pardon me, and not force me, to pine here, with Melancholy. For though mine Heart be good, yet mine Eyes will be sore; So as I shall have no pleasure, to look abroad: And if I should otherwise be affected, her *Majesty*, in her Wisdom, will but think me, an impudent Man, that would face out a disgrace. Therefore, as I have ever found you, my good *Lord*, and true Friend, so I pray, open the matter so, to her *Majesty*, as she may discern the necessity of it, without adding hard Conceit, to her Rejection; Of which, I am sure, the latter I never deserved. Thus, &c.

To the Lord Treasurer.

It may please your good Lordship,

I Am to give you humble Thanks, for your favourablr opinion, which by *Mr. Secretaries* report, I finde, you conceive of me, for the obtaining of a good place, which some of my honourable Friends, have wished unto me, *Nec Opinanti*. I will use no reason, to perswade your *Lordships* Mediation, but this; That your *Lordship*, and my other Frends, shall in this, begg my life, of the *Queen*; For I see well, the Barr will be my Beer, as I must, and will use it, rather than my poor Estate, or Reputation, shall decay. But I stand indifferent, whether *God* call me, or her *Majesty*. Had I that in possession, which by your *Lordships* onely means, against the greatest opposition, her *Majesty* graunted me, I would never

never trouble her *Majesty*, but serve her still voluntarily, without pay. Neither, doe I, in this, more, than obey my Friends Conceits, as one that would not be, wholly wanting to my Self. Your *Lordships* good opinion, doth somewhat confirm me, as that I take comfort in, above all others; Assuring your *Lordship*, that I never thought so well of my Self, for any one thing, as that I have found a fitness, to my Thinking, in my Self, to observe, and revere, your Vertues. For the Continuance whereof, in the prolonging, of your dayes, I will still be your Beadsman; And accordingly, at this time, commend your *Lordship*, to the *Divine Protection*.

To Foulk Grevil.

SIR,

I Understand of your paines, to have visited me; For which I thank you. My *Matter* is an endlesse *Question*. I assure you, I had said; *Requiesce anima mea*: But now, I am otherwise put, to my *psalter*; *Nolite confidere*. I dare go no farther. Her *Majesty*, had by set speech, more than once, assured me, of her Intention, to call me to her service; which I could not understand, but of the place, I had been named to. And now, whether *Invidus Homo hoc fecit*; Or whether my *Matter*, must be an *Appendix* to my *Lo: of Essex* sute; Or whether her *Majesty*, pretending to prove my Ability, meaneth, but to take advantage, of some Errours, which, like enough, at one time, or other, I may commit; Or what it is; But her *Majesty*, is not ready, to dispatch it. And what though the *Mr. of the Rowles*, and my *Lo: of Essex*, and your self, and others, think my case without doubt; yet in the mean time, I have a hard condition, to stand so, that whatsoever service, I do to her *Majesty*, it shall be thought to be, but *servitium viscatum*, lime-twiggs, and Fetches, to place my self; And so I shall have Envy, not Thanks. This is a Course, to quench all good spirits, and to Corrupt every Mans Nature; which will, I fear, much hurt, her *Majesties* Service, in the end. I have been like a piece of Stuff, bespoken in the shopp: And if her *Majesty*, will not take me, it may be, the selling by parcels, will be more gainfull. For to be, as I told you, like a Child, following a Bird, which when he is neareſt, flyeth away, and lighteth a little before, and then the Child after it again, and so in *Infinitum*, I am weary of it: As also, of wearying my good Friends; Of whom, Nevertheless, I hope, in one course or other, gratefully to deserve. And so, not forgetting your Businesse, I leave to trouble you, with this idle Letter, being but *Justa, & Moderata Querimonia*. For indeed, I do confesse, *primus Amor*, will not easily be cast off. And thus again, I commend me to you.

To

To the Lord Treaſurer Burghley.

Moſt Honourable, *and my very good* Lord.

I Know, I may commit an Errour, in writing this *Letter*, both in a time, of great, and weighty Buſineſſe; As alſo, when my ſelf, am not induced thereto, by any new particular occaſion: And therefore, your *Lordſhip* may impute to me, either Levity, or Ignorance, wnat appertaineth to good reſpects, and forwardneſſe of Dealing; Eſpecially to an *Honourable Perſon*, in whom there is ſuch concurrence, of *Magnitudo Honoris, & Oneris*; As it is hard to ſay, whether is the greater. But I anſwer my ſelf firſt, that I have ever noted it, as a part, of your *Lordſhips* excellent Wiſedome, *Parvis componere Magna*; That you do not exclude inferiour matters, of Acceſſe, amongſt the Care of great. And for my ſelf, I thought, it would better manifeſt, what I deſire to expreſſe, if I did write out of a deep, and ſettled conſideration, of mine own Duty, rather than upon the ſpurre of a particular Occaſion. And therefore, (my ſingular good *Lord*) *Ex abundantiâ cordis*, I muſt acknowledge, how greatly, and diverſly, your *Loodſhip* hath vouchſafed, to tye me unto you, by Many your Benefits. The Reverſion of the *Office*, which your *Lordſhip* Onely procured unto me, and carried through great, and vehement, Oppoſition, though it yet bear no fruit, yet it is one of the faireſt Flowers, of my poor Eſtate; your *Lordſhips* conſtant, and ſerious Endeavours, to have me *Solliciter*: your late honourable Wiſhes, for the place of the *Wards*: Together with your *Lordſhips* Attempt, to give me way, by the Remove of Mr. *Solliciter*; They be Matters, of ſingular obligation; Beſides many other favours, as well by your *Lordſhips* Graunts, from your Self, as by your Commendation to others, which I have had for my help; And may juſtly perſwade my Self, out of the few Denials, I have received, that fewer mought have been; if mine own Induſtry, and good happ, had been anſwerable to your *Lordſhips* Goodneſs. But on the other ſide, I moſt humbly pray your *Lordſhips* pardon, if I ſpeak it. The time is yet to come, that your *Lordſhip* did ever uſe, or command, or employ me, in my profeſſion, in any Services, or Occaſions, of your *Lordſhips* own, or ſuch as are near unto your *Lordſhip*: which hath made me, fear, ſometimes, that your *Lordſhip* doth more honourably affect me, than throughly diſcern, of my moſt humble, and dutifull Affection, to your *Lordſhip* again. Which if it were not in me, I knew not, whether I were unnaturall, unthankfull, or unwiſe. This cauſeth me, moſt humbly to pray your *Lordſhip*; (And I know mine own caſe too well, to ſpeak it as weening, I can do your *Lordſhip* ſervice, but as willing to do it;) To believe, that your *Lordſhip* is, upon juſt *Title*, a principall Owner, and proprietary, of that,

that, I cannot call *Talent*, but *Mite*, that *God* hath given me; which I ever do, and ſhall, devote to your ſervice. And in like humble manner, I pray your *Lordſhip*, to pardon mine Errours, and not to impute unto me, the Errours of any other; (which I know alſo, themſelves, have, by this time, left, and forethought:) But to conceive of me, to be a Man, that daily profitteth in Duty. It is true, I do, in part, comfort my ſelf, ſuppoſing that it is my Weakneſſe, and inſufficiency, that moveth your *Lordſhip*, who hath ſo generall a command, to uſe others more able. But let it be as it is; For Duty onely, and Homage, I will boldly undertake, that Nature, and true Thankfulneſſe, ſhall never give place, to a politick dependance. Laſtly, I moſt humbly deſire your *Lordſhip*, to continue unto me, the good favour, and countenance, and Encouragement, in the Courſe of my poor Travails; whereof I have had, ſome taſte, and experience; For the which, I yield your *Lordſhip*, my very humble good thanks. And ſo again, craving your *Honours* pardon, for ſo long a *Letter*, carrying ſo empty an offer, of ſo unpuiſſant a ſervice; But yet a true, and unfeigned, ſignification, of an honeſt, and vowed duty; I ceaſe, commending your *Lordſhip*, to the preſervation, of the *Divine Majeſty*.

To my Lord of Eſſex.

Moſt Honourable, *and my Singular good* Lord,

I Cannot but importune your *Lordſhip*, with thanks, for your *Lordſhips* remembring my name, to my *Lord Keeper*; which being done, in ſuch an Article of time, could not, but be exceedingly enriched, both in demonſtration, and effect: which I did well diſcern, by the manner of expreſſing thereof, by his *Lordſhip*, again to me. This accumulating of your *Lordſhips* Favours, upon me, hitherto, worketh onely this effect; That it raiſeth my mind, to aſpire, to be found worthy of them; And likewiſe, to merit, and ſerve you, for them. But whether I ſhall be able to pay my vowes, or no, I muſt leave that to *God*, who hath them in *depoſito*. Whom alſo, I moſt inſtantly beſeech, to give you fruit of your actions, beyond that your Heart can propound. *Nam Deus major eſt corde*. Even to the *Environing* of his *Benedictions*, I recommend your *Lordſhip*.

To

To Sir Thomas Lucy.

SIR, There was no Newes, better welcom to me, this long time, than that, of the good Succeſs, of my Kinſman; wherein, if he be happy, he cannot be happy alone, it conſiſting of two parts. And I render you, no leſs kinde Thanks, for your aid, and Favour, towards him, than if it had been for my Self; Aſſuring you, that this Bond of Alliance, ſhall, on my part, tye me, to give all the Tribute, to your good Fortune, upon all occaſions, that my poor Strength can yield. I ſend you, ſo required, an *Abſtract*, of the *Lands* of *Inheritance*; And one *Leaſe* of great value, which my *Kinſman* bringeth; with a Note, of the *Tenures*, *Values*, *Contents*, and *State*, truly, and perfectly, drawen; whereby you may perceive, the *Land* is good *Land*, and well countenanced, by ſcope of *Acres*, *Woods*, and *Royalties*; Though the *Total* of the *Rents*, be ſet down, as it now goeth, without Improvement: In which reſpect, it may ſomewhat differ, from your firſt Note. Out of this, what he will aſſure in *Jointure*, I leave it, to his own kindneſs; For I love not to meaſure Affection. To conclude, I doubt not, your *Daughter*, mought have married, to a better *Living*, but never to a better *Life*; Having choſen a *Gentleman*, bred to all Honeſty, Vertue, and Worth, with an Eſtate convenient. And if my Brother, or my Self, were either Thrivers, or Fortunate, in the *Queens* Service, I would hope, there ſhould be left, as great an Houſe, of the *Cookes*, in this Gentleman, as in your good Friend, Mr. *Atturney General*. But ſure I am, if *Scriptures* fail not, it will have as much of Gods Bleſſing; and Sufficiency, is ever the beſt Feaſt, &c.

To Sir Robert Cecil, *at his Being in* France.

It may pleaſe your Honourable Lordſhip,

I Know you will pardon, this my Obſervance, in writing to you, empty of matter, but out of the fulneſs of my Love. I am ſorry, that as your time of Abſence, is prolonged, above that was eſteemed at your *Lordſhips* ſetting forth; So now, upon this laſt Advertiſement, received from you, there groweth an Opinion, amongſt better than the vulgar, that the Difficulties alſo of your Negotiation, are encreaſed. But becauſe, I know the Gravity, of your Nature, to be, not to hope lightly, it maketh me to deſpair the leſs. For you are *Natus ad Ardua*: And the Indiſpoſition, of the Subject, may honour the Skill of the Workman. Sure I am, Judgement, and Diligence, ſhall not want in your *Lordſhips Self*: But this was not my purpoſe; Being onely to ſignifie unto your *Lordſhip*, my continual, and inceſſant, love towards you, thirſting

ting after your Return, for many reſpects. So I commend you ever, to the good preſervation, of the *Divine Majeſty*. *Grayes Inne.*

At your *Honours* Commandement, ever, and particularly.

To Sir Robert Cecil.

My *ſingulvr good* Lord,

THe Argument of my *Letters*, to your *Lordſhip*, rather encreaſeth, than ſpendeth; It being only the Deſire, I have, to ſalute you: which by your abſence is more augmented, than abated. For me to write your *Lordſhip* Occurrences, either of *Scotiſh* Braggs, or *Iriſh* Plaints, or *Spaniſh* Ruffling, or *Low-Country* States, were, (beſides that it is *alienum quiddam*, from mine own humour,) To forget, to whom I write; ſave that you, that know true Advertiſements, ſometimes deſire, and delight, to hear common Reports; As we, that know, but common Reports, deſire to hear the Truth. But to leave ſuch, as write to your Fortunes, I write to your ſelf, in regard of my love to you; you being as near to me, in Hearts Bloud, as in Bloud of Deſcent. This day, I had the Contentment, to ſee your *Father*, upon Occaſion: And methought, his *Lordſhips* Countenance, was not decayed, nor his Cough vehement; But his Voice, was as faint, all the while, as at firſt. Thus wiſhing your *Lordſhip*, a happy, and ſpeedy Return, I commend you, to the *Divine Majeſty*.

To the Queen.

It may pleaſe your ſacred Majeſty,

I Would not fail, to give your *Majeſty*, my moſt humble, and due Thanks, for your *Royal* choice, of ſuch Commiſſioners, in the great *Starre-chamber* Cauſe; Being perſons, beſides their Honour, of ſuch Science, and Integrity. By whoſe Report, I doubt not, but your *Majeſty*, will finde that, which you have been heretofore enformed, (both by my Lord *Keeper*, and by ſome much meaner perſon,) touching the Nature, of that Cauſe, to be true. This preparatory Hearing, doth already aſſail me, with new, and enlarged Offers, of Compoſition; which if I had born a minde, to have hearkned unto, this matter had been quenched long agoe, without any benefit to your *Majeſty*. But your *Majeſties* Benefit, is to me, in greater regard, than mine own particular: Truſting to your *Majeſties* gracious diſpoſition, and *Royal* word, that your

Majesty, will include me, in any extraordinary Course, of your *Soveraign* pleasure, which your *Majesty* shall like, to take, in this Cause. The other Man, I spoke to your *Majesty* of, may, within these two Terms, be in the same streights, between your *Majesties* Justice, and Mercy, that this Man now is, if your *Majesty* be so pleased. So most humbly craving pardon, for my presuming, to seek accesse, for these few Lines, I recommend your *Majesty*, to the most precious Custody, and best preservation, of the *Divine Majesty*.

Your *Majesties*, most humble, and entirely obedient, *Servant*, and *Subject*.

To the Queen.

Written by Mr. Bacon, *for my* Lord *of* Essex.

It may please your Majesty,

IT were great simplicity in me, to look for better, than that your *Majesty*, should cast away my *Letter*, as you have done Me; were it not, that it is possible, your *Majesty*, will think to find somewhat in it, whereupon your displeasure may take hold; And so Indignation, may obtain that of you, which Favour could not. Neither mought I, in reason, presume to offer, unto your *Majesty*, dead lines, my self being excluded as I am; Were it not upon this onely Argument, or Subject; Namely, to clear my self, in point of *Duty*. *Duty*, though my State, lye buried in the Sands; And my Favours, be cast upon the Waters; And my Honours, be committed to the Wind; Yet standeth surely built, upon the *Rock*, and hath been, and ever shall be, unforced, and unattempted. And therefore, since the *world*, out of Errour, and your *Majesty*, I fear, out of *Art*, is pleased to put upon me; That I have so much, as any Election, or Will, in this my Absence, from Attendance; I cannot but leave, this Protestation, with your *Majesty*; That I am, and have been, meerly a patient, and take my self, onely to obey, and execute your *Majesties* will. And indeed, *Madam*, I had never thought it possible, that your *Majesty*, could have so dis-interessed your self of me; Nor that you had been so perfect, in the Art of forgetting; Nor that after a Quintessence of Wormwood, your *Majesty* would have taken so large a Draught of Poppy; As to have passed, so many Summers, without all Feeling of my Sufferings. But the onely Comfort I have, is this, that I know your *Majesty* taketh Delight, and Contentment, in executing, this Disgrace upon me. And since your *Majesty*, can find no other use of me, I am glad yet, I can serve for that. Thus making my most humble petition, to your *Majesty*, that in Justice, (Howsoever you may by strangeness, untye, or by violence cut Asunder all other Knotts,) your *Majesty*, would not touch me, in that which is indissoluble;

That

That is, point of *Duty*: And that your *Majeſty* will pardon, this my un-warranted preſumption, of writing, being to ſuch an end: I ceaſe in all Humbleneſſe;

Your *Majeſties* poor, and never ſo unworthy *Servant*,
Eſſex.

To my Lord of Eſſex.

It may pleaſe your Lordſhip,

THat your *Lordſhip* is, in *Statu quo prius*, no Man taketh greater gladneſſe, than I do; The rather, becauſe I aſſure my ſelf, that of your *Eclipſes*, as this hath been the longeſt, it ſhall be the leaſt; As the *Comicall Poet* ſaith; *Neque illam tu ſatis noveras, neque te illa, hoc ubi ſit, ibi non vivitur.* For if I may be ſo bold, as to ſay what I think: I believe, neither your *Lordſhip* looked to have found her *Majeſty*, in all points, as you have done; Neither her *Majeſty*, per caſe, looked, to find your *Lordſhip*, as ſhe hath done. And therefore, I hope, upon this experience, may grow more perfect Knowledge, and upon Knowledge, more true Conſent; Which I, for my part, do infinitely wiſh, as accounting theſe Accidents to be like the *Fiſh Remora*; which, though it be not great, yet hath it a hidden propriety, to hinder the ſailing of the ſhip. And therefore, as bearing unto your *Lordſhip*, after her *Majeſty*, of all publick perſons, the ſecond Duty, I could not but ſignifie unto you, my affectionate Gratulation. And ſo, I commend your good *Lordſhip*, to the beſt preſervation, of the *Divine Majeſty*.

From *Greyes Inne.*

To my Lord Treaſurer Burghley.

My Lord,

WIth as much confidence, as mine own honeſt, and faithfull Devotion unto your Service, and your honourable Correſpondence unto me, and my poor eſtate, can breed in a Man, doe I commend my ſelf unto your *Lordſhip*. I waxe now ſomewhat ancient; One and thirty yeares, is a great deal of ſand, in the Houre-glaſſe. My Health, I thank *God*, I find confirmed; And I do not fear, that Action ſhall impair it; Becauſe I account, my ordinary courſe of Study, and Meditation, to be more painfull, than moſt parts of Action are. I ever bare a mind, (in ſome middle place, that I could diſcharge,) to ſerve her *Majeſty*; Not as

as a Man, born under *Sol*, that loveth *Honour*; Nor under *Jupiter*, that loveth *Buſineſs*; (For the *Contemplative Planet*, carrieth me away wholly,) but as a Man, born under an Excellent *Soveraign*, that deſerveth the Dedication, of all Mens Abilities. Beſides, I doe not finde, in my ſelf, ſo much Self-love, but that the greater parts, of my Thoughts are, to deſerve well, (if I were able,) of my Frends, and namely of your *Lordſhip*; who being the *Atlas*, of this *Commonwealth*, the *Honour* of my *Houſe*, and the ſecond *Founder* of my poor *Eſtate*, I am tyed, by all duties, both of a good *Patriot*, and of an unworthy *Kinſman*, and of an Obliged *Servant*, to employ whatſoever I am, to doe you Service. Again, the Meanneſs of my Eſtate, doth ſomewhat move me: For though I cannot accuſe my Self, that I am either prodigal, or ſloathfull, yet my Health is not to ſpend, nor my Courſe to get. Laſtly, I confeſſe, that I have, as vaſt *Contemplative Ends*, as I have moderate *Civil* Ends: For I have taken all Knowledge, to be my *Province*; And if I could purge, it of two ſort of Rovers, whereof the one, with frivolous Diſputations, Confutations, and Verboſities; The other, with blind Experiments, and Auricular Traditions, and Impoſtures; hath committed ſo many ſpoils; I hope, I ſhould bring in, Induſtrious Obſervations, grounded Concluſions, and profitable Inventions and Diſcoveries, the beſt State of that *Province*. This, whether it be Curioſity, or Vain-glory, or Nature, or, (if one take it favourably,) *Philanthropia*, is ſo fixed in my minde, as it cannot be removed. And I doe eaſily ſee, that *Place* of any *Reaſonable Countenance*, doth bring commandement, of more *wits*, than of a Mans own; which is the Thing I greatly affect. And for your *Lordſhip*, perhaps you ſhall not finde more Strength, and leſs Encounter, in any other. And if your *Lordſhip*, ſhall finde now, or at any time, that I doe ſeek, or affect, any place, whereunto any that is nearer unto your *Lordſhip*, ſhall be concurrent, ſay then, that I am a moſt diſhoneſt Man. And if your *Loraſhip*, will not carry me on, I will not doe as *Anaxagoras* did, who reduced himſelf, with Contemplation, unto voluntary poverty; But this I will doe, I will ſell the *Inheritance*, that I have, and purchaſe ſome *Leaſe*, of quick Revenew, or ſome *Office* of *Gain*, that ſhall be executed by *Deputy*, and ſo give over, all Care of Service, and become ſome ſorry *Book-maker*, or a true *Pioner*, in that *Mine of Truth*, which (he ſaid,) *Lay ſo deep*. This which I have writ unto your *Lordſhip*, is rather Thoughts, than Words, being ſet down without all Art, Diſguizing, or Reſervation. Wherein I have done honour, both to your *Lordſhips* Wiſdom, in judging, that that will be beſt believed of your *Lordſhip*, which is trueſt; And to your *Lordſhips* good Nature, in retaining nothing from you. And even ſo, I with your *Lordſhip*, all Happineſs, and to my Self, Means and Occaſion, to be added, to my faithfull deſire, to doe you Service. From my Lodging at *Grays Inne*.

To the Lord Treaſurer Burghley.

My ſingular good Lord,

YOur *Lordſhips* comfortable Relation, of her *Majeſties* gracious Opinion, and Meaning towards me, though, at that time, your leiſure gave me not leave, to ſhew how I was affected therewith; yet upon every Repreſentation thereof, it entreth, and ſtriketh, more deeply into me, as both my Nature, and Duty, preſſeth me, to return ſome Speach of Thankfulneſs. It muſt be, an exceeding Comfort, and Encouragement to me; ſetting forth, and putting my Self, in way, towards her *Majeſties* ſervice, to encounter with an Example, ſo private, and domeſtical, of her *Majeſties* gracious Goodneſs, and Benignity; Being made good, and verified, in my *Father*, ſo far forth, as it extendeth, to his *Poſterity*; Accepting them, as commended by his ſervice, during the Nonage, (as I may term it,) of their own Deſerts. I, for my part, am very well content, that I take leaſt part, either of his Abilities of Minde, or of his Wordly Advancement; Both which he held, and received, the one of the Gift of *God* immediately, the other of her *Majeſties* Gift: Yet, in the loyal, and earneſt Affection, which he bare to her *Majeſties* Service, I truſt, my portion ſhall not be with the leaſt, nor in proportion with the youngeſt Birth. For methinks, his Preſident, ſhould be a ſilent charge, upon his Bleſſing, unto us all, in our Degrees, to follow him afar off, and to dedicate unto her *Majeſties* Service, both the uſe, and ſpending, of our Lives. True it is, that I muſt needs acknowledge my ſelf, prepared, and furniſhed thereunto, with nothing, but with a Multitude, of Lacks, & Imperfections; But calling to mind, how diverſely, and in what particular providence, *God* hath declared himſelf, to tender the State, of her *Majeſties* Affairs, I conceive, and gather hope, that thoſe, whom he hath, in a manner, preſt, for her *Majeſties* Service, by working, and imprinting in them, a ſingle, and zealous minde, to beſtow their duties therein; He will ſee them, accordingly appointed, of Sufficiency convenient, for the Rank, and Standing, where they ſhall be employed: So as under this her *Majeſties* Bleſſing, I truſt, to receive, a larger allowance, of *Gods* Graces. And as I may hope for this, ſo I can aſſure, and promiſe, for my Endeavour, that it ſhall not be in fault: But what Diligence, can entitle me unto, that, I doubt not, to recover. And now ſeeing, it hath pleaſed her *Majeſty*, to take knowledge, of this my Mind, and to vouchſafe, to appropriate me, unto her Service, preventing any deſert of mine, with her Princely liberality; Firſt, I am humbly, to beſeech your *Lordſhip*, to preſent to her *Majeſty*, my more than humble Thanks, for the ſame: And withall, having regard, to mine own unworthineſs, to receive ſuch Favour; And to the ſmall poſſibility, in me, to ſatisfie, and anſwer, what her *Majeſty* conceiveth;

ceiveth; I am moved to become, a moſt humble *Suter* to her *Majeſty*, that this Benefit alſo, may be affixed, unto the other: which is; That if there appear in me, no ſuch Towardneſs, of Service, as it may be her *Majeſty*, doth benignly value, and aſſeſs me at; by reaſon of my ſundry wants, and the diſadvantage of my Nature, being unapt to lay forth, the Simple Store, of thoſe inferiour Gifts, which God hath allotted unto me, moſt to view; yet that it would pleaſe her Excellent *Majeſty*, not to account my Thankfulneſs, the leſs, for that my Diſability is great, to ſhew it; But to ſuſtain me, in her *Majeſties* gracious opinion, whereupon I onely reſt, and not upon any expectation of Deſert, to proceed from my Self, towards the Contentment thereof. But if it ſhall pleaſe *God*, to ſend forth an occaſion, whereby my faithfull Affection, may be tryed, I truſt, it ſhall ſave me labour, for ever making, more proteſtation of it hereafter. In the mean time, howſoever it be not made known to her *Majeſty*, yet *God* knoweth it, through the daily ſollicitations, wherewith I addreſs my ſelf unto him, in unfeigned prayer, for the Multiplying, of her *Majeſties* proſperities. To your *Lordſhip* alſo, whoſe Recommendation, I know right well, hath been material, to advance, her *Majeſties* good opinion, of me, I can be but a bounden Servant. So much may I ſafely premiſe, and purpoſe to be, ſeeing publick, and private Bonds, vary not, but that my Service, to her *Majeſty*, and your *Lordſhip*, draw in a Line. I wiſh therefore, to ſhew it, with as good proof, as I can ſay it, in good faith, &c.

Your *Lordſhips*, &c.

To Sir Robert Cecil.

It may pleaſe your good Honour;

I Am apt enough, to contemn *Mendacia Famæ*; yet it is with this Diſtinction; As *Fame* walks among Inferiours, and not as it hath Entrance into ſome Ears. And yet, nevertheleſs, in that kinde alſo, I intend to avoid a ſuſpicious ſilence, but not to make any baſe *Apology*. It is blown about the Town, that I ſhould give opinion, touching my Lord of *Eſſex* Cauſe; Firſt, that it was a *Præmunire*; And now laſt, that it reached to *High Treaſon*. And this Opinion, ſhould be given, in oppoſition, to the Opinion, of the *Lord Chief Juſtice*, and of Mr. *Attorney General*. *Sir*, I thank *God*, what ſoever Opinion, my Head ſerveth me to deliver, to her *Majeſty*, being asked, My Heart ſerveth me to maintain, the ſame honeſt Duty, directing me, and aſſiſting me. But the utter untruth of this Report, *God*, and the *Queen* can witneſs; And the Improbability of it, every Man that hath Wit, more or leſſe, can conceive. The Root of this, I diſcern to be, not ſo much, a light, and

and humorous Envy, at my Acceſſes to her *Majeſty*; (which of her *Majeſties* grace, being begun in my firſt years, I would be ſorry ſhe ſhould eſtraunge in my laſt years; (For ſo I account them, reckoning by *Health*, not by *Age*;) As a deep Malice, to your Honourable Self; upon whom, by me, through nearneſs, they think, to make ſome Aſperſion. But as I know no Remedy, againſt Libels, and Lies; So I hope, it ſhall make, no manner of Diſſeverance, of your *Honourable* good Conceits, and Affection towards me; which is the Thing I confeſſe to fear. For as for any violence, to be offered to me, wherewith my Friends tell me, to no ſmall terrour, that I am threatned; I thank *God*, I have the privy Coat, of a good Conſcience; And have, a good while ſince, put off any fearfull care of Life, or the Accidents of Life. So deſiring to be preſerved, in your good Opinion, I remain.

To the Queen.

It may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

I Preſume, according to the Ceremony, and good manner of the Time, and my accuſtomed Duty, in all Humbleneſſe, to preſent your *Majeſty*, with a ſimple Gift; Almoſt as farre from anſwering my Mind, as ſorting with your Greatneſſe; And therewith wiſh, that we may continue to reckon on, and ever, your *Majeſties* happy yeares of *Reign*: And they that reckon upon any other Hopes, I would they mought reckon ſhort, and to their Coſt. And ſo craving pardon, moſt humbly, I commend your *Majeſty*, to the preſervation, of the *Divine Goodneſſe*.

To the Queen.

It may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

I Moſt humbly entreat your *Majeſty*, not to impute my abſence, to any weakneſſe of mind, or unworthineſſe. But I aſſure your *Majeſty*, I do find Envy beating ſo ſtrongly upon me, ſtanding as I do, (if this be to ſtand,) as it were not Strength of Mind, but Stupidity, if I ſhould not decline the Occaſions; Except I could doe your *Majeſty* more Service, than I can, any wayes diſcern, that I am able to doe. My Courſe towards your *Majeſty*, (*God* is my witneſſe,) hath been pure, and unleavened: And never poor *Gentleman*, (as I am perſwaded,) had a deeper, and truer deſire, and care of your glory, your ſafety, your Repoſe of Mind, your ſervice: VVherein, if I have exceeded, my outward vocation, I moſt hum-

humbly crave your *Majesties* pardon, for my presumption. On the other side, if I have come short, of my inward vocation, I most humbly crave *Gods* pardon, for *quenching the Spirit*. But in this mind, I find such solitude, and want of comfort; which I judge to be, because I take Duty too exactly, and not according to the Dreggs, of this Age; wherein the old *Antheme*, mought never be more truly sung; *Totus mundus in maligno positus est*. My Life hath been threatned, and my Name libelled, which I count an Honor. But these are the practices of those, whose despairs are dangerous; But yet not so dangerous as their Hopes: Or else the Devices of some, that would put out, all your *Majesties* lights, and fall on reckoning, how many years you have reigned; which I beseech our *blessed Saviour* may be doubled; And that I may never live, to see, any Eclipse of your glory, Interruption of safety, or Indisposition of your *person*; which I commend to the *Divine Majesty*, who keep you, and fortifie you.

To my Lord Hen. Howard.

My Lord,

THere be very few besides your self, to whom I would perform this Respect. For I contemn *Mendacia Famæ*, as it walkes among Inferiours; Though I neglect it not, as it may have entrance, into some Eare. For your *Lordships* Love, rooted upon good opinion, I esteem it highly, because I have tasted of the Fruits of it; And we both have tasted, of the best waters, in my accompt, to knit minds together. There is shaped a Tale, in *Londons* Forge, that beateth apace at this time; That I should deliver opinion, to the *Queen*, in my *Lord of Essex* cause. First, that it was *premunire*; And now last, that it was *High Treason*; And this opinion, to be in opposition, and Encounter, of the *Lord chief Justices* Opinion, and the *Atturney Generalls*. My *Lord*, (I thank *God*) my wit serveth me not, to deliver any Opinion, to the *Qeen* which my Stomach, serveth me not, to maintain: One, and the same, Conscience of Duty, guiding me, and fortifying me. But the untruth of this *Fable*, *God*, and my *Soveraign*, can witnesse; And there I leave it: Knowing no more Remedy against *lies*, than others doe against *libells*. The Root, no question of it, is; partly, some light-headed Envy, at my Accesses to her *Majesty*; Which being begun, and continued, since my childhood, as long as her *Majesty*, shall think me worthy of them, I scorn those, that shall think the contrary. And another Reason is, the Aspersion of this Tale; And the Envy thereof, upon some greater Man, in regard of my Nearnesse. And therefore, (my *Lord*) I pray you, answer for me, to any person, that you think worthy, your own Reply, and my defence.

ſence. For my *Lord of Eſſex*, I am not ſervile to him, having regard to my ſuperiours Duty. I have been much bound unto him. And on the other ſide, I have ſpent more time, and more thoughts, about his well-doing, than I ever did about mine own. I pray *God*, you his Friends, amongſt you, be in the right. *Nulla Remedia, tam faciunt dolorem, quam quæ ſunt ſalutaria.* For my part, I have deſerved better, than to have my Name, objected to Envy, or my Life, to a Ruffians violence. But I have the privy Coat, of a good Conſcience. I am ſure, theſe Courſes, and Bruits, hurt my *Lord* more than all. So having written to your *Lordſhip*, I deſire exceedingly, to be preferred, in your good Opinion, and Love. And ſo leave you, to *Gods* Goodneſſe.

The Earl *of* Eſſex Letter, *to the* Council, *at his Embarquing for* Spain. *June* 1596.

My very good Lords;

HAving taken order, for all things, that belong to our *Land-Forces*; And ſtaying onely, till the *Shipps* be ready, to take in our *Souldiers*, I am come aboard, as well to draw other Men, by my example, to leave the ſhore; As to have time, and leaſure, to ask account of my ſelf, what other duty I have to do, beſides the Governing of thoſe *Troups*; And the uſing of them to good purpoſe. In which Meditation, as I firſt ſtudy, to pleaſe my moſt gracious *Soveraign*, as well as to ſerve her; So my next care is, to leave your *Lordſhips* well ſatisfied, of my paſſed Carriage, ſince I was nominated to this Service; And apt, to make favourable Conſtruction, of what I ſhall do hereafter.

In my paſt Carriage, I will neither plead Merit, nor Excuſe Imperfections: For whatſoever, I ſhall be able to do, I know, is leſſe than I owe; And beſides, my Faults, my very Faith, and Zeal, (which are the beſt things in me,) do make me commit Errours. But I would fain, approve the Matter it ſelf, of undertaking this ſervice, to have been good, howſoever my former have been erroneous; Or at leaſt, my Intent, and Ends, unblameable, though my Judgement were faulty. Your *Lordſhips* know, it hath been the Wiſedome of all Times, rather to attempt, and do ſomething, in another Countrey, than to attend an Enemy, and be in danger much, in our own. And if this Rule, among the *Ancients*, was generally held true, it might be better allowed of us, in particular caſes, where a State, little in Territory, not extraordinarily rich, and defended onely with it ſelf, ſhall have to doe, with another State, that hath *Many*, and *ample Dominions*, the *Treaſure* of the *Indies*, and all the *Mercenaries*, of *Chriſtendome*, to ſerve it. For we have, as the *Atheni-*

ans had, with the auncient uſurping *Philip*; *Prælium Facile, Bellum Difficile.* Therefore, it is our Diſadvantage, to draw the Warr into Length. And if any Man, in this *Kingdom*, ſhould be allowed, to perſwade to prevention, he might be one, that ſaw the *Spaniard* at home, apprehend an Invaſion, with greater Terrour, than he makes it abroad: And that was a Witneſs, how an Handfull of Men, neither armed, victualled, nor ordered, as they ſhould be, landed, marched, and had done what they liſted, if either the *Ships* had come up, or they had had any proviſions, to make a Hole in a Wall, or to break open a Gate. But though the Counſel be good for ſome *States*, and for ours, at ſome times, yet the Opportunities ought to be watched, and it muſt appear, that this it is, which is now taken. The Opportunity, for ſuch Service, I take to be, when either the Enemy, May receive the moſt hurt; Or when he is likelieſt, to attempt againſt us, if he be not empeached. The Hurt, that our Eſtate ſhould ſeek, to doe him, is; To intercept his Treaſure, whereby we ſhall cut his Sinnews, and make Warr upon him, with his own Money; And to beat, or at leaſt diſcontinew him, from the Sea, whereby her *Majeſty* ſhall be, both ſecured from his Invaſions, and become *Maſtris* of the Sea; which is the Greatneſs, that the *Queen* of an *Iſland*, ſhould moſt aſpire unto. In matter of Profit, we may, this Journey, moſt hurt him, and benefit our Selves; Since he hath, (as is agreed on by all Men,) more *Caracks*, to come home now, than ever any year before. Beſides many good Advantages, which will be offered, if we command the Coaſt. And to give him a Blow, and diſcountenance him by Sea, now is the Time, when he hath declared his Ambition, to command the Seas; And yet, ſo divided his *Fleets*; Some appointed to be ſet out, and yet ſcant in readineſs; others upon point of Comming home, and not fit to defend themſelves, if either they be met at Sea, or found in Harbour; And all ſo diſperſed, in ſeveral places, as if at any time, we might doe good, that way, it is now. And whether he will make Warr upon us, if we let him alone; Let his Sollicitations, Offers, and Gifts to the *Rebells* of *Ireland*; His beſieging, and winning of *Calais*, and thoſe parts of *France*, that front upon us; And his ſtrengthening himſelf by Sea, by ſo many means; Let theſe things (I ſay,) tell us. So as, if we will, at any time, allow the Counſel of prevention, to be reaſonable, we muſt now confeſs it, to be opportune. But whatſoever the Counſel were, I am not to be charged with it, For as I was not the Contriver, nor Offerer, of the Project, ſo if I had refuſed to joyn with him, that did invite me to it, I ſhould have been thought, both Incompatible, and Backward, in her *Majeſties* Service. I ſay not this, for that I think the Action ſuch, as it were Diſadvantage, to be thought the Projector of it; But I ſay, and ſay truly, that my *Lord Admiral* deviſed it, preſented it to her *Majeſty*, and had as well the Approbation

probation of her *Majeſty*, and the Aſſent of ſuch of your *Lordſhips*, as were acquainted with it, as my Promiſe to goe with him. One thing, (I confeſs,) I above all Men, am to be charged withall: That is; That when her *Majeſties*, the Cities of *London*, and the States of the *Low-Countries* charge was paſt, the Men levied, and marching, to the *Rendez-vous*; I could not ſee, how with her *Majeſties* Honour, and Safety, the Journey might be broken. Wherein, although I ſhould be carried with paſſion, yet I pray your *Lordſhips* conſider, who, almoſt, that had been in my Caſe, named to ſuch an Action, voiced throughout *Chriſtendom*, and engaged in it, as much as I was worth; And being the Inſtrument, of drawing, more voluntary Men, of their own charge, than ever was ſeen theſe many years: Who (I ſay,) would not have been ſo affected? But farr be it from me, in an *Action*, of this importance, to weigh my Self, or my particular Fortunes. I muſt beſeech your *Lordſhips*, to remember, that I was, from time to time, warranted, by all your opinions, delivered both amongſt your ſelves, and to her *Majeſty*: Which tieth you all, to allow the Counſel. And that being graunted, your *Lordſhips*, will call that Zeal, which maketh a Man conſtant, in a good Counſel, that would be Paſſion, in an evil, or a doubtfull. I confeſs, her *Majeſty*, offered us Recompence, for all our charges and loſſes. But, (my *Lords*,) I pray your *Lordſhips* conſider, how many Things, I ſhould have ſold, at once, for money. I will leave mine own reputation as too ſmall a Matter to be mentioned. But I ſhould have ſold; The Honour of her *Majeſty*; The ſafety of the *State*; The Contentment of her *Confederates*; The Fortune and Hope, of many my poor *Countrey-Men*; And The Poſſibility, of giving a *Blow*, to that *Enemy*, that ought ever to be hatefull, to all true *Engliſh Hearts*. I ſhould have ſold all this, for private profit. Therefore, though I ask pardon of her *Majeſty*, and pray your *Lordſhips*, to mediate it for me, that I was carried by this Zeal ſo faſt, that I forgat thoſe Reverend Forms, which I ſhould have uſed; yet I had rather, have my *Heart*, out of my Body, than this Zeal, out of my *Heart*. And now, as I have laid before your *Lordſhips*, my paſt carriage, and entring into this *Action*; So I beſeech your *Lordſhips*, give me leave, to prepare you, to a favourable Conſtruction, of that, which I ſhall doe hereafter. In which Sute, I am reſolved, neither to plead the Hazarding of Life, nor ſpending of my Subſtance, in a Publick Service; To the end, that I might find your *Lordſhips*, (who are *publick perſons*,) more favourable *Judges*: But will confeſs, that I receive, ſo much Favour, and Honour, by this Truſt, and Employment, as when I have done all I can, I ſhall ſtill be behind hand. This Sute only I make, that your *Lordſhips*, will neither have too great an Expectation, of our Actions, nor too little; Leſt all we doe, ſeem either Nothing, or to be done by Chance. I know, we muſt be tyed, to doe no more, than ſhall be

for her *Majeſties* Service, nor no leſs. In which ſtrait way, though it be hard for ſo weak a Man as my Self, to walk upright; yet the Example, of our raw Souldiers, may comfort, an unſufficient *General*. For they, till they grow perfect, in all their Orders, and Motions, are ſo afraid to be out, and with ſuch a continual heedfulneſs, obſerve, both themſelves, and thoſe that are near them, that they doe keep, almoſt, as good order, at the firſt, as ever after. I am ſure, I am as diſtruſtfull of my Self, as they. And becauſe I have more Senſe of Duty, I ſhall be more Induſtrious. For *Sea Service*, the Judgement of my *Honourable Companion*, ſhall be my Compaſs. And for *Land*, his Aſſent, and the Advice of thoſe her *Majeſty* hath named, as *Counſellors* at Warr, ſhall be my Warranties. It will be Honour to her *Majeſty*, and a great Aſſurance to her State, if we either bring home wealth, or give the *King* of *Spain*, a blow by Sea. But to have made a continual Diverſion, and to have left, as it were, a Thorn, ſticking in his Foot, had been a Work worthy, of ſuch a *Queen*, and of ſuch a *Preparation*. For then, her *Majeſty*, ſhould have heard no more, of his Intentions for *Ireland*, and Attempts upon the *Coaſt* of *France*; Or his drawing, of *Ships*, or *Galley's*, into theſe *Narrow Seas*; But ſhould at once, have delivered all *Chriſtendom*, from his fearfull *uſurpation*. Wherein, as She had been great in *Fame*, for ſuch a general preſervation; So ſhe had been as great in *Power*, in making, all the Enemies of *Spain*, in *Chriſtendom*, to depend upon Her. She ſhould be *Head* of the Party; She onely might be ſaid, to make the *Warrs* with *Spain*, becauſe ſhe made them to purpoſe; And they all, but as her Aſſiſtants, and Dependants. And laſtly, as the End of the *Warrs* is *Peace*; So ſhe might have had *Peace*, when ſhe would, and with what Conditions ſhe would, and have included, or left out, whom ſhe would. For ſhe only, by this courſe, ſhould force him, to wiſh for Peace, and ſhe had the means in her hands, to make the Conditions. And as eaſie it had been, to have done this, as to have performed leſſer Services. The Objections againſt this, will be, *Hazard*, and *Charge*. *Hazard*, to hold any Thing of his, that is ſo Mighty a *King*: And *Charge*, to ſend ſuch Supplies, from time to time, as will be needfull. For *Hazard*, It is not the *Hazard*, of the *State*, or the *Whole*, as are the *Hazards*, of a *Defenſive Warr*, whenſoever we are enforced to fight: But it is onely, a *Hazard* of ſome few, and ſuch *Commanders*, as ſhall be ſet out, for ſuch a Service. And thoſe alſo, that ſhall be ſo *hazarded*, ſhall be in leſſe danger, than if they were put, into any Frontire Places, of *Fraunce*, or of the *Low-Countries*. For they ſhould not be left, in any part of the *Main*, or *Continent* of *Spain*, or *Portugall*, where the Enemy might bring an Army, to attempt them; (Though I doubt not, but after he had once tried, what it were, to beſiege two or three thouſand *Engliſh*, in a place, well fortified, and where they had a *Port* open, he would grow quickly

quickly weary, of thoſe Attempts;) But they ſhould be ſo lodged, as the Seat, and Strength, of the place, ſhould warrant their Safety; So that, to pull her *Majeſties* Men, out of it, ſhould be a harder Task, than to conquer any Countrey, that ſtands on firm land, by him: And to let *Engliſh* quietly poſſeſſe it, ſhould ſo much prejudice him, as he were not able to endure it. And for *Charge*, there need not ſo much be expended, but that it might eaſily be born. And the Place, being well choſen, and the *Warr* well conducted, in a ſhort time, there would not onely ariſe enough, to pay the *Charge*; But great Profit to her *Majeſty*, and wealth to our *Countrey*, would grow, from the *place*, that ſhould be held. For in a ſhort time, a great part, of the *Golden Indian Stream*, might be turned, from *Spain*, to *England*; And her *Majeſty* be made, to give Law, to all the *World* by Sea, without her *Charge*. Beſides, this fearfull Enemy, which is now a Terrour, to all *Chriſtendome*, ſhould be ſo weakened, in Strength, Reputation, and Purſe, as her *Majeſty* ſhould, for ever after, have an eaſie Enemy of him. It may be your *Lordſhips* will deſire to know the *Place*, that ſhould be attempted; The *Meanes*, firſt to take it, then to hold it; The *Commodity*, or *Advantage*, that might grow, to this *Eſtate* by it. But that, with your *Lordſhips* leave, ſhall be reſerved till my Next. This is onely to beſeech you, for our dear *Sovereigns* ſake, for the Glory, and Wellfare, of Her, and her Eſtate, that you will think upon this generall Propoſition. And if your *Lordſhips* find it reaſonable, that you will move it to the *Queen*: By whom if I be commanded, to ſet down the *Hypotheſis*, or to deſcend unto particulars, I will offer my *Project*, with this Condition, that if I adviſe any Thing, that the *Counſell* of *warr*, ſhall think dangerous, it may be rejected: Or if my ſelf be Actour in any Thing, belonging to this Project, wherein her *Majeſty* receives diſhonour, that I may anſwer it, with my Life. And yet your *Lordſhips* know, I am matched with thoſe, in whom I have no particular Intereſt: But I muſt attribute, their Aſſenting to me, to my good happ, to take the better part. In my *Lord*, with whom I am joyned, I find ſo much Honour, and Service, as I doubt not, but our Unity in Affection, will make an Unity in Counſell, Action, and Government. I have troubled your *Lordſhips*, with a tedious *Letter*, begun in a Day of Leaſure, and finiſhed in the midſt, of our troubleſome Buſineſſe. I pray your *Lordſhips*, pardon the Errours in it; And keep ſo honourable an Opinion of me, as I be not condemned by you, upon any Complaints, Advertiſements, or Reports, till I have given anſwer to them. For as the Nature of my Place, is ſubject to Envy, and Detraction; So a little Body, full of ſharp Humours, is hardlieſt kept in Temper. And all the diſcontented *Humours*, of an Army, do make their greateſt Quarrell, to him that commands the *Army*; Not ſo much for his Faults, as for becauſe he bridles theirs. And ſo commend-

mending your good *Lordſhips*, to *Gods* Divine protection, I reſt;

At your *Lordſhips* commandment,
Robert Eſſex.

To my Lord *of* Eſſex, *from Mr.* Bacon.

My ſingular good Lord;

I Will no longer, diſſever part of that, which I meant to have ſaid, to your *Lordſhip*, at *Barnhelmes*, from the *Exordium*, which I then made. Whereunto I will onely adde this; That I humbly deſire your *Lordſhip*, before you give acceſſe, to my poor Advice, to look about, even jealouſly a little, if you will, and to conſider: Firſt, whether I have not reaſon to think, that your *Fortune* comprehendeth mine: Next, whether I ſhift my *Counſell*, and doe not *conſtare mihi*; For I am perſwaded, there are ſome, would give you the ſame Counſell now, which I ſhall, but that they ſhould derogate from that, which they have ſaid heretofore: Thirdly, whether you have taken hurt, at any time, by my carefull and Devoted Counſell: For although, I remember well, your *Lordſhip* once told me, that you having ſubmitted, upon my well-meant Motion, at *Nonſuch*, (the place, where you renewed a *Treaty*, with her *Majeſty*, of obſequious kindneſſe,) ſhe had taken advantage of it; yet I ſuppoſe, you do ſiuce believe, that it did much attemper a cold Malignant Humour, then growing upon her *Majeſty*, toward your *Lordſhip*, and hath done you good in conſequence. And for my being againſt it, now lately, that you ſhould not *eſtrange* your ſelf, although I give place to none, in true Gratulation; Yet neither do I repent me of ſafe Counſell; Neither do I judge of the whole *Play*, by the Firſt *Act*. But whether I counſell you the beſt, or for the beſt, Duty bindeth me, to offer to you, my wiſhes. I ſaid to your *Lordſhip*, laſt time; *Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum ſufficit. Winne the Queen*; If this be not the Beginning, of any other Courſe, I ſee no end. And I will not now ſpeak, of Favour of Affection, but of other Correſpondence, and Agreeableneſſe: which, whenſoever it ſhall be conjoyned, with the other of Affection, I durſt wager my life, (let them make what *Proſopopæas* they will, of her *Majeſties* Nature;) That in you, ſhe will come to the *Queſtion* of; *Quid fiet Homini, quem Rex vult honorare?* But how is it now? A Man, of a Nature, not to be ruled; That hath the Advantage, of my Affection, and knoweth it; Of an Eſtate, not grounded to his Greatneſſe; Of a popular Reputation; Of a Military Dependance: I demand, whether there can be a more dangerous Image, than this, repreſented to any *Monarch* living; Much more to a *Lady*, and of her *Majeſties* Apprehenſion? And

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is it not more evident, than Demonſtration it ſelf, that whileſt this Impreſſion continueth, in her *Majeſties* Breaſt, you can finde, no other Condition, than Inventions, to keep your Eſtate, bare, and low; Croſſing, and Diſgracing your Actions; Extenuating, and Blaſting of your Merit; Carping with Contempt, at your Nature, and Faſhions; Breeding, nouriſhing, and fortifying, ſuch Inſtruments, as are moſt Factious againſt you; Repulſes, and Scorns, of your Friends, and Dependants, that are true, and ſtedfaſt; winning, and inveigling away from you, ſuch as are Flexible, and wavering; Thruſting you into odious Employments, and Offices, to ſupplant your Reputation; Abuſing you, and Feeding you, with Dalliances, and Demonſtrations, to divert you, from Deſcending, into the ſerious Conſideration, of your own Caſe; yea, and percaſe Ventring you, in perillous, and deſperate, Enterpriſes. Herein, it may pleaſe your *Lordſhip*, to underſtand me; For I mean nothing leſs, than that theſe Things, ſhould be plotted, and intended, as in her *Majeſties Royal* Minde towards you; I know the Excellency, of her *Nature*, too well. But I ſay, whereſoever the formerly deſcribed Impreſſion, is taken, in any *Kings* Breaſt, towards a *Subject*, theſe other recited Inconveniences, muſt of neceſſity, of politick conſequence, follow; In reſpect, of ſuch *Inſtruments*, as are never failing, about *Princes*; which ſpy into their Humours, and Conceits, and ſecond them; And not only ſecond them, but in ſeconding encreaſe them; Yea and, many times, without their knowledge, purſue them, further than Themſelves would. Your *Lordſhip*, will ask the *Queſtion*, wherewith the *Athenians*, were wont to interrupt their *Orators*, when they exaggerated their dangers; *Quid igitur agendum eſt?*

I will tell your *Lordſhip*, *Quæ mihi nunc in mentem veniunt*; Suppoſing, nevertheleſs, that your Self, out of your own Wiſdom, upon the caſe, with this Plainneſs, and Liberty, repreſented to you, will finde out, better Expedients, and Remedies. I wiſh a Cure applied, to every, of the five former *Impreſſions*, which I will take, not in order, but as I think, they are of weight.

For the removing the *Impreſſion*, of your *Nature*, to be *Opiniaſtre*, and not *Rulable*; Firſt, and above all things, I wiſh, that all Matters paſt, which cannot be revoked, your *Lordſhip* would turn altogether, upon Inſatisfaction, and not upon your *Nature*, or proper *Diſpoſition*. This String you cannot, upon every apt occaſion, harp upon too much. Next, whereas I have noted you, to fly, and avoid, (in ſome reſpect juſtly,) the Reſemblance, or Imitation, of my Lord of *Leiceſter*, and my *Lord Chanceller Hatton*; yet I am perſwaded, (howſoever I wiſh your *Lordſhip*, as diſtant, as you are, from them, in Points of *Favour*, *Integrity*, *Magnanimity*, and *Merit*;) That it will doe you much good, between the *Queen*, and you, to allege them, (as oft as you finde occaſion,) for Authours, and Patterns. For I doe not know, a readier mean, to make

make her *Majeſty* think, you are in your right way. Thirdly, when at any time, your *Lordſhip*, upon occaſion, happen in Speeches, to doe her *Majeſty* right, (for there is no ſuch Matter, as Flattery, amongſt you all,) I fear, you handle it, *Magis in ſpeciem adornatis verbis, quam ut ſentire videaris.* So that a Man, may read Formality, in your Countenance; Whereas your *Lordſhip* ſhould doe it, familiarly, *Et oratione fidâ.* Fourthly, your *Lordſhip*, ſhould never be, without ſome Particulars afoot, which you ſhould ſeem to purſue, with Earneſtneſs, and Affection; And then let them fall, upon taking Knowledge, of her *Majeſties* Oppoſition, and Diſlike. Of which, the weightieſt Sort may be, if your *Lordſhip* offer to labour, in the behalf of ſome, that you favour, for ſome of the Places, now voyd; Chuſing ſuch a Subject, as you think her *Majeſty*, is like to oppoſe unto: And if you will ſay, that this is, *Conjunctum cum alienâ Injuriâ*; I will not anſwer; *Hæc non aliter conſtabunt*; But I ſay; Commendation from ſo good a Mouth, doth not hurt a Man, though you prevail not. A leſs weighty Sort of Particulars, may be, the Pretence of ſome *Journeys*, which, at her *Majeſties* requeſt, your *Lordſhip* mought relinquiſh; As if you would pretend a *Journey*, to ſee your *Living*, and *Eſtate*, towards *Wales*, or the like: For as for great Forein *Journeys*, of Employment, and Service, it ſtandeth not with your Gravity, to play, or Stratageme, with them. And the lighteſt ſort of particulars, which yet are not to be neglected, are, in your *Habits*, *Apparel*, *Wearings*, *Geſtures*, and the like.

The *Impreſſion*, of greateſt prejudice, next, is that, of a *Militar Dependance*. VVherein, I cannot ſufficiently wonder, at your *Lordſhips* courſe; That you ſay, the *Warrs* are your *Occupation*; And goe on, in that courſe: Whereas, if I mought have adviſed your *Lordſhip*, you ſhould have left that *Perſon*, at *Plimmouth*; More than, when in *Counſell*, or in commending fit perſons, for ſervice for *Warrs*, it had been in ſeaſon. And here, (my *Lord*,) I pray miſtake me not. I am not to play now, the Part of a *Gownman*, that would frame you beſt, to mine own turn. I know what I owe you. I am infinitely glad of this laſt *Journey*, now it is paſt: The rather, becauſe you may make, ſo Honourable a full Point, for a time. You have Property good enough, in that Greatneſs. There is none can, of many years, aſcend, near you, in competition. Beſides, the Diſpoſing of the Places, and Affairs, both, concerning the *Warrs*, (you encreaſing in other Greatneſs,) will, of themſelves, flow to you; which will preſerve that *Dependance*, in full meaſure. It is a Thing, that of all Things, I would have you retain, the Times conſidered: And the Neceſſity of the Service, for other reaſon, I know none. But I ſay; Keep it in Subſtance, but aboliſh it in ſhewes, to the *Queen*. For her *Majeſty* loveth *Peace*. Next ſhe loveth not *Charge*. Thirdly, that kinde of *Dependance*, maketh a Suſpected *Greatneſs*. Therefore,

Quod

Quod inſtat agamus. Let that be a ſleeping Honour a while; And cure the *Queens* mind in that point. Therefore again, whereas I heard your *Lordſhip* deſigning to your ſelf, the *Earl Marſhals* place, or the place of *Maſter* of the *Ordnance*, I did not; in my mind, ſo well like of either; Becauſe of their Affinity, with a *Martiall Greatneſſe*. But of the *Places*, now void, in my Judgement, and diſcretion, I would name you, to the place, of *Lord Privy Seal*. For firſt, it is the Third Perſon, of the great *Officers*, of the *Crown*. Next, it hath a kind, of Super-Intendence, over the *Secretary*. It hath alſo an Affinity, with the *Court* of *Wards*, in regard of the *Fees*, from the *Liveries*. And it is a fine Honour, quiet place, and worth a Thouſand pounds by year. And my *Lord Admiral's Father*, had it, who was a *Martiall* Man. And it fits a Favourite, to carry her *Majeſties Image* in *Seal*, who beareth it beſt expreſſed in *Heart*. But my chief Reaſon is, that which I firſt alleged, to divert her *Majeſty*, from this *Impreſsion*, of a *Martiall Greatneſſe*. In concurrence whereof, If your *Lordſhip*, ſhall not remit any thing of your former diligence, at the *Starr-chamber*; If you ſhall continue, ſuch Intelligences, as are worth the cheriſhing; If you ſhall pretend, to be as *Bookiſh*, and *Contemplative*, as ever you were; All theſe Courſes, have both their Advantages, and uſes in themſelves otherwiſe, and ſerve exceeding aptly to this purpoſe. Whereunto, I add one Expedient more, ſtronger than all the reſt; And for mine own confident Opinion, void of any prejudice, or danger of Diminution, of your *Greatneſſe*; And that is, the Bringing in, of ſome *Martiall* Man, to be of the *Councill*; Dealing directly with her *Majeſty* in it, as for her Service, and your better aſſiſtance; Chuſing nevertheleſſe ſome Perſon, that may be known, not to come in againſt you, by any former Diviſion. I judge the fitteſt, to be, my *Lord Mount-joy*, or my Lord *Willoughby*. And if your *Lordſhip*, ſee deeplier into it, than I do, that you would not have it done, in effect; Yet in my Opinion, you may ſerve your turn, by the pretence of it, and ſtay it nevertheleſſe.

The Third *Impreſsion* is, of a *Popular Reputation*; which, becauſe it is a Thing, good in it ſelf, being obtained as your *Lordſhip* obtaineth it, that is, *Bonis artibus*; And beſides, Well governed, is one of the beſt Flowers, of your *Greatneſſe*, both preſent, and to come; It would be handled tenderly. The onely way is, to quench it *Verbis*, and not *Rebus*. And therefore to take all Occaſions, to the *Queen*, to ſpeak againſt *Popularity*, and *Popular Courſes*, vehemently; And to taxe it in all others: But, nevertheleſſe, to go on, in your Honourable *Common-wealth Courſes*, as you do. And therefore, I will not adviſe you, to cure this, by dealing in *Monopolies*, or any *Oppreſſions*. Onely, if in *Parliament*, your *Lordſhip* be forward for *Treaſure*, in reſpect of the *Warrs*, it becommeth your *Perſon* well. And if her *Majeſty* object *Popularity* to you at any time, I would ſay to her; A *Parliament* will ſhew that; And ſo feed her with Expectation.

The Fourth *Impreſsion*, of the Inequality, between your *Eſtate* of *Meanes*, and your *Greatneſſe* of *Reſpects*, is not to be neglected. For believe it, (my *Lord*,) that till her *Majeſty* find you, carefull of your *Eſtate*, ſhe will not onely think you, more like to continue, chargeable to her, but alſo have a Conceit, that you have higher Imaginations. The *Remedies* are; Firſt, to profeſſe it, in all ſpeeches to her. Next, in ſuch Sutes, wherein both Honour, Gift, and Profit, may be taken, to communicate freely with her *Majeſty*, by way of enducing her, to grant, that it will be this Benefit to you. Laſtly, to be plain with your *Lordſhip*; (For the *Gentlemen* are ſuch, as I am beholding to;) Nothing can make the *Queen*, or the *World*, think ſo much, that you are come, to a provident Care, of your Eſtate, as the Altering of ſome of your *Officers*: Who, though they be as true to you, as One Hand to the Other; Yet *Opinio Veritate major*. But if, in reſpect of the *Bonds*, they may be entred into, for your *Lordſhip*, you cannot ſo well diſmiſſe your ſelf of them, this cannot be done, but with *Time*.

For the *Fifth*, and Laſt, which is, of the Advantage of a *Favourite*: As ſevered from the reſt, it cannot hurt; So joyned with them, it maketh her *Majeſty*, more fearfull, and ſhadowy, as not knowing her own ſtrength. The onely Remedy to this, is; To give way, to ſome other *Favourite*, as in particular you ſhall find, her *Majeſty* enclined; So as the Subject hath no ill, nor dangerous Aſpect, towards your ſelf. For otherwiſe, whoſoever ſhall tell me, that you may not have ſingular uſe, of a *Favourite*, at your Devotion; I will ſay, he underſtandeth not the *Queens Affection*, nor your *Lordſhips Condition*. And ſo I reſt.

October 4. 1596.

To Sir Robert Cecil.

SIR,

I Forbear not to put in Paper, as much as I thought, to have ſpoken to your *Honour*, too day, if I could have ſtayed; Knowing, that if your Honour, ſhould make other uſe of it, than is due to good meaning; And then I am perſwaded you will; Yet to perſons of Judgement, and that know me otherwiſe, it will rather appear, (as it is,) a preciſe Honeſty, and this ſame, *Suum cuique tribuere*, than any Hollowneſſe to any. It is my luck ſtill, to be a kinn to ſuch Things, as I neither like in nature; nor wo[illegible] willingly meet with, im my Courſe; But yet cannot avoid; without ſhew of baſe Timorouſneſſe, or elſe of unkind, or ſuſpicious ſtrangeneſſe.

Some *Hiatus* in the Copy.

And

And I am of one Spirit ſtill. I ever liked the *Galeniſts*, that deal with good Compoſitions; And not the *Paracelſians*, that deal with theſe fine *Separations* : And in *Muſick*, I ever loved eaſie Ayers, that goe full, all the parts together; And not theſe ſtrange points, of Accord, and Diſcord. This I write not, I aſſure your *Honour*, officiouſly; Except it be, according to *Tullies Offices*; that is, *Honeſtly*, and *Morally*. For though, I thank *God*, I account upon the proceeding, in the *Queens* Service, or not proceeding, both ways; And therefore, neither mean to fawn, nor retire; yet I naturally deſire good opinion, with any Perſon, which for Fortune, or Spirit, is to be regarded; Much more with a *Secretary* of the *Queens*, and a *Couſin Germain*; And one, with whom, I have ever thought my Self, to have ſome ſympathy, of Nature, though Accidents have not ſuffered it to appear. Thus not doubting of your *Honourable* Interpretation, and uſage, of that I have written, I commend you, to the Divine preſervation. From *Grayes Inn*.

To my Lord *of* Eſſex.

It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,

I Pray *God*, her *Majeſties* weighing, be not like the weight, of a Ballance; *Gravia deorſum, Levia ſurſum*. But I am as far, from being altered, in Devotion towards Her, as I am from Diſtruſt, that ſhe will be altered, in opinion towards me, when ſhe knoweth me better. For my Self, I have loſt ſome *Opinion*, ſome *Time*, and ſome *Means*; This is my Account : But then, for *Opinion*, it is a Blaſt, that goeth, and commeth; For *Time*, it is true, it goeth, and commeth not; But yet I have learned, that it may be redeemed.

For *Means*, *I value that moſt*; And the rather, becauſe I am purpoſed, not to follow, the *Practice* of the *Law*: (If her *Majeſtie* command me, in any particular, I ſhall be ready, to do her, willing Service;) And my Reaſon is onely, becauſe it drinketh too much Time, which I have dedicated to better purpoſes. But even, for that point of *Eſtate*, and *Means*, I partly lean, to *Thales* Opinion; *That a Philoſopher may be rich, if he will*. Thus your *Lordſhip* ſeeth, how I comfort my Self : To the Encreaſe whereof, I would fain pleaſe my Self, to beleeve that to be true, which my Lord *Treaſurer* writeth; Which is, that it is more, than a *Philoſopher*, morally can diſgeſt. But without any ſuch high Conceit, I eſteem it, like the pulling out, of an Aking Tooth, which I remember, when I was a Child, and had little *Philoſophy*, I was glad of, when it was done. For your *Lordſhip*, I doe think my Self, more beholding to you, than to any Man. And I ſay, I reckon my Self, as a *Common*; (Not Popular, but *Common*;) And as much, as is lawfull,

to be encloſed of a *Common*; So much your *Lordſhip* ſhall be ſure to have.

Your *Lordſhips*, to obey your Honourable Commands, more ſetled, than ever.

To my Lord *of* Eſſex.

My ſingular good Lord,

YOur *Lordſhips*, ſo Honourable minding my poor *Fortune*, the laſt year, in the very Entrance, into that great Action, (which is a time of leſs leiſure;) And in ſo liberal an Allowance, of your Care, as to write three Letters, to ſtirr me up Friends, in your abſence; Doth, after a ſort, warrant me, not to object to my Self, your preſent Quantity of affairs, whereby to ſilence my Self, from Petition of the like Favour. I brake, with your *Lordſhip*, my ſelf, at the *Tower*; And I take it, my *Brother*, hath ſince renewed, the ſame Motion; Touching a Fortune, I was in thought to attempt, *in Genere Oeconomico*. *In Genere Politico*, certain Croſs Winds, have blown contrary. My Sute to your *Lordſhip* is, for your ſeveral *Letters*, to be left with me, dormant, to the *Gentlewoman*, and either of her *Parents*. Wherein, I doe not doubt, but as the Beams of your Favour, have often diſſolved, the Coldneſs of my Fortune; So in this Argument, your *Lordſhip* will doe the like, with your Penn. My Deſire is alſo, that your *Lordſhip* would vouchſafe unto me, as out of your care, a general *Letter*, to my *Lord Keeper*, for his *Lordſhips* holding me, from you, recommended; Both, in the Courſe, of my *Practice*, and in the Courſe, of my Employment, in her *Majeſties* Service. Wherein, if your *Lordſhip* ſhall, in any *Antitheſis*, or *Relation*, affirm, that his *Lordſhip* ſhall have no leſs Fruit of me, than of any other, whom he may cheriſh, I hope, your *Lordſhip* ſhall engage your Self, for no Impoſſibility. Laſtly, and chiefly, I know not, whether I ſhall attain, to ſee your *Lordſhip*, before your *Noble Journey*: For *Ceremonies*, are Things, infinitely, inferiour to my Love, and to my Zeal. This let me, with your allowance, ſay unto you, by Penn. It is true, that in my well-meaning Advices, out of my love to your *Lordſhip*, and, perhaps, out of the State, of mine own minde, I have ſometimes perſwaded, a Courſe differing: *Ac tibi pro tutis inſignia Facta placebunt:* Be it ſo: yet remember, that the Signing of your Name, is nothing, unleſs it be, to ſome good *Patent*, or *Charter*, whereby your *Country* may be endowed, with Good, and Benefit. Which I ſpeak, both to move you, to preſerve your *Perſon*, for further Merit, and Service of her *Majeſty*, and your *Country*; And likewiſe, to referr this *Action*, to the ſame end. And ſo, in moſt true, and fervent,

vent, prayers, I commend your *Lordſhip*, and your Work in hand, to the Preſervation, and Conduct, of the *Divine Majeſty*; So much the more watchfull, as theſe Actions, doe, more manifeſtly, in *ſhew*, though alike in *Truth*, depend upon his *Divine Providence*.

To my Lord *of* Canterbury.

It may pleaſe your Grace;

I Have conſidered the *Objections*, peruſed the *Statutes*, and framed the *Alterations*; Which I ſend; Still keeping my ſelf, within the Brevity of a *Letter*, and Form of a *Narration*; Not entring, into a Form of Argument, or Diſputation: For, in my poor Conceit, it is, ſomewhat, againſt the *Majeſty*, of *Princes* Actions, to make too curious, and ſtriving *Apologies*; But rather, to ſet them forth plainly; And ſo, as there may appear an Harmony, and Conſtancy in them, ſo that one part upholdeth another. And ſo I wiſh your *Grace* all proſperity. From my poor Lodging, this, &c.

Your *Graces*, moſt dutifull,
Pupil, and *Servant*.

To my Lord *of* Eſſex.

My ſingular good Lord,

THe Meſſage, it pleaſed your *Lordſhip*, to ſend me, was to me delivered doubtfully. Whether your *Lordſhip* ſaid, you would ſpeak with me, at the *Starr-chamber*, or with Mr. *Philip*. If with me, it is needleſs; For Gratitude impoſeth upon me Satisfaction: If with Mr. *Philipp*, it will be too late; Becauſe ſomewhat muſt (perchance) be done that day. This Doubt not ſolved, maketh me Write again; The rather, becauſe, I did liberally, but yet privately affirm, your *Lordſhip* would write; Which if I make not good, it may be a Diſcouragement. Your *Lordſhips letter*, though it have the Subject, of Honour, and Juſtice, yet it ſhall have the Secrecy, of a Thing done, upon Affection. I ſhall ever, in a firm duty, ſubmit my Occaſions, though great, to your *Lordſhips* Reſpects, though ſmall: And this is my Reſolution; That when your *Lordſhip* doth for me, you ſhall encreaſe my *Obligation*; When you refuſe to doe for me, you ſhall encreaſe my *Merit*. So leaving the Matter, wholly, to your *Lordſhips* pleaſure, I commend your *Lordſhip*; to the preſervation, of the *Divine Majeſty*. From *Graies Inn*.

Your *Lordſhips* ever moſt humbly bounden.

A

CONFESSION OF THE FAITH:

WRITTEN,

By the Right Honourable,

FRANCIS BACON,

BARON of *VERULAM*,

VISCOVNT *St. ALBAN*.



LONDON,
Printed by *F. Leach*, for *William Lee*, at the sign of the *Turks-Head*, in *Fleetstreet*, 1657.

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LONDON,

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A

CONFESSION

OF THE

FAITH.

WRITTEN

By the Right Honourable

FRANCIS BACON,

Baron of VERULAM, &c.

I Believe, that Nothing is without beginning, but *God*: No *Nature*, no *Matter*, no *Spirit*, but one, onely, and the ſame *God*. That *God*, as he is Eternally Almighty, Onely Wiſe, Onely Good, in his *Nature*; So he is Eternally *Father*, *Sonne*, and *Spirit*, in *Perſons*.

I believe, that *God*, is ſo *Holy*, *Pure*, and *Jealous*, as it is impoſſible for him, to be pleaſed in any *Creature*, though the *Work* of his own *Hands*: So that, neither *Angel*, *Man*, nor *World*, could ſtand, or can ſtand, one Moment, in his Eyes, without beholding the ſame, in the Face of a *Mediatour*: And therefore, that before *Him*, with whom all Things are preſent, the *Lamb* of *God*, was ſlain, before all *Worlds*: Without which eternall Counſell of his, it was impoſſible for *Him*, to have deſcended to any Work of *Creation*; But He ſhould

have enjoyed, the Bleſſed, and Individuall Society, of *three Perſons*, in *Godhead*, onely, for ever.

But that, out of his Eternall, and infinite, *Goodneſſe*, and *Love*, purpoſing to become a *Creatour*, and to communicate to his *Creatures*, He ordained, in his Eternall Counſell, that one *Perſon*, of the *Godhead*, ſhould be united, to one *Nature*, and to one Particular of his *Creatures*; That ſo, in the *Perſon*, of the *Mediatour*, the true Ladder, mought be fixed, whereby *God* mought deſcend to his *Creatures*, and his *Creatures* mought aſcend to *God*: So that *God*, by the Reconcilement, of the *Mediatour*, turning his Countenance towards his *Creatures*, (though not in equall Light, and Degree,) made way, unto the Diſpenſation, of his moſt holy, and ſecret Will; whereby ſome of his *Creatures*, mought ſtand, and keep their ſtate; Others mought, (poſſibly) fall, and be reſtored; And others mought fall, and not be reſtored, in their Eſtate, but yet remain in *Being*, though under Wrath, and Corruption; All with Reſpect, to the *Mediatour*: VVhich is the great *Myſtery*, and perfect *Center*, of all *Gods* wayes, with his *Creatures*; And unto which, all his other *works*, and *Wonders*, doe but ſerve, and referr.

That he choſe, (according to his good pleaſure,) *Man*, to be that *Creature*, to whoſe *Nature*, the *Perſon*, of the Eternall *Son* of *God*, ſhould be united; And amongſt the *Generations* of *Men*, elected a ſmall *Flock*, in whom, (by the Participation of *Himſelf*,) He purpoſed, to expreſſe, the *Riches* of his *Glory*; All the Miniſtration of *Angels*, Damnation of *Devils*, and *Reprobates*, and Univerſall Adminiſtration of all *Creatures*, and Diſpenſation of all Times, having no other End, but as the VVayes, and *Ambages* of *God*, to be further glorified in his *Saints*; who are one with their *Head*, the *Mediatour*, who is one with *God*.

That by the Vertue of this his Eternall Counſell, He condeſcended of his own good pleaſure, and according to the Times, and Seaſons, to himſelf known, to become a *Creatour*; And by his eternall *Word*, created all things; And by his eternall *Spirit*, doth comfort, and preſerve them.

That he made all things, in their firſt Eſtate, *Good*; And removed from himſelf, the Beginning of all Evil, and Vanity, into the *Liberty*, of the *Creature*; But reſerved, in himſelf, the Beginning, of all *Reſtitution*, to the *Liberty* of his *Grace*: Uſing, nevertheleſſe, and turning, the Falling, and Defection of the *Creature*, (which to his *Priſcience* was eternally known,) to make way to his eternall Counſell, touching a *Mediatour*, and the VVork he purpoſed to accompliſh in *Him*.

That God created *Spirits*, whereof ſome kept their ſtanding, and others fell. He created *Heaven*, and *Earth*, and all their *Armies*, and Generations; And gave, unto them, conſtant, and everlaſting, *Lawes*, which we call *Nature*; which is nothing, but the

Lawes

Lawes of the *Creation*; which *Lawes*, nevertheleſſe, have had three *Changes*, or *Times*; and are to have, a Fourth, or *Laſt*. The Firſt, when the *Matter* of *Heaven*, and *Earth*, was created without *Forms*: The Second, the *Interim* of *Perfection*, of every Dayes *work*; The Third, by the *Curſe*; which, notwithſtanding, was no new *Creation*; And the Laſt, at the End of the *World*, the Manner whereof is not yet fully revealed: So as the *Lawes* of *Nature*, which now remain, and govern inviolably, till the end of the *World*, began to be in force, when *God* firſt reſted from his *works*; and ceaſed to create; But received, a Revocation, in part, by the *Curſe*; Since which Time, they change not.

That notwithſtanding, *God* hath reſted, and ceaſed from *Creating*, ſince the firſt *Sabbath*, yet nevertheleſſe, he doth accompliſh, and fulfill his Divine VVill, in all Things, great and ſmall, ſingular, and generall, as fully, and exactly, by *Providence*, as he could by *Miracle*, and new Creation; Though his working be not immediate, and direct, but by compaſs; Not violating *Nature*, which is his own *Law*, upon the *Creature*.

That, at the firſt, the *Soul* of *Man*, was not produced by *Heaven*, or *Earth*, but was breathed immediately from *God*; So that the Wayes, and proceedings of *God*, with *Spirits*, are not included in *Nature*; That is, in the *Lawes* of *Heaven*, and *Earth*; But are reſerved, to the *Law*, of his ſecret Will, and Grace; wherein *God* worketh ſtill, and reſteth not, from the Work of *Redemption*, as he reſteth from the Work of *Creation*: But continueth working, till the end of the VVorld; What time, that *Work* alſo, ſhall be accompliſhed, and an eternal *Sabbath* ſhall enſue. Likewiſe, that whenſoever *God* doth tranſcend, the *Law* of *Nature*, by *Miracles*, (which may ever ſeem as new *Creations*,) He never commeth, to that point, or paſs, but in regard of the work of *Redemption*; which is the greater, and whereto all *Gods Signes*, *and Miracles*, doe referr.

That *God* created *Man* in his own *Image*, in a *Reaſonable Soul*, in *Innocency*, in *Free-will*, and in *Soveraignty*: That he gave him a *Law*, and *Commandement*, which was in his power to keep, but he kept it not: That *Man* made a total Defection from *God*, preſuming to imagine, that the Commandements, and Prohibitions of *God*, were not the *Rules*, of *Good* and *Evil*; But that *Good*, and *Evil*, had their own principles, and beginnings: And luſted, after the Knowledge, of thoſe imagined Beginnings; To the end, to depend no more upon *Gods* will, revealed, but upon himſelf, and his own Light, as a *God*: Than the which, there could not be a *Sinne*, more oppoſite, to the whole *Law* of *God*. That yet, nevertheleſſe, this great *Sinne*, was not originally moved, by the Malice of *Man*, but was inſinuated, by the Suggeſtion, and Inſtigation, of the Devil; who was the Firſt *Defected Creature*; and fell of Malice, and not by Temptation.

That upon the *Fall* of *Man*, Death, and Vanity, enter'd, by the *Juſtice* of *God*; And the *Image* of *God*, in *Man*, was defaced; And *Heaven*, and *Earth*, which were made for *Mans* uſe, were ſubdued to Corruption, by his *Fall*; But then that inſtantly, and without Intermiſſion of Time, after the *Word* of *Gods Law*, became, through the *Fall* of Man, fruſtrate as to obedience, there ſucceeded the greater *Word*, of the *Promiſe*; that the *Righteouſneſs* of *God*, mought be wrought by *Faith*.

That as well the *Law* of *God*, as the *Word* of his *Promiſe*, endure the ſame for ever: But that they have been revealed, in ſeveral manners, according to the Diſpenſation, of Times. For the *Law* was firſt imprinted, in that Remnant of Light, of *Nature*, which was left after the *Fall*, being ſufficient to accuſe: Then it was more manifeſtly expreſſed, in the *written Law*; And was yet more opened, by the *Prophets*; And laſtly expounded, in the true perfection, by the *Son* of *God* the great *Prophet*, and perfect *Interpreter*, as alſo *Fulfiller* of the *Law*: That, likewiſe, the *Word* of the *Promiſe*, was manifeſted, and revealed; Firſt by immediate *Revelation*, and *Inſpiration*; After by *Figures*, which were of two *Natures*: The one, the *Rites*, and *Ceremonies*, of the *Law*; The other, the Continual Hiſtory, of the *Old World*, and *Church* of the *Jewes*, which though it be *literally* True, yet is it, pregnant of a perpetual *Allegory*, and *ſhadow*, of the *Work*, of the *Redemption*, to follow. The ſame *Promiſe*, or *Euangile*, was more clearly revealed, and declared, by the *Prophets*; And then by the *Son* himſelf; And laſtly, by the *Holy Ghoſt*, which illuminateth the *Church*, to the end of the *World*.

That, in the *Fulneſs of Time*, according to the *Promiſe*, and *Oath*, of a *choſen* Lignage, deſcended, the bleſſed *Seed* of the *Woman*, *Jeſus Chriſt*, the onely begotten *Son* of *God*, and *Saviour* of the *World*: who was conceived, by the Power, and Overſhadowing, of the *Holy Ghoſt*; And took *Fleſh* of the *Virgin Mary*: That the *Word*, did not onely take *Fleſh*, or was joyned to *Fleſh*, but was made *Fleſh*, though without *Confuſion* of *Subſtance*, or *Nature*; So as the Eternal *Son* of *God*, and the ever-bleſſed *Son* of *Mary*, was one *Perſon*; So one, as the *Bleſſed Virgin*, may be truly, and Catholiquely called, *Deipara*, the Mother of *God*: So one, as there is no Unity in *Univerſal Nature*, not that, of the *Soul*, and *Body*, of *Man*, ſo perfect: For the three Heavenly *Vnities*, (whereof that is the ſecond,) exceed all Natural *Vnities*: That is to ſay; The *Vnity*, of the three *Perſons*, in *Godhead*; The *Vnity*, of *God*, and *Man*, in *Chriſt*; And the *Vnity*, of *Chriſt*, and the *Church*; the *Holy Ghoſt*, being the *Worker*, of both theſe latter *Vnities*; For by the *Holy Ghoſt*, was *Chriſt Incarnate*, and quickned, in *Fleſh*; And by the *Holy Ghoſt*, is Man regenerate, and quickned, in *Spirit*.

That *Jeſus* the *Lord*, became, in the *Fleſh*, a *Sacrificer*, and *Sacrifice* for *Sin*; A *Satisfaction*, and *Price*, to the *Juſtice*, of *God*; A Me-

rite,

riter, of *Glory*, and the *Kingdom*; A *Pattern*, of all *Righteouſneſs*; A *Preacher* of the *Word*, which *Himſelf* was; A *Finiſher* of the *Ceremony*; A *Corner-Stone*, to remove the Separation between, *Jew*, and *Gentile*; An *Interceſſour* for the *Church*; A *Lord* of *Nature*, in his *Miracles*; A *Conquerer*, of *Death*, and the *Power of Darkneſs*, in his *Reſurrection*; And that he fulfilled the whole Counſel of *God*; Performed all his Sacred *Offices*, and *Annoynting* on *Earth*; Accompliſhed the whole *Work* of the *Redemption*, and Reſtitution of *Man*, to a State, Superiour to the *Angels*; (whereas the State of *Man*, by *Creation*, was Inferiour;) And reconciled and eſtabliſhed, all Things, according to the Eternal VVill, of the *Father*.

That in time, *Jeſus* the *Lord*, was born, in the dayes of *Herod*; And ſuffered, under the Government, of *Pontius Pilate*, being *Deputy* of the *Romans*; And under the *High Prieſthood*, of *Caiphas*; And was betrayed by *Judas*, one of the twelve *Apoſtles*; And was crucified at *Hieruſalem*; And after a true, and naturall, *Death*, and his *Body* layed in the *Sepulchre*, the third day, He raiſed Himſelf, from the Bonds of *Death*, and aroſe, and ſhewed Himſelf, to many *choſen VVitneſſes*, by the ſpace of divers dayes; And at the end of thoſe dayes, in the ſight of many, aſcended into *Heaven*; where he continueth his *Interceſſion*; And ſhall from thence, at the day appointed, come in greateſt glory, to judge the *world*.

That the *Sufferings*, and *Merits* of *Chriſt*, as they are ſufficient, to do away the *Sinns*, of the whole *World*; ſo they are onely effectuall to thoſe, which are *Regenerate* by the *Holy Ghoſt*; Who breatheth where he *will*, of *Free Grace*; which *Grace*, as a *Seed Incorruptible*, quickeneth the *Spirit* of *Man*, and conceiveth him anew a *Son* of *God*, and *Member* of *Chriſt*: So that *Chriſt*, having *Mans Fleſh*, and *Man* having *Chriſts Spirit*, there is an open paſſage, and Mutuall Imputation; whereby *Sin*, and *Wrath*, was conveyed to *Chriſt*, from *Man*; And *Merit*, and *Life*, is conveyed to *Man*, from *Chriſt*: VVhich *Seed* of the *Holy Ghoſt*, firſt figureth in us, the *Image* of *Chriſt* ſlain, or crucified, through a lively *Faith*; And then reneweth in us, the *Image* of *God*, in *Holineſſe*, and *Charity*; though both imperfectly, and in degrees farre differing, even in *Gods Elect*; As well, in regard, of the *Fire* of the *Spirit*, as of the *Illumination* thereof; which is, more, or leſſe, in a large proportion; As namely, in the *Church* before *Chriſt*; VVhich yet, nevertheleſſe, was partaker, of one, and the ſame Salvation, with us. And of one, and the ſame Means, of Salvation, with us.

That the *Work* of the *Spirit*, though it be not tyed, to any *Means*, in *Heaven*, or *Earth*, yet it is ordinarily diſpenſed, by the *Preaching* of the *Word*; The *Adminiſtration* of the *Sacraments*; The *Covenants* of the *Fathers*, upon the *Children*; *Prayer*; *Reading*; The *Cenſures* of the *Church*; The *Society* of the *Godly*; The *Croſſe*, and *Afflictions*; *Gods Benefits*; His *Judgements* upon *others*; *Miracles*; The *Contemplation* of his *Creatures*; All which, (though ſome be more prin-

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cipall,) *God* uſeth, as the *Means* of *Vocation*, and *Converſion* of his *Elect*; Not derogating from his power, to call immediately by his *Grace*; and at all *Howers* and *Moments*, of the *Day*; (That is, of *Mans Life*,) according to his good pleaſure.

That the *Word* of *God*, whereby his *will* is revealed, continued in *Revelation*, and *Tradition*, untill *Moſes*; And that the *Scriptures*, were from *Moſes* Time, to the times of the *Apoſtles*, and *Evangeliſts*; In whoſe *Age*, after the comming of the *Holy Ghoſt*, the *Teacher* of all *Truth*, the *Book* of the *Scriptures*, was ſhut, and cloſed, ſo as not to receive any new Addition; And that the *Church*, hath no power, over the *Scriptures*, to *teach*, or *command* any Thing, contrary to the *written Word*; But is as the *Ark*, wherein the *Tables* of the Firſt *Teſtament* were kept, and preſerved; That is to ſay, the *Church*, hath onely the *Cuſtody*, and *Delivery* over, of the *Scriptures*, committed unto the ſame; Together with the *Interpretation* of them, but ſuch onely, as is conceived from themſelves.

That there is an *Univerſall*, or *Catholick Church* of *God*, diſperſed over the face of the *Earth*; which is *Chriſts Spouſe*, and *Chriſts Body*; Being gathered, of the *Fathers* of the *old World*, of the *Church* of the *Jewes*, of the *Spirits* of the *Faithfull Diſſolved*, and the *Spirits* of the *Faithfull Militant*, and of the *Names*, yet to be born, which are already written, in the *Book* of *Life*. That there is alſo, a *Viſible Church*, diſtinguiſhed by the outward VVorks of *Gods* Covenant, and the Receiving of the *Holy Doctrine*, with the Uſe of the *Myſteries* of *God*, and the *Invocation*, and *Sanctification* of his *Holy Name*. That there is alſo an Holy *Succeſsion*, in the *Prophets*, of the *New Teſtament*, and *Fathers* of the *Church*, from the time, of the *Apoſtles*, and *Diſciples*, which ſaw our *Saviour* in the *Fleſh*, unto the *Conſummation*, of the *Work* of the *Miniſtry*; which *perſons*, are called from *God*, by *Gift*, or inward *Anointing*; And the *Vocation* of *God*, followed by an *outward Calling*, and *Ordination of the Church*.

I believe, that the *Soules* of thoſe that dye in the *Lord*, are bleſſed, and *reſt* from their *Labours*, and enjoy the *Sight* of *God*; yet ſo, as they are in Expectation of a further *Revelation* of their *Glory*, in the *laſt Day*. At which time, all *Fleſh* of *Man*, ſhall ariſe, and be changed, and ſhall appear, and receive, from *Jeſus Chriſt*, his *Eternall Judgement*; And the *Glory*, of the *Saints*, ſhall then be *full*; And the *Kingdome*, ſhall be given up, to *God* the *Father*: From which Time, all things ſhall continue for ever, in that Being, and State, which then they ſhall receive: So as there are three *Times*, (if Times they may be called,) or parts of Eternity. The firſt, the *Time* before beginnings, when the *Godhead* was onely, without the Being, of any *Creature*; The Second, the *Time* of the *Myſtery*, which continueth from the *Creation*, to the *Diſſolution* of the *World*: And the Third, the *Time*, of the *Revelation*, of the *Sonnes* of *God*; which Time is the laſt, and is everlaſting without change.

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